INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY, SURVEY, AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS AND THE MOVEMENT OF INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 5
OKLAHOMA CITY HEARINGS

SEPTEMBER 19 AND 20, 1940

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

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UNITED STATES
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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., September 19, 1940, in the State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, Okla., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman), presiding.

Present were Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Carl T. Curtis, Claude V. Parsons, and John J. Sparkman.

Also present were Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; George Wolf, chief field investigator; Creekmore Fath, field investigator; Irene Hageman, field secretary.

WELCOME BY MAYOR ROBT. A. HEFNER

The Chairman. The committee will come to order, please. I wish to state that Congressman Frank C. Osmers, of New Jersey, a member of this committee, is unavoidably absent. Mayor Hefner, we shall be glad to recognize you at this time before we open the meeting.

Mayor Hefner. It is a privilege for me to welcome this committee here for and on behalf of the city of Oklahoma City. We are glad to have you make this investigation and hope there is something we can do about this floating population that is floating around over the country. There is one suggestion in that connection that I wish to make, and that is this: That on account of this book that was written Oklahoma gets the credit for all this floating population; they seem to call them "Okies" all over the country. We know that they have them in all the States; Congressman Curtis has them from his district, we know the chairman has them from his, Congressman Parsons from his State of Illinois, and we know you have them, Congressman Sparkman, down in Alabama. What I hope we can do is remove the little sting we might get here in Oklahoma as taking credit for all of them. We want to take credit for our part. This committee has already talked with me and I know you feel kindly toward this great State; we are new here and I know we have this problem to solve and I know it is the intention of this committee to try to solve this problem in the correct manner.

We are happy to have you here, happy to tender you this hall of representatives to have your meeting in. Thank you for coming; we hope your stay will be delightful and pleasant. If there is anything you want while here, call on the mayor for it; if you see anything you want, take it, and if you want anything you don't see, ask for it and I will get it for you.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say to you, Honorable Mayor, that this committee has not selected any one State or city; this is a Nation-wide problem. We started out in New York and New Jersey and we found the migratory problem is a very serious one there. We moved into Alabama and Illinois and Nebraska, and it isn't the intention of this committee to select any particular State because the fact is developing that it is a Nation-wide problem. I might state to you, Mr. Mayor, that we do not follow the book and this committee has never so much as mentioned the word "Okie" or "Arkie"; that isn't a part of our language.

We have contacted every Governor in every State in the Union, and Mayor La Guardia, who is president of your Mayors' Conference, opened the hearing in New York. It is a problem that affects us all and I want to say on behalf of the committee that we have never been treated so nicely as we have in Oklahoma City, by the reception that we had last night, and we are going to reciprocate by treating you as nicely as we know how.

Mr. Henson will be the first witness.

TESTIMONY OF EDWIN R. HENSON, COORDINATOR, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Henson, if you will, give the reporter your full name, please?

Mr. HENSON. Edwin R. Henson.

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you now reside, Mr. Henson?

Mr. HENSON. Amarillo, Tex.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your official title?

Mr. HENSON. Coordinator, United States Department of Agriculture.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, by coordinator, Department of Agriculture, briefly what do you mean?

Mr. HENSON. In the Secretary's Office there is an office of land-use coordination primarily designed to bring the various departmental programs into accord in bringing about better land use in this country; it is a uniting of the various programs to attain the goal that is set.

Mr. CURTIS. You are somewhat of a liaison office between the Water Facilities Board and the Farm Security and Farm Tenancy, and so on—the various agencies of the Department of Agriculture—is that right?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you a native of Texas?

Mr. HENSON. I am a native of Oklahoma.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you an agricultural college man?

Mr. HENSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. From what college did you graduate?

Mr. HENSON. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Henson, your territory has been defined as the southern Great Plains; just what are the geographical limits of that territory?

Mr. HENSON. The southern Great Plains includes the States of Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. It concentrates on the Panhandle area of Texas, Oklahoma, southwestern Kansas, southeastern Colorado, and northeastern New Mexico.

Mr. CURTIS. It is part of the Great Plains extending clear from Canada down to Texas, is it not?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. And we term the Dakotas and part of Wyoming and part of Colorado and Nebraska as the northern Great Plains?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. In that connection, Mr. Henson, I think both the northern and southern Great Plains have a problem that is very similar; it is true that the type of farming and the crops raised will vary quite a little from here in the South up into the Dakotas, but that territory will have lost in the last 10 years about 1,000,000 people. Sometimes we refer to migration as a problem; I would rather think of it as the outward evidence of a problem. Now, you have submitted a signed detailed statement that will be made part of the record.

(The statement mentioned appears below:)

STATEMENT BY E. R. HENSON, COORDINATOR, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, AMARILLO, TEX.

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Map I. Regional boundaries of the United States Department of Agriculture agencies in the Southern Great Plains with regional and State headquarters. The area of high wind velocity is also shown.

Map II. Populational statistics showing increase and decrease in population by counties from 1930 to 1940.

Map III. Soil Conservation Districts and Land Use Projects, with the change in the Dust Bowl area from 1935 to 1940.

Map IV. Typical Reorganized Unit in the Oklahoma Panhandle.

LIST OF EXHIBITS SUBMITTED[2]

Exhibit A. "The Dust Bowl: Agricultural Problems and Solutions." United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Land Use Coordination, Washington, D. C., July 15, 1940.

Exhibit B. Tabulation of Census Figures of Population Shifts in the Southern Great Plains States. From the United States Census, 1940.

Exhibit C. "The People of the Southern High Plains," by Earl H. Bell, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Amarillo, Tex.

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[1] All maps are held in committee files.

[2] All of above exhibits, mentioned in this statement, are held in committee files. Copies may be obtained through the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Exhibit D, "Tax Delinquent Rural Lands of Southeastern Colorado," by Leon W. Hill, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit E. "Report on Survey of 71 Unit Reorganization Borrowers," United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit F. "Research in the Establishment of Grass," by D. A. Savage, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, Woodward, Okla.

Exhibit G. "Natural and Artificial Revegetation in the Southern Great Plains," by Sydney H. Watson, United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit H. Annual Report, 1939–40, United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Region 6, H. H. Finnell, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit I. Report of Farm Security Administration, United States Department of Agriculture, Region 12, Wilson Cowen, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit J. "Migratory Labor Survey in Western New Mexico," United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration and Soil Conservation Service, Albuquerque, N. Mex.

Exhibit L. "A. A. A. on the Plains—A Special Program for Wind Erosion Control * * * How It Works," United States Department of Agriculture, Office of the Coordinator, Amarillo, Tex.

Exhibit M. Summarized Statement of the Scope of United States Department of Agriculture agencies operating in the Dust Bowl.

Exhibit N. "Estimates of Soil Losses by Erosion in the Southern Great Plains Region," by Claude L. Fly, United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Amarillo, Tex.

PREFACE

The area covered by the coordinator's office, United States Department of Agriculture, for the Southern Great Plains, consists of all of the following States: Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico. The area sometimes known as the Dust Bowl is somewhat more concentrated, however, in the portions of these States which are conterminous.

The regional boundaries of the various agencies of the Department of Agriculture with which the coordinator's office in Amarillo works are in general outlined to include the area where the problems of the particular agency are similar. It is natural that these boundaries differ for the separate agencies. For the purpose of clarification, Map I[1] shows the boundaries of the various agencies operating in the Dust Bowl area.

The representatives of the agencies mentioned in this report operating out of Amarillo are as follows: Soil Conservation Service, H. H. Finnell, regional conservator; Farm Security Administration, Wilson Cowen, regional director; Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Land Economics Division, Morris Evans, staff leader; Farm Management Division, Orlin Scoville, leader; Division of Farm Population, Dr. Earl H. Bell, leader; and Water Utilization Division, Harry Burleigh, leader. Some of the agencies, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, do not have regional field offices, and consequently do not have local representatives; others, such as Farm Credit Administration, have headquarters outside of the Dust Bowl area, namely, in Wichita, Kans., and Houston, Tex. Directors of the experiment stations and the extension services have their headquarters at the State colleges of the various States. Attached to this report as exhibit M[1] is a brief summary of the scope of the various Department of Agriculture programs operating in this area.

I. SUMMARY OF PROBLEMS AND PRESENT CONDITIONS

A. Brief History

The Southern Great Plains area was transformed from a grazing economy to a cultivated cropland during the period during and immediately following the First World War. The cropland farmers for the most part gradually moved westward as the press of population in the East forced them out of the more thickly populated sections. In some of the areas of lowest rainfall, and in general in the farthest west sections of the area, the breaking up of the sod did not occur until as late as the boom years of 1928 and 1929 and carried on over into 1930 and 1931. One of the best wheat crops in years was harvested during the 1931 season; however, it was met with the lowest prices for wheat in several decades. (See "The

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[1] Exhibit carried in committee files. See p. 1761, footnote.

Dust Bowl: Agricultural Problems and Solutions," exhibit A.)[1] Financial failures throughout the area were quite widespread. This was preliminary to the drought years but served to condition the people, in a sense, for what was to follow later in the form of severe climatic hazards. The low prices for wheat continued in 1932 and 1933. In 1934 the great drought struck with its accompaniment of dry, parching, high-velocity winds which brought on the great dust storms of that year. Rainfall throughout most of the area was far below average.

Map No. I[2] shows the area of high wind velocity which coincides closely with the area commonly known as the Dust Bowl. This area was the center of origin of the bad dust storms. Many of the fields were covered with sand dunes as high as 20 or 30 feet and in fact the face of the earth was changed in some localities. Fence lines became walls of sand and dust. Many of the fields lost all of the topsoil to at least the original plow depth. Much of the land that had been left in sod was ruined by blow-soil from adjacent fields.

The drought and dust conditions continued to prevail in a greater or lesser degree in 1935 and were again especially severe in 1936. The farm people of this area made a valiant attempt to hold onto their homes. Many of them were supported temporarily by Government aid of some form or another, sometimes through direct relief, sometimes through Work Projects Administration, or Farm Security Administration grants, or by work on county roads. As the drought and dust storms continued year after year, many of these farm families decided that this condition was intolerable and that they must look elsewhere for a place to make their homes. A great migration of peoples from this area began. In a few of the counties as much as 40 percent of the farm population moved out.

Map No. II[2] based on 1940 census figures shows graphically the evacuation of people from the Dust Bowl area. It is particularly interesting to note how eastern Colorado apparently picked up and moved into western Colorado. Other States show as significant emigrations from the drought region, but in most cases where there was not a sparsely populated area within the State to which the migrants could move, indications are that they followed the general westward trend and continued to the Pacific coast.

The percentage of decrease in population indicated in most counties of the Dust Bowl is even more significant when it is realized that the normal increase in population amounts annually to from 6 to 10 percent. Thus, in a county where the total decrease in population was 40 percent, the net decrease, after taking into consideration normal increase through birth and immigration, might be as high as 50 percent.

A comprehensive analysis of the factors contributing to the present situation in the area may be found in "The Future of the Great Plains,"[3] a report by the President's special committee on the Great Plains, published in 1936.

A summary statement made by Dr. Earl H. Bell, entitled "The People of the Southern High Plains" is presented herewith as exhibit C.[1] This gives more details on population shifts from this region.

B. Present situation

The population of the Dust Bowl area is still in excess of that which can be satisfactorily supported under the existing pattern of ownership and land use. Throughout this area there are still thousands of farm families being supported by Government grants and work relief.

For example, as of June 1940, the Farm Security Administration was still furnishing grants to 9,026 rural families. This is an indication of the number of farm families who still find it impossible to make a living on the land. The unit reorganization program will alter the problem to this extent: Some of the families now on grants will be placed in a position to make a complete living off the land, but others may be entirely displaced.

The following tabulation shows the results of a survey made under the direction of A. A. Meredith of the Work Projects Administration district office in Amarillo.

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[1] Exhibit carried in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.
[2] Map carried in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.
[3] May be obtained from Superintendent ot Documents, Washington, D. C.

This survey was made in 5 selected counties which are believed to be representative of the 26 counties in the Texas Panhandle:

Total case load for district (number of families)	4,812
Average number of persons per family	3.9
Estimated number of persons represented	18,567
Estimated number of cases with farm background	3,036
Percent of cases with farm background	63.1
Estimated number of persons represented	11,840

The following is quoted from Bell's report, mentioned above: "The head of nearly every family in Haskell County, Kans., was interviewed and, among other questions, asked how they remained. It is significant that all of them replied that if it had not been for the agricultural program they could not have held on. Most of them added that in the entire county not over half a dozen families could have stayed. One businessman in principle opposed Government aid to the farmers but said, 'If it had not been for the agricultural program no one would be here now. I would not be here. The county would be grown up to weeds or blown away.'

"When asked why they remained, two answers were given. One was, 'I don't know where else to go. We read of unemployment everywhere and I have no other abilities. I could not get land anywhere else.' The other answer, and the two usually were given together, was, 'We like this country. It is good country if we can just get rain.' "

For the most part those farm families that remained in the area were forced to exist on the most meager allowances. As a result of this situation and of the extremely poor living and sanitary conditions the health problem became a serious factor in many families. In 1936 the Farm Security Administration started a study of the health and medical needs of farm families in the area. The study soon revealed that many of these people who were looked upon as shiftless and lacking in ambition, were in reality suffering from diseases and malnutrition.

Throughout most of the area the rainfall is still considerably too low to produce the crops on which the people have in the past been depending. The following table shows the average precipitation for the years 1916 to 1938, inclusive, as recorded at selected stations, one in each of the five States. The stations were located at Lakin, Kearney County, Kans.; Lamar, Prowers County, Colo.; Goodwell, Texas County, Okla.; Dalhart, Dallam County, Tex.; and Clayton, Union County, N. Mex.

Average annual precipitation

	Inches		Inches		Inches
1916	12.76	1924	13.15	1932	14.69
1917	12.92	1925	16.67	1933	11.93
1918	18.86	1926	15.71	1934	10.04
1919	21.20	1927	17.11	1935	11.20
1920	15.05	1928	23.82	1936	9.58
1921	18.54	1929	17.64	1937	11.17
1922	13.90	1930	20.95	1938	15.22
1923	25.29	1931	13.56		

During the period 1916 to 1933, inclusive, the average was 16.87 inches. Note that it has never reached the average since then.

It is obvious that a 6-year drought period such as this is enough to unsettle any farming industry based on production of cash crops which require as a minimum more moisture than has been available during these dry years.

"In Haskell County, Kans., a more fertile than average high plains county, the farmers have suffered from drought for the past 8 years. During that time the average acreage of wheat harvested has been but 28 percent of that planted, and the average yield of that which was actually harvested has been only 4 bushels per acre. During several of these years there has also been a feed-crop failure." (From Bell's report.)

Thousands of acres of land are still blowing in this section. On some fields there has never been enough rainfall to start even a weed growth to hold the soil. In a few isolated instances, farmers unwisely continue to stir up the soil on these blowfields year after year and plant wheat seed in the fall in the hope of some day making a crop. By proper tillage and conservation methods the good farmer (and on Government land the Soil Conservation Service) has been able to establish a weed growth or a cover crop such as sorghum or sudan grass to hold loose soil.

Attached hereto as Exhibit N[1] is an analysis by Claud L. Fly, soil scientist, Soil Conservation Service, in which he makes some estimates on the loss of soil in the southern plains area. On the 33,039,050 acres of cultivated land covered in his report he estimated a net loss or removal of 408 tons of soil per acre; on the 61,880,950 acres of range land a loss or removal of 57 tons of soil per acre.

Very little success has been achieved in returning the soil to its natural state of vegetation. This is not surprising when it is realized that some ecologists estimate that thousands of years were required to establish the fine layer of sod that was found by our first settlers.

Recent careful studies have shown that even under the best natural conditions in this region abandoned fields will seldom revert to an optimum stand of the better grass species in less than 25 years.

Much of the land from which farmers have moved now lies in a state of abandonment. These lands constitute a continuing hazard to the neighboring farmers who are attempting to establish a cover crop or return their land to grass. None of the land which was plowed up has yet been successfully returned to grass. Not only that, but thousands of acres which were once in grass have been ruined by blowing soil from adjacent plowed fields. In many cases it is difficult to return this land to good sod as it is that land which has been plowed.

The following tabulations from a study made in 1936 shows the extent of abandoned land in dry-farming portions of this region at that time.

	Total cultivated land in area		Cropland abandoned within farm units		Cropland abandoned outside farm units	
	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent	Acres	Percent
11 southeastern Colorado counties	2, 830, 121	100	425, 580	15. 0	1, 064, 248	37. 7
15 southwestern Kansas counties	5, 005, 877	100	612, 665	12. 2	304, 450	6. 1
3 Oklahoma Panhandle counties	1, 872, 878	100	140, 474	7. 5	190, 815	10. 2
9 eastern New Mexico counties	1, 353, 688	100	149, 174	11. 0	33, 433	2. 5
15 Texas Panhandle counties	3, 811, 287	100	109, 619	2. 8	249, 200	6. 5

This tabulation by counties is attached to exhibit C.

The emigration of such large sectors of the population as was noted above has left such facilities as roads and schools to be supported by the remaining few who are financially unable to carry this burden; besides the faciliies are larger and more numerous than are needed by the remaining population.

"In one community in Washington County, Colo., the farmers got together and counted their human resources as of 1940 and then studied them in relation to their schools and churches. This is what they found:

"1. Only 72 houses out of 103 were occupied, which meant that 30 percent of the homes in the community were vacant.

"2. These 72 houses held a total population of 283, or about 4 persons per family.

"3. They found only 17 high school children. This is significant when we consider they were attempting to operate and support a community high school.

"4. There were only 46 grade-school children attending 10 schools, or an average of 4.6 pupils per school.

"5. Furthermore, there were 36 preschool children, or 3.6 potential children per school.

"6. They have the community problem of supplying some economic security or opportunity to 25 young persons, 6 to 20 years of age, who are not now in school—this in the face of smaller opportunities to secure farms or other jobs.

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

"7. Two churches operating spasmodically serve the 283 persons in the community.

"The county in which these communities are located has undergone a 34 percent reduction in school enrollment since 1930. At the same time there has been no consolidation and very little school abandonment and the number of teachers remains about the same. It costs just as much to educate a half-full one-room school as it does to educate a full school enrollment. The need for school adjustment is apparent." (From report by Bell's office.)

The burden of taxes obviously is increasing upon those remaining in the area.

The following tabulation showing abandonment of farmsteads as early as 1936 gives an indication of how serious this problem is at the present time:

	Total farmsteads		Occupied		Abandoned		House gone	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
11 southeastern Colorado counties	11,800	100	5,081	43.1	4,391	37.2	2,328	19.7
15 southwestern Kansas counties	7,024	100	5,577	79.4	1,217	17.3	230	3.3
3 Oklahoma Panhandle counties	4,166	100	3,331	80.0	769	18.4	66	1.6
8 eastern New Mexico counties	5,703	100	5,089	89.2	588	10.3	26	.5
15 Texas Panhandle counties	5,156	100	4,286	83.1	845	16.4	25	.5

This tabulation by counties is attached to exhibit C.

An indication of the reason why some of these houses disappeared is revealed in the following quotation from Bell's report: "In order to reduce taxes, owners are razing the improvements on their land and renting it to large operators, thus depriving small operators of a home and the opportunity to secure a living for their families."

This problem leads to widespread tax delinquency. An illuminating study was recently made regarding tax delinquency in Baca and Lincoln Counties in Colorado. In Baca County, it was shown that all tax sales of delinquent rural lands from 1934 to 1937 totaled 485,800 acres, or 31.6 percent of the total taxable acreage in the county. There is no reason to assume that the trend in this respect has shifted since 1937. This same study shows that in spite of an increasing number of units put up for sale, a decreasing number are being purchased by private individuals so that in 1937 only 90 tax certificates were purchased by private individuals compared to 580 purchased by the county.

The figures for Lincoln County show a similar trend. More detailed information regarding this trend may be secured by refering to Tax Delinquent Rural Land in Southwestern Colorado, by Leon W. Hill, attached hereto as exhibit D.[1]

Following is a summary of the situation just discussed:

1. *People.*—The farm population of this area is still greater than can be supported by the land under the present system. The health of the families is seriously impaired by their living conditions.
2. *Land.*—Thousands of acres are still blowing and under no control by responsible operators. Thousands of acres are tax delinquent.
3. *Social facilities.*—Housing conditions are poor. School, roads, and county government units built under more favorable conditions now are too large and too expensive to be supported by the present population.

II. WHAT IS BEING DONE

The following discussion sets forth what is being done by the United States Department of Agriculture to alleviate some of the problems mentioned in the preceding pages. Through efforts being made by the various agencies, the Department of Agriculture is proceeding on a unified front in combatting the problems of the area.

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Since the ideal pattern can be achieved only by fitting the people to the land the first approach, logically, must be made by appraising the land from the standpoint of the number of people it will support. Therefore, perhaps the most fundamental phase of the work now being done is:

Land classification.—At the present time the proper land use is determined by two approaches—either by one approach or the other, or a combination of the two. In every county throughout the area there are land-use planning committees consisting of groups of farm men and women in each community that meet and plan for the proper use of their land and elect representatives to the county committee. The county committee pools these community plans into a county plan, and with the advice and guidance of Federal and State agencies, maps the land of the county indicating its proper use. The second approach is through a reconnaissance survey of the area by Soil Conservation Service or the land-grant college in order to make a soil map or a combination soils and land-classification map. These maps classify the lands into those that should remain in grass, and those that should be cultivated with varying degrees of erosion-control measures. The ideal method is for the technicians to make their maps and then have them checked and modified for human and social factors by the land-use planning committees. This classification of land by these land-use planning committees is a part of an intense educational program which brings about recognition of the problems of the community along land-use lines.

Adjusting land use through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program.—In the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program farmers have been encouraged to designate those lands which should never have been plowed as restoration land. A sufficient amount of payment is made on this restoration land to enable the farmer to keep it from blowing and it is primarily set aside as land to be returned to grass. It has proved extremely difficult to reestablish grass on this area and considerable research work is being carried out by the experiment stations and the Soil Conservation Service for devising ways and means of revegetation.

In this connection farmers in 54 of the 112 counties of the "dust bowl" area have adopted a program under which the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments come to the farmer as direct payments for carrying out conservation work on the land. This creates a practical works program designed to eventually effect the carrying out of the conservation program on all of these farms. It is contemplated that this experimental program will be broadened in scope to drive even more directly toward the adjustment of land-use requirements in the area and that the program will be expanded to all counties having a similar problem. Submitted with this report as exhibit L[1] is an explanation of how the special Agricultural Adjustment Administration program operates in the counties in which it was first tried.

Reorganized farm units to effect better land use.—The Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Security Administration, and the extension services are cooperating in an effort to reorganize the farm land into suitable combination livestock and grain farms of such sizes that a farm family may be expected to have reasonable security, be able to use the land properly, and pay for the farm. The unit reorganization program has been hampered in many cases by the complicated ownership pattern of the land and the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory tenure, the lack of proper farm buildings and other farm facilities, and the number of operators on too small units. In order to effect real reorganization, it is usually necessary to combine several of these units into one. But until a program can be devised which will properly take care of the surplus people, it is impossible to expect the unit reorganization program to solve the problems of land use in the area. Because of the limiting factors mentioned above, only about 20 percent of the area of a county can be covered now by desirable land-reorganized units. Later in the report suggestions are made for taking care of the surplus people that would be displaced by the maximum application of this program.

In this program 416 farm units have already been reorganized. For the most part the plan has been used in those areas where it is necessary to change from wheat production because of the soil and climatic conditions. Farms have been enlarged from one-quarter of a section (160 acres) to more than 4,000 acres in some cases.

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Some indication of the progress being made by farmers under this program may be had from the following analysis of a reorganized unit in the Oklahoma Panhandle:

	1937	1938	1939
Number of acres in farm	280	1,440	1,575
Income:			
From livestock	$75	$172	$629
From crops			
Outside labor	25	66	
Government aid	219	231	358
Total income	319	496	987
Net worth	−140	−402	−8

The Farm Security Administration district supervisor reporting in January 1939, commented on this loan as follows:

"Upon the inspection of the farmstead I found that it was greatly improved from what it had been at the start of the loan. The Civilian Conservation Corps boys have been on the place and have leveled off all of the blow piles surrounding the farm home, barn, and other buildings. This was shown by the dirt remaining in the trees and bushes to a depth of about 4½ feet. The ground is now leveled off as well as could be expected. The old fence was dug out of the drifts and the fences have been reconstructed with a new lane leading out to the pasture land. Many of the old buildings were completely torn down and the old lumber neatly sorted and piled for future use in the construction of a new poultry house and granary, which is being started within the next few weeks.

"* * * he proceeded to plant sudan on the cropland. This crop was completely destroyed by the grasshoppers, which hatched from the eggs on the surrounding rough land. The client then seeded the cropland to sorghums and has produced a fair crop of roughage for his livestock. On the remaining cropland winter rye has been seeded and at present is covered with a good stand."

Map No. IV[1] shows graphically the new farm as compared with the old in the case analyzed above.

Also presented herewith as exhibit E[2] is a Report on Survey of 71 Unit Reorganization Borrowers.

Adjustments of land use through purchase and lease.—Many of the problems in the area could be adjusted and solved if funds were available for the purchase of certain tracts from private individuals. These tracts would be available then for establishing farm families on reorganized units. Considerable progress was made in limited areas by the Federal purchases of land, and as far as it went this was highly effective. This work is limited at the present time by the entire lack of funds for the program. As an alternative, soil-conservation districts, associations of owners and individuals, have tried leasing from the present owners, both absentee and local, those lands which are not now being operated. This has met with some success; for example, the soil-conservation district of Baca County, Colo., has leased 39,000 acres of land each year from absentee owners. When such land is leased by the district, it is placed under the program of wind-erosion control, and where long-time leases can be secured, it is included in reorganized units. One problem in this connection is that many mortgage companies are extremely anxious to sell their land and therefore do not wish to lease it for more than 1 year. Individual farmers cannot be financed by the Farm Security Administration or other similar financing agencies, and equipped with livestock, buildings, and machinery on land that will be available for only 1 year.

Map No. IV[1] shows the land purchase areas and the soil-conservation districts in the five-State area.

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[1] Map held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.
[2] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Tenant purchase loans.—Loans under the tenant purchase program of the Farm Security Administration authorized by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act are being used in some of these counties to acquire suitable farm units on which a complete conservation program will be carried out; the individual operators will be equipped with livestock and machinery sufficient to farm the unit according to the program planned, and adequate housing for farmers and livestock will be provided. Where tenant purchase funds are available a complete and satisfactory adjustment of land use can be had.

Other credit facilities.—Throughout the area the Farm Security Administration gives grants to destitute families, and makes loans to those in better circumstances for livestock and equipment to operate farms. Standard rural-rehabilitation loans have been made totaling more than $20,000,000 in the Dust Bowl area. A complete report on the work of the Farm Security Administration is included herewith as exhibit I.[1]

Also the Farm Credit Administration extends feed and seed loans in this area where a farmer can give a crop and livestock mortgage as security for the loan. These loans are available for the purchase of feed or seed and certain other requisites for carrying on farming operations. Similarly, the Production Credit Association will make loans for purchase of feed or livestock or other requirements to those farmers having sufficient security to justify the loan. Collection records of the lending agencies in this area are not as bad as might be expected. This is due not so much to crop production as to the use of crop insurance and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments.

Water facilities.—Through the water-facilities program funds are made available throughout this area for the development of stock water, either in the form of ponds or windmills. Similarly, loans may be made through the water-facilities program for the development of a windmill for irrigating a small home garden and putting water into the home. This program is one badly needed in this area, inasmuch as gardens can scarcely be grown without the use of some water, and the psychological effect of having water available for lawns, flowers, and about the home in times of drought can scarcely be estimated. Loans or grants may be made for trapping surface water for irrigation, for individual farmers or groups of farmers for projects costing not over $50,000. This device is extremely important in areas where suitable sites are available. In the drier portions of the Plains area, use of such loans is extremely limited, since water available in proximity to the land to be irrigated is scarce. Each farmer who participates in a water-facilities loan or grant must follow soil-conservation practices recommended by the Soil Conservation Service, as well as farm- and home-management plans recommended by the Farm Security Administration.

Soil conservation.—The final extremely important part of the water program of the area is the complete soil- and water-conservation program being carried on through the Soil Conservation Service. Under this program, farmers are practicing complete water-conservation methods and cropping systems in the dry-land areas primarily to make water go in where it falls. Pastures are contour-furrowed for the same purpose, and it is possible to trap most of the water that falls on the land. It has been estimated that if all the water that falls on the Dust Bowl area were to be absorbed by the soil through the complete carrying out of these conservation plans, a sufficiently increased production of grass and crops could be made to support an additional 21,000 farm families in the area. The full and complete development of water is a goal of the Department of Agriculture and the State agencies working in this area. Complete water development will bring about security for farm families and the proper use of land.

Revegetation trials.—Throughout a large portion of the region it is obvious that the goal is to get the land back into grass, which was its original native state. This problem is not as easy as it may seem, complicated as it is by soil blowing and lack of sufficient moisture, in most localities, to germinate the grass seed or, even after it is germinated, insufficient moisture to carry the seedling plant to the point where the roots can take a permanent hold. The enthusiasm of the greater part of the population of these Western States for the 30 years preceding 1934 with respect to wheat growing resulted in the neglect of experimental work regarding grass. Thus at a time when the country was suddenly faced with the problem of returning vast acreages to grass, there was a decided lack of information for this area on methods of establishing native grass cover on lands that had been plowed up. Added to that was the difficulty of getting adequate seed supplies of these native grasses. Experimental work is now being carried on rather extensively in State and Federal experiment stations and through various research projects of the Soil Conservation Service. The Bureau of Plant Industry is doing some good research work on blue grama grass at the Woodward (Okla.) Experiment Station, and on buffalo grass at the Hays (Kans.) Experiment Station. Various grasses are being tried at the joint Soil Conservation Service-Colorado Agricultural College Experiment Station at Cheyenne Wells, Colo. Other trials are in progress at stations at Goodwell and Lawton, Okla.; Garden City, Kans.; Fort Collins and Akron, Colo.; Dalhart, Amarillo, Spur, Chillicothe, and Big Springs, Tex.; and Tucumcari and Clayton, N. Mex. Experiments on large-scale revegetation work are being tried out at Dalhart, Tex., by the Soil Conservation Service in an attempt to tie down some hazardous sand dunes in that area which have grown out of abandoned blow fields. An interesting project on a practical scale is also being carried out at Caddoa, Colo., where the Government has found it necessary to stabilize immediately some sand dunes there in connection with the relocation of the main line of the Santa Fe Railroad to allow completion of the Caddoa flood-control dam. The experiments so far have demonstrated the extreme difficulty of getting grass reestablished, particularly under drought conditions and on a basis where it could be handled by the ordinary farmer, considering the value of the grass to his agricultural economy after it is established. Further information regarding revegetation experiments may be found by reference to Research in the Establishment of Grass, by D. A. Savage, exhibit F, and Natural and Artificial Revegetation in the Southern Great Plains, by Sydney H. Watson, exhibit G,[1] both submitted with this report.

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Health service.—The Farm Security Administration, in an effort to improve the low standards of health among the low-income farmers in their group, have instituted a cooperative medical service program. Briefly, the plan consists of pooling the funds of these low-income families and turning them over to the local medical association for administration. During the fiscal year ending July 1, 1940, approximately one-third of the medical services in operation in region 12 paid their bills in full. The fee schedule is left in the hands of the medical profession and is on the average about 25 percent lower than that usually charged. In the other two-thirds of the medical services in operation last year the average paid the physician was between 70 and 75 percent. At the present time some 5,700 farm families in region 12 are enabled through this plan to secure full medical service in contrast to their previous situation where medical aid was called only in extreme emergencies. More than two-thirds of these 5,700 families live in counties where the medical program includes other services besides the services of a general practitioner and have available to them hospital service, surgeon service, and in many cases drugs and emergency dental service. This more or less complete emergency medical program is furnished those families at an average of $30 per family per pear, $1 of which is set aside for administrative purposes and the rest applied to the medical needs of the family.

III. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

Because of the variations in conditions with respect to soil types, rainfall, and various climatic and economic factors, it is not possible to draw a definite pattern in a few words showing what the ideal situation should be throughout the area; however, certain general conclusions can be drawn from experiences in the past and from research gathered by the various agencies since the occurrence of the drought.

In general, farms, to be set up on an economical basis, must be larger in acreage than they heretofore have been. In fact, most of them must be combination livestock and feed-producing farms, with a limited acreage in grain. Wheat alone cannot be relied upon as a cash crop for this area. In certain areas within the Dust Bowl region, where rainfall and soil conditions permit, the continued growing of wheat as the principal crop is still possible where water conservation is emphasized and erosion-control practices are used to prevent blowing.

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[1] Exhibits held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

The acreage of the ideal family size livestock farm can be deduced in more or less general terms from experience gained to date by United States Department of Agriculture workers. A foundation herd of 60 to 75 head of range cattle is needed to support a family. Most of the range land in the area will require 30 to 40 acres to support one head. Thus one might say that from 1,800 to 3,000 acres would be required for the average livestock farm in the Dust Bowl area. A survey by the Farm Security Administration of 71 of the 367 unit reorganization loans made by the end of 1939 showed an average of 2,059 acres per reorganized farm.

Erosion control.—Farming methods that will prevent soil blowing should be practiced on all farms in the five-State area. Soil conservation districts or proper legislation which would require each farmer to abide by the rule of the majority are desirable throughout most of the area, as the neglect of one farm makes it a hazard to other farms in the locality that are well managed.

The proper soil-erosion control practices would include terracing where necessary, strip cropping, border planting, blank listing, farming on the contour in all cases, and pasture furrowing in certain areas as well as proper management of crop residues.

Reorganization of existing units would of course be necessary to place farmers on an economical basis.

Larger school districts and county boundaries would be a part of the reorganization program. Adjustments such as these would naturally be made according to suggestions of land-use planning committees in the counties concerned.

Management of all the land would be somewhat rigidly controlled, by legislation or by some sort of unified management, to prevent the recurrence of a similar situation if the country should again receive increased moisture. The form this management should take might vary according to recommendations of local land-use planning committees.

Perhaps rural zoning provides the ideal arrangement for assuring the proper use of the land after it is classified. State legislation enabling county units to zone their rural lands for proper use could accomplish this; or legislation already exists which will permit soil-conservation districts to exercise such control if voted in by members of the district. At the same time the policy of all public as well as private lending agencies should be guided by the use-capability classification of the lands. Likewise, assessment of rates by taxing units should be consistent with this classification.

IV. WHAT FUTURE DEVICES AND FUNDS ARE NEEDED

A. New facilities

Increased industries.—A large scale movement is apparently in process to decentralize the large industries of the Nation as a means of strengthening the defenses of the country. In line with that policy, steps should be taken to encourage the location of some industries in the drought areas. Climatic conditions for workers are the most healthful in the world throughout most of the area, particularly in regard to the prevention of tuberculosis or other pulmonary diseases. The area is well isolated from the sea coasts. Sufficient underground water is available for industrial needs. Natural gas is available in large quantities for fuel. The location of such industrial plants in this area could serve to take care of a great deal of the surplus population.

Rural housing.—In the process of reorganizing the farm units, and the school and road facilities, many shifts are being made in the location of the farmsteads. A survey of 52 counties in this area in 1936 showed a total of 23,364 occupied houses of which 8,522 were classed as "fair" and 6,446 as "poor"; and of 7,810 unoccupied houses, 3,462 were "in ruins." (See exhibit C.[1])

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Allowing for deterioration since the 1936 survey and assuming that the 52 counties were typical of the whole Dust Bowl area, it is estimated that at least 12,000 of the farm homes now being used are unsatisfactory for human occupancy and should be replaced. Based on a cost of $2,000 per house, this would mean that $24,000,000 would be needed for rural housing in the immediate Dust Bowl area, comprising about 117 counties in the five States.

In many cases of reorganized units new houses are required. Various estimates indicate that approximately half of the reorganized farms would require new houses. Any rural housing program that might be undertaken in this area should start first with the reorganized units. Such a program might be handled through the United States Housing Authority, which is already authorized to do this work.

Legislation.—There should be instituted adequate legislation to properly control all the land after it is reorganized and revegetated according to land classification patterns. Whether this legislation should take the form of enabling laws that would permit local organizations to enforce a somewhat rigid pattern of land use, or whether it should be through State zoning laws, or whether the objective should be accomplished through soil-conservation districts is a matter that can best be determined by those fostering this program in the local areas. However, the chief point to be remembered is that this legislation should be sufficiently rigid and sufficiently permanent to make it difficult for over-optimistic communities to reverse the policy during short periods of favorable conditions. Legislation should also be promoted for controlling the use of underground water to prevent the recurrence of such situations as that to be found in the Hereford area in Texas where too lavish use of the underground irrigation water supply indicates early depletion of the supply for the whole area.

Revegetation of those lands classified as suitable only for grass should be carried out at a greater speed than is now being attained. As mentioned previously, the cost of this work makes it prohibitive for the average farmer to perform. However, since the revegetation of these lands is a thing of benefit to the community and the region as a whole, it would not be inconsistent with present policies to subsidize the farmers efforts in this respect. In other words, the Government could well afford to make the revegetation work a subject for a rural works program and provide the farmers with seed and wages for their labor expended in revegetating lands on their farms as well as on adjacent lands which are not under any particular farm unit. Mr. Watson estimates that there are from "six to eight million acres of land in the Southern Great Plains in need of regrassing, including land now in cultivation, or formerly cultivated, and denuded range lands."

Rural-works program.—A rural-works program, embodying the matter of revegetation, water and soil conservation, the development of water facilities, and other useful rural projects such as road construction and maintenance should be set up to provide supplemental income to farmers while they are reestablishing the grass and otherwise reorganizing their farm business. This program could also assist farm laborers who are needed during short seasons in the area.

The adjustments suggested above are absolutely necessary for establishing this area on a sound economic basis commensurate with the minimum standard of living to which rural people are entitled. Yet after these adjustments are made there will be many farm people still in the area who are unable to find farms. Some of those people are now complicating attempts to bring about needed adjustments. As long as they remain in the area under present conditions they are a distinct liability, not only because of their inability to support themselves but because their presence interferes with the proper organization of the land they are on. Inasmuch as that land may be farmed one year and abandoned the next, it increases the hazards of wind erosion and the scattering of weeds.

The leaders in this area are extremely aware of the fact that they cannot solve their land-use problems until a means is found for caring for these families and the entrance of such families into the area on impossible farming units is checked.

Migratory camps.—It is imperative that a means be found for caring for these families in such a way that their entrance into a community will be placed on a sounder basis. The following is suggested as a means of doing this. Inasmuch as this surplus population is not the responsibility of agriculture entirely, and inasmuch as the location of these families creates problems with reference to schools and roads and other community facilities used by both rural and urban residents, a twofold program should be worked out in which the migrant problem is provided for under the joint responsibility of urban and rural people. This can be done by the establishment of a combination of migrant camps and garden farms at suitable locations. The Government would purchase the land and establish the camps with either tents or houses in sufficient numbers to take care of the migratory laborer seeking work in the area. Such camps would consist of sanitary facilities and bare essentials for housing, and would contemplate that the migrgant would remain there only through the labor season in that locality and then would move on. The second step in stabilizing this sector of the population could be taken in these same areas by providing adequate housing at a nominal cost for the families who could obtain part-time employment in the community. These part-time workers would be expected to produce a certain amount of their living from garden, chickens, and livestock. They would be expected to establish themselves in homes of their own when the amount of employment they obtain justifies the shift. In this way it would be certain that the migrant or low-income family was at least adequately housed or sheltered. Their efforts to provide for their families would be supplemented by relief agencies when necessary.

This plan is particularly to be recommended since it is flexible, and at times when work is plentiful in the community these part-time homes would serve as the means of bringing in new families as expansion of opportunities warranted. The whole movement should be under the Farm Security Administration, cooperating with local relief agencies and local employment bureaus. (NOTE.—Migratory Labor Survey in Southern New Mexico, exhibit J.[1])

B. Increasing present facilities

Land classification.—As pointed out earlier in this report, the problem of classifying the land with regard to its potentialities is the first and fundamental step in bringing about the stabilization of both the people and the land in the Dust Bowl area.

Normally, the first step in this work is the land-use capabilities survey made by the Soil Conservation Service. Increased personnel is needed by the Soil Conservation Service to accomplish this work in the most expeditious manner.

The second step is that performed by county land-use planning committees. The educational work in aiding these committees to do their job is carried on by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Extension Services. Increased personnel for this work would expedite its completion.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the need for completing the land-classification work, because only after this is done can other efforts be properly integrated into a permanent plan for stabilizing the area. Anything that will speed up this work is strongly recommended.

Unit reorganization.—Unit reorganization work is proceeding as rapidly as possible under the limitations imposed by the present ownership pattern in the area. There are several programs which if properly carried forward will expedite adjustments in this connection. These are (1) tenant purchase; (2) Government land purchase; and (3) tenure improvement work.

Tenant purchase.—The tenant purchase program authorized under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act provides an excellent device for setting up reorganized units if it were not for the extreme limitations of the funds. For example, in the 3 years that this program has been in operation, only 111 loans totaling $998,393 have been made in the Dust Bowl. When this is compared with the fact that 416 units have been reorganized under the Farm Security Administration rural rehabilitation program, it is easy to see that unit reorganization cannot wait upon the tenant program at the present rate at which funds are being made available.

The Lee-Jones farm tenant bill as it has been proposed in Congress would be a desirable way to speed up this work without the expenditure of large sums of Government money. This bill authorizes the financing of farm purchases through mortgage insurance with the same general policies covering the program as those now carried under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.

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[1] Exhibit held in committee files. See footnote, p. 1761.

Government purchase of land.—The purchase of land by the Government, which was started under the Resettlement Administration and continued by the Soil Conservation Service, has been accepted by most Government authorities as a necessity in bringing about proper reorganization of the Dust Bowl. The amount of land which should be purchased may be debated variously. Some hold that all of the land should be purchased by the Government; others feel that the purchase of key tracts, which means particular lands that are now disturbing local areas by blowing, would serve the purpose. Even though following the system of purchasing key tracts, a great amount of work still remains to be done. This is shown by comparisons in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles of the amount of land already purchased with that which the Soil Conservation Service estimates should be purchased in carrying out the policy of acquiring key tracts. In the Oklahoma Panhandle, 15,221 acres have been purchased, whereas it is estimated that 370,000 acres should be purchased. In the Texas Panhandle, 76,650 acres have been purchased, whereas estimates indicate that 2,700,000 acres should be acquired. In other words, in these two States a total of 91,871 acres have been or are in the process of being purchased by the Government, in comparison with 3,070,000 which should be purchased. The average cost of land which has heretofore been purchased for such purposes varies between $2 and $4 per acre. Taking the maximum of $4 per acre, the total amount of $12,280,000 is needed for the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles.

Similar purchases are of course needed in the adjacent areas of New Mexico, Kansas, and Colorado.

The tenure improvement program.—This is another important phase of the work which will aid toward unit reorganization. It is possible to write leases that are favorable to the operator and landlord alike; in fact, leases may be almost as satisfactory to the operator as land ownership under many circumstances. One difficulty in reorganizing units is the unwillingness of many landlords to give leases for more than 1 year. Any lease, to give equitable and just consideration to the tenant should include provisions for reimbursing him for any permanent improvements he may make on the place. This matter of improving tenure relations between landlords and tenants through the writing of equitable leases is largely a matter of education and is being fostered through the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the State extension services, as well as the Farm Security Administration.

Soil conservation districts.—Soil conservation districts now cover a large portion of the land in the five-State area; however, there is still continued demand from local people to spread this program and the technicians responsible for the organization work are proceeding as rapidly as possible with the help available.

If the farmers request it, soil conservation districts should be spread to cover every acre of land, particularly in the Dust Bowl area, as a means of speeding up the revegetation and soil and water conservation work.

Added to this is the fact that soil conservation districts now provide the only satisfactory means of maintaining proper use of the land after it is revegetated and reorganized. In other words, soil conservation districts have the power to prevent the plowing up of grasslands. Unless some other form of legislative control is developed to replace this, it is highly desirable that soil conservation districts be developed and continued in order to assure the permanent stabilization of land after it is reorganized and revegetated.

Water facilities.—While the amount of money available for water facilities loans in this area this fiscal year has not yet been determined, it seems certain that it will not exceed $500,000. Compare this with an estimate by the Soil Conservation Service that $160,612,367 is needed in region 6 to bring about the full realization of the potential water resources. Of this amount $4,633,977 is needed in Oklahoma and $41,476,097 in Texas, and the balance in the other States of the region. It is vital to the welfare of this area that the potential water resources be developed to their maximum capacity.

Health services.—The health program being fostered by the Farm Security Administration for low-income farm families who constitute a large majority of the farm population in this area is urgently needed. Through the cooperative efforts of the medical associations set up under this program, these families are enabled to avail themselves of medical facilities which they would otherwise be denied. Further spread of this program is sometimes limited by misunderstanding in the minds of local medical organizations. It is believed that education will eventually bring about a complete coverage of the area under this program.

Inventories and research.—In moving forward with any agricultural program in this area it is of vital importance to have complete information on the problems which are being approached. This was pointed out to some extent in the discussion of land-classification studies. Inventories of resources in the area, human as well as physical, are constantly being gathered by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. However, because of limitations of funds, these inventories and research projects often must be carried on on a sampling basis, whereas in many instances it would be to the best interests of the country to have this work done on a thorough basis for the whole area. Limitations of funds available for this type of work often proves a serious handicap, and an effort should be made to strengthen and expedite this research and inventory work.

Coordination of activities.—The unification and coordination of all Department of Agriculture programs must be maintained in order to achieve the utmost benefits from the operation of each. This type of thing is illustrated by the special Agricultural Adjustment Administration program, discussed under section II of the report. Under this plan the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments are made in such a way as to promote the soil- and water-conservation practices and encourage the farm organization practices recommended by the other agencies of the Department of Agriculture and by the State extension services.

In other words, the agricultural problems of the southern Great Plains must be approached on a united front.

TESTIMONY OF EDWIN R. HENSON—Resumed

Mr. Curtis. When we complete this Nation-wide hearing and go to make our report we are going to have to rely quite a great deal upon our printed record, but I want you at this time to review the factors which have contributed to this mass out-migration and give us a description of the present situation.

RAINFALL RECORD, SOUTHERN GREAT PLAINS, 1870–1940

Mr. Henson. Representing the 117 counties of the Plains section, we do have quite a little bit of evidence on the people in that area, the use of land, the use they have been making of their land, the adjustments, and the general financial and agricultural problems of the last 10 years. That land area represents about 50,000,000 acres of land. It is true that we have made some errors in its use; it has been variously estimated that we have plowed, of that 50,000,000 acres, about six to eight million acres that ought never to have been plowed; it should have been left in grass; but you can understand the reason when you follow through the development of our section out there, which started back in 1890 under the homestead plan and with considerable promotional development our settlers rolled into that area and took up homesteads. Every time since 1890 that we have had a drought or extreme periods of low prices people have moved out of there. Now, all of this time, until in the 1930's, when these people moved out, others came in and took their places, so our statistics, while they show we did fall off and pick up—our statistics largely missed the fact that we have had people moving out of that area in dry times heretofore.

Mr. Curtis. May I interrupt at that point for a question?

Mr. Henson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How far back do your rainfall records go in Oklahoma?

Mr. Henson. I think about 1870 or 1880; we have some records further back on a few stations, beyond that time.

Mr. Curtis. What is the comparison of rainfall from 1880 to 1940, as it compares to the rainfall in the last 10 or 15 years?

Mr. Henson. The average over that long period of time has been about 16 or 17 inches in the extreme western part of the State, and in the last 10 years it never has been up to that average; it has been quite markedly off in recent years.

Mr. Curtis. Does it have the appearance of a cycle that is going to come back, or is that entirely speculative?

Mr. Henson. I think that is entirely speculative.

Mr. Curtis. Now, in that connection, do you have some land that is just sort of on the border line, usually it has almost enough rain for a crop but yet not quite, but through the years has done fairly well; do you have some of that land in your territory?

Mr. Henson. A great portion of our area is of that kind.

Mr. Curtis. Now, referring to that land, when your land was new and possessed virgin qualities and all the plant food and moisture that had been stored up through the ages, could that land produce crops on less rainfall than it can now?

Mr. Henson. There is no doubt but that it could.

Mr. Curtis. So some land that has been considered favorable for certain types of dry farming in the past will almost have to be considered arid or out of cultivation in the future?

Mr. Henson. With the experience that it has gone through; yes.

Mr. Curtis. You may proceed.

FEDERAL AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS IN DROUGHT-STRICKEN AREAS

Mr. Henson. The point I wanted to make there is, certainly we have had these shifts of population matched by the inroads of new people rolling over that area until about the 1930's, when the new entrance into the area began to fall off and the loss of people continued. I might say this, that is 1931 we got one of the finest wheat crops we ever had over that whole area; the price was from 30 cents to 36 cents a bushel and it was just as though we had no wheat crop at all, so far as the farmers were concerned.

The Chairman. What was the average yield?

Mr. Henson. On these 22 counties it averaged about 16 bushels per acre.

The Chairman. That was in 1931?

Mr. Henson. That was in the year 1931. Now, our people in that section would take a calamity like that and would go on because they primarily believe in that country, as I do. It was followed, however, by drought, and the land that we plowed up that we should not have plowed up started to blow, and in the 1934 and 1935 period, I don't need to describe it; at that time many farm families did move out of the area. A good many of the folks in that area will tell you that a good many that did not belong moved out. Those that belonged stayed there. Now, into that situation was thrown our agricultural programs that went far toward affecting any outward migration and held the people in the area fairly well. The triple A program and the Farm Security program, the Soil Conservation and Extension Services and all did hold people in that area, and those people out there will tell you that if it hadn't been for those programs many of those counties would have been abandoned. People were not particularly friendly to us because of the fact that there has been some aspects of the programs that we could not ideally adapt to a situation such as that, but in general those folks who belonged in the area started to work; they started to work on the department to make over certain of those programs so that they more nearly met the needs of that situation out there. The triple A program is a good example. It has been accused, in that section, of stimulating tractor development and displacing people from the farms, and in actual performance perhaps has been guilty of that to a certain extent. It is not guilty in its administration because of the fact that it is a violation of the rules and regulations for the triple A program to be used in a way that one man crowds another off his holdings. But the triple A came along at a time when we were normally moving through a drought development and everybody believed that efficient production was necessary in that area and desired it, and still does. But the fact that the triple A program in that particular area did make it more easy for a man to expand his holdings caused it to come in for a great deal of criticism. The triple A met that by writing into its regulations things to prevent that and that is the only reason for that sort of thing happening, because people locally in the county wanted it that way—that is, if they do not want it that way, they have all the authority and power and strength to move in that direction, and in our section they are moving. A group of aroused farmers in Sherman County, Tex., Greeley County, Kans., and Quay County, N. Mex., have said, "We want every penny of that money to be used to make our country a better place in which to live, and we are going to ask the triple A for that," and they got the consent to take all the money that went to the county and not allow it on the basis of wheat but to pay it to the farmers for carrying out a water-conservation plan and things like that, a number of water developments and sound land-use developments that would make that place a place to live, and it was not a desire for money that drove Greeley County to do that, but a fear that they would have to go still further in the abandonment of land in that area. The Farm Security program and several others have met the same sort of thing.

WATER RESOURCES

Mr. Curtis. That is all contained more or less in your statement, I want to ask you a few more questions. Speaking for myself only, and not for the entire committee, I take the view that farm legislation, as well as many other types of legislation, is evolutionary and if we are honest and fair we must recognize that before we go any further, and we must also recognize what improvements have been made. We have heard some instances in every hearing we have had where there has been a tendency, perhaps, by the landlord to want to secure all those Government payments and he has eliminated some help and tenants to that end. Those are facts which will have to be faced in the future, but I want to get a little more of this picture in my mind. In the northern Great Plains where we have just come from holding our hearing in Lincoln, and with which I am more familiar, in addition to the mass migration problem our local problem is primarily drought. Now, the counties that you serve had a marked outward migration—loss in population. In what percent of those is drought one of the predominant factors?

Mr. Henson. In all of them, all over the area, in this particular year in all of our area drought is one of the predominant factors.

Mr. Curtis. You take the view that some of that land, for the permanent good of everyone, will have to support a fewer number of people, in some instances?

Mr. Henson. That is right.

Mr. Curtis. And, that this outward migration you have had in some cases was a justified thing and perhaps best in the long run, is that your view?

Mr. Henson. Not in the long run. With complete water development in the area, that is, making all the water that falls in that area stay in the area.

Mr. Curtis, You anticipated my next question. To what extent are the water resources in this drought territory that you serve developed and utilized?

Mr. Henson. To a very small extent, but an aroused public conscience and a feeling that it is worth while is forwarding that program very rapidly; farmers are getting into that thing in earnest.

Mr. Curtis. In the Texas drought territory there is a possibility of further water development, do they have streams and available water?

Mr. Henson. Yes; the water development over all our area is going to be to level Texas over with contours to make the water go in where it falls on the land. The amount of new irrigated land will depend on underground water and in a few places where we can trap surface water and then irrigate from that.

Mr. Curtis. There are so many demands upon the Federal Government, as well as upon the State and local governments, these days because of the distress of the people in this area that I like to test every proposal on the proposition of whether it will help people to help themselves or whether it will just take care of them during their temporary distress. Do you feel that money spent in reclamation, all types of water conservation, pump irrigation work plus those types of farming that will hold what water we have, contribute to that end, that is, to a permanent solution?

Mr. Henson. Yes, sir.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Curtis. Now, referring to the paper you have submitted here, I have noticed that you have made some specific recommendations to meet this situation, and I am very, very much interested in what you have had to say in that regard. In the first place, you say farms should be set up on an economic basis. Just in a few words, will you elaborate on what you mean by that?

Mr. **Henson**. I mean that there should be a proper balance between livestock and grass and crop products on the land so that normally the man will receive what we would class as an adequate income for a moderate standard of living in the area.

1. REVALUATION OF LAND ON BASIS OF PRODUCTION

Mr. **Curtis**. Do you feel that we are going to have to face a decision as to what is the true value of land in order to make farming pay?

Mr. **Henson**. I certainly do.

Mr. **Curtis**. It is a very difficult question. Here is an individual who struggled for years and that has a rather high mortgage, and for anyone, whether a public official or private official, to say that the price of land should come down, seems very cruel to that individual. Yet, over here we have an army of young men coming out of our Smith-Hughes high schools and our departments of agriculture whose places in the sun are on the farms and they should be able to buy land at what it is worth on the basis of production, and you have the decision between those two propositions to make, concerning the future of our farming territory. Do you have any comment to make on which direction you think it should go?

Mr. **Henson**. Over most of our area I feel there has been a speculative value in land and I feel in general in this area, Oklahoma, that we are inclined to get our land values for agricultural purposes mixed up with the hopes for oil, and certain speculative developments.

Mr. **Curtis**. And in my country with the hopes for rain—go ahead.

Mr. **Henson**. The general concept of land values of businessmen and too many farmers is one thing that I think is going to be upset completely when we really understand the situation.

Mr. **Curtis**. Land, in addition to that portion on which a person resides and which is his home, is merely a means of production and its value should be based on what it can produce?

Mr. **Henson**. What it can produce; that is right.

2. EROSION CONTROL

Mr. **Curtis**. Your next point is farming methods to prevent soil blowing, and so on; I think you have mentioned that?

Mr. **Henson**. Yes.

Mr. **Curtis**. Are the Smith-Hughes agricultural courses in the high schools making a contribution toward that?

Mr. **Henson**. I think they are.

Mr. **Curtis**. And how many agricultural colleges do you have in your territory?

Mr. **Henson**. Five.

Mr. **Curtis**. And then the Soil Conservation and these other agencies are all represented?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. In that regard, do you have any comment to make as to whether there is any duplication or whether there are any gaps that we aren't reaching?

Mr. HENSON. I would say that there are. I think potentially our program can cover our entire problem, especially in that western area. I think that we have not as vigorously attacked certain phases of the problem as we need to, but we need farm cooperation in numerous ways, help in the way of an agricultural bloc, to do the things that need to be done.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it primarily an educational matter or is it one that will have to be obtained by using the benefits, that we have as financial inducements?

Mr. HENSON. It is primarily an educational matter. Could I digress here to say this?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. HENSON. At first our farm committees in our section discovered about two or three or four hundred extra families that they thought ought to move out of the county. Now, they know they could be cared for and the idea of moving them out tends to disappear as they go on with the program. They want to help that family to establish itself, perhaps in the area, but at least in the vicinity. At first I am afraid they would have liked to kick them out, but at the present time they have become much more humane and are considering other forms of development, perhaps intensification of irrigation, that might increase the number that could stay there. I think that will come with increased educational efforts, and particularly with the study by the farmers of their own problems. I feel that they are the ones that are going to solve the thing in the end.

Mr. CURTIS. An understanding of the problem and a certain amount of scientific knowledge plus a willingness to do and a hope in the future is the greatest motivation that the farm population can have in that regard?

Mr. HENSON. That is right.

3. RURAL ZONING

Mr. CURTIS. Now, in connection with farm control and planning, you make the suggestion that this perhaps might be done by rural zoning. We won't go into that in detail, but if we ever approach such a thing how large a unit of control do you think they should have, would it be a county or less than a county or a State or will it be a zoning that ignores the boundaries of the State?

Mr. HENSON. In my own mind zoning and the reclamation of land ought to be no broader than the folks living in that area are aware of the problem; if it were community it would be better. Just to illustrate: Greeley County, the farmers in that county are frightened, scared that some absentee owners are going to plow up 60,000 acres more grass land because they can immediately make more money off that than they can by leaving it in grass. It isn't in units so that it can be used now and they would like some way of holding that land in grass.

4. INCREASE OF INDUSTRIES

Mr. Curtis. Maybe we ought to get some old cowhands of the old days and go out there and barricade that section. You make another point here about increased industries to absorb part of the surplus population. I am glad you have mentioned that because, after all, our industrial economy and our agricultural economy are very close together, are they not?

Mr. Henson. They are.

Mr. Curtis. And there is much territory where they have an occasional poor crop but if there are industries that can use their services, the people from the farms can go away and work periodically and return to the farm and the farm is held together and is still home. What particular industries, that have not been developed, do you think have a future place in the southern Great Plains area?

Mr. Henson. I don't know that I could outline definite industries. There are manufacturing industries, the heavy equipment; certainly we are in the area that uses the tractors and large-scale drills and things of that kind, and we would like for some of that heavy industry to come out there, but we are not too hopeful of that. Development in the oil industry could be related to agriculture, teamed up with agriculture. We, in agriculture, feel that we carry the reserve; we have some relation, at least, to the reserve oil supply. A combination with such industrial development on a part-time basis might be adjusted to where industry could support a part of the population. We, in agriculture, do not feel we should carry the whole load.

Mr. Curtis. Now, when we consider the northern Great Plains and the southern Great Plains, extending from Canada down through the Dakotas, Nebraska, parts of Wyoming and Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, we take a strip right down through the geographical center of the United States, do we not?

Mr. Henson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Are there many arguments why that territory should be further surveyed in relation to national-defense industries?

Mr. Henson. We certainly think so.

Mr. Curtis. Because of our quick transportation from there they can serve all points of the country?

Mr. Henson. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. As well as being entirely removed from any danger of being damaged from outside?

Mr. Henson. Yes.

5. RURAL HOUSING

Mr. Curtis. I also have noted in your paper the suggestion of rural housing. I think everyone on this committee, as well as everyone within the sound of my voice, is agreed that we ought, everyone in America, to have just the best houses possible. Sometimes we disagree upon the manner in which these houses should be obtained, but I want to ask you this question: If those things can be accomplished that will enable the farmer to produce and those things can be accomplished that will enable him to sell at a just and fair market, will the rural housing problem solve itself?

Mr. **Henson.** In part, unless there is a development which inflates values. Take land values and interest charges—if they go up to take care of any increased production and increased price that the farmer has, he still has relatively the same market. He does it himself, but that has happened to us before.

Mr. **Curtis.** What are the types of people in the southern Great Plains, in your territory? Just tell the committee a little about that, their general background, average education, and so on.

Mr. **Henson.** I don't know that I can give that in great detail; they are people that moved from Oklahoma, Kansas, and on back east, into the area during the years back, during the early times. In 1916 I came very near homesteading in Baca County, Colo., myself. They are principally normal, hard-working citizens.

Mr. **Curtis.** If the people of the southern Great Plains are like the people of the northern Great Plains, and I am inclined to believe they are, they are fine, high-type, intelligent, hard-working citizens, and I have every reason to believe that the people of the southern Great Plains are just as fine as the people of the northern Great Plains?

Mr. **Henson.** I certainly feel that way.

Mr. **Curtis.** The point is, then, that if we attain those things that will enable those people to produce, we have done a great deal to solve the other things that you have suggested, have we not?

Mr. **Henson.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis.** If a young man has a reasonable fighting chance to own and hold a farm home, he is going to be quite anxious to practice good soil conservation and water conservation, isn't he?

Mr. **Henson.** That is true.

Mr. **Curtis.** I notice also that you suggest revegetation and useful rural projects such as road construction, things which all add into the picture, those are all in your statement and I am not going to take the time of the committee on them. I notice this further statement in your paper, a system of migrant camps and garden homes should be established at suitable locations. Tell the committee briefly why you take that view.

6. MIGRANT CAMPS AND GARDEN HOMES

Mr. **Henson.** In many of our counties we have farmers on entirely too small a unit. They cannot possibly make a living on that unit, that is out in the agricultural area where we have such small units, nor can the man, nor the man next door, organize his enterprise so that he is on a sound basis. Perhaps this man is on a 160-acre farm when 1,500 or 1,600 might be necessary for future development.

That puts in that community a man who must be supported by relief or grants or he must at least hold the land in some sort of use that is not in accord with the sound use of that land. That is one group of people that is the excess in agriculture now. Then, around a good many of our towns we have at the present time quite a number of farm families, I don't know the exact number at Amarillo or any of our towns in the area, but it runs up to an appreciable number. We, as American people, just don't like to see it, and the suggestion is that some place be provided for those folks to light and to start their work in the community while they are working in cotton or in the oil business, or whatever it is. Also, that they have sanitary facilities and some health possibilities, and perhaps if they start a part-time work in the community that they may be housed there by low-cost housing while they are fitting themselves into that community. If we have that and these people can come to that area and migrants can come into that area, many of our territories would expand and this would be a natural way of inducing or bringing people into the vicinity and it would also relieve the strain of getting them back or causing them to migrate to other places. I think those can be made factors that will avoid human distress such as we see around the country now.

Mr. CURTIS. This problem of interstate migration of destitute people, while it perhaps directly involves some 4,000,000 people moving about hunting a job or new location, and one-third of them being children, if we consider the area from which they leave, the very things which caused them to leave are affecting those who remain. When those people go to a certain place, on the west coast or elsewhere, and arrive in more numbers than there are jobs available, that affects the economic and social aspects and taxation of all the people out there?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. It is really a problem; instead of only the 4,000,000 people, perhaps 132,000,000 people are affected. It has two phases: one is the kind and humane and just care of the victims, and the other one is that which turns its attention toward the basic things in our agricultural and economic life that makes those things necessary. Now, with reference to migrant camps, I want to know your opinion as to what point can they be increased without being so attractive as to induce the lazy and indifferent to seek refuge in them, more or less permanently?

Mr. HENSON. I think if the planning of migrant camps is a cooperative thing by the community in which they are going to be established, the farm people in the area that have part-time employment for those folks, the Farm Security and the employment offices can locate those folks so that that doesn't take place.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all the questions I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Henson, I just want to see if you agree with me in this, that what you have been talking about, the facts contained in your statement, are really predicated on the proposition of keeping people home, isn't it?

Mr. HENSON. Yes.

The Chairman. Now, the causes of migration are many and varied; the solution will not be a single solution but will be as varied as the causes?

Mr. Henson. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. What you are talking about is keeping people home, which is very important, the Farm Security Administration has taken care of 500,000 families, that is, given them a loan, provided seed, a horse, or mule, or cow, and 85 percent of them are paying it back, but there are 800,000 still uncared for now. And these countless thousands on the roadside today are coming from all of the States of the Union, not only Oklahoma, and what are we going to do about that? There are really two approaches to that: one is the short-term approach, and the other the long-term. The short-term is how and what are they going to eat and how are they going to be received in other States when they arrive there?

Now, there arises in every State in the Union a barrier against the interstate commerce in human beings; they have raised it every year, and it might be interesting for you to know that the State of South Dakota has on its statute books the provision making it a penitentiary offense to import a destitute citizen into that State. We have no barriers against iron and coal, but we have these barriers against interstate commerce in human beings. What you are talking about is to keep them home, but we can't keep them all home because there is the worn-out soil and the mechanization and all those factors that caused them to leave, and we can't keep them all home.

Mr. Henson. That is true.

The Chairman. I think you have given us a very valuable paper here. Thank you very much.

Mr. Henson. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES W. DANIEL, KENTON, OKLA.

Mr. Parsons. Will you please state your name for the record?

Mr. Daniel. James W. Daniel.

Mr. Parsons. Mr. Daniel, we are very glad to have you with us this morning. You have heard the chairman announce the purpose of this committee is to try to get some facts with reference to this migration problem. We want you to feel perfectly at ease in answering the questions which we will propound to you. We are trying to get facts, we are having experts, college professors, sociologists, as well as victim witnesses, so-called, folks that have been on the move, to find out the reasons why they have been. Where were you born, Mr. Daniel?

Mr. Daniel. Texas.

Mr. Parsons. At what place?

Mr. Daniel. Stephens County, Crystal Falls.

Mr. Parsons. How old are you?

Mr. Daniel. 58.

Mr. Parsons. Are you married?

Mr. Daniel. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many children do you have?

Mr. **Daniel**. Ten.

Mr. **Parsons**. Where do you live now?

Mr. **Daniel**. At Boise City; well, I have moved this year out close to Kenton, on the river.

Mr. **Parsons**. What State?

Mr. **Daniel**. Cimarron County.

Mr. **Parsons**. Cimarron County, Okla.?

Mr. **Daniel**. Oklahoma.

Mr. **Parsons**. When did you go to Cimarron County?

Mr. **Daniel**. 1906.

Mr. **Parsons**. Did you go out to homestead land there?

Mr. **Daniel**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How much did you homestead?

Mr. **Daniel**. One hundred and sixty acres.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is what is termed as a quarter of a section?

Mr. **Daniel**. Yes.

Mr. **Parsons**. You homesteaded this land in 1906?

Mr. **Daniel**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How long were you on this homesteaded land?

Mr. **Daniel**. Until this year.

Mr. **Parsons**. You had been there for 34 years?

Mr. **Daniel**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. And how come you to leave this year?

Mr. **Daniel**. I just had to leave or do something; the drought, the winds, not enough rain, and with my family, I just couldn't make it.

Mr. **Parsons**. What was the type and character of the soil when you first homesteaded this land?

Mr. **Daniel**. Well, it was, where I lived, a kind of hard pan with buffalo grass.

Mr. **Parsons**. Did you have plenty of rainfall when you first homesteaded there?

Mr. **Daniel**. The first year we did, but the land was new. We turned the land over with an old sod plow and we would take a wash pan or a bucket of seed and about every third furrow we would plant the seed, and the land sealed over after the grain came up that year.

Mr. **Parsons**. It was good wheat land?

Mr. **Daniel**. We never tried wheat for several years.

Mr. **Parsons**. What did you grow?

Mr. **Daniel**. It was just mostly maize for several years.

Mr. **Parsons**. Did you grow any corn?

Mr. **Daniel**. In places; on the tight land we didn't. On the sand we grew some corn.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many acres did you have when you vacated last spring?

Mr. **Daniel**. Nine hundred.

Mr. **Parsons**. Had you been gradually accumulating land from year to year?

Mr. **Daniel**. Yes; I bought this land at two land sales.

Mr. **Parsons**. From your neighbors?

Mr. **Daniel**. No; from the State.

Mr. Parsons. Then you didn't take up the land of some neighbor that moved on somewhere else?

Mr. Daniel. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What did you pay an acre for this land that you bought from the State?

Mr. Daniel. Well, it was different prices.

Mr. Parsons. About an average of how much per acre?

Mr. Daniel. I bought it from $400 to $800 a quarter.

Mr. Parsons. A quarter or 40 acres?

Mr. Daniel. No; a quarter. This land I bought, remember, was kind of in a break.

Mr. Parsons. What did you grow in addition to flash crops on this 900 acres; did you farm all of it?

Mr. Daniel. No; 300 acres.

Mr. Parsons. What did you grow on that 300 acres?

Mr. Daniel. I tried most everything; wheat, in 1931 we got a good wheat crop but a low price.

Mr. Parsons. Did you plow up that land for wheat during 1916, 1917, and 1918, during the World War?

Mr. Daniel. I plowed part of it.

Mr. Parsons. How many bushels per acre did that yield in wheat?

Mr. Daniel. Well, there was a difference in years.

Mr. Parsons. Well, in a reasonably good wheat year?

Mr. Daniel. Oh, I judge about 12 or 15 bushels per acre; we have made as high as 30 bushels and down as low as, well you might say, as low as not worth harvesting as the years came along.

Mr. Parsons. Your experience for 34 years—33 years—was that there was less and less and less rainfall every year?

Mr. Daniel. Less and less, and more dust.

Mr. Parsons. No doubt that is very true. Do you think, in the light of 33 years of farming that acreage, that it ever should have been plowed at all?

Mr. Daniel. Mine shouldn't have.

Mr. Parsons. I assume that you have traveled over a large portion of Oklahoma and have seen a lot of this type and character of land. Is there a lot of it in Oklahoma?

Mr. Daniel. Quite a bit.

Mr. Parsons. Did you have a large number of cattle on this 900-acre farm?

Mr. Daniel. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You didn't do any grazing?

Mr. Daniel. Yes; I have had as high as 100 head of cattle, but I lost my grass.

Mr. Parsons. Do you think it is going to be a difficult proposition to get grass back on these plains?

Mr. Daniel. Well, close to this farm land it is because it is just killed; the winds went over the grass and killed it; burned it out in some places as far as a mile away from any farm. I don't believe, on the whole, that so far as the grass is concerned that the dry weather has killed the buffalo grass; but near the farms it has gone.

Mr. PARSONS. Hasn't the wind in a number of places taken the very best part of the topsoil away?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes; it is gone. In my little pasture, what cattle I have got haven't seen any grass practically for 6 or 7 years; all they got was just thistles and weeds.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you farm this with horses and mules, or did you finally buy a tractor and go in on a big scale?

Mr. DANIEL. I farmed with horses until 1929; in 1929 I bought a tractor.

Mr. PARSONS. How many head of horses and mules did it take to operate that farm?

Mr. DANIEL. I had about 10.

Mr. PARSONS. How come you to just throw up your hands and give it up and move out?

Mr. DANIEL. Well, I haven't given up; I only moved about 20 miles, but on the river.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you still own this land?

Mr. DANIEL. Well, the State owns it—not the State but the Federal Government; it is still in my name, but I don't own it.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you negotiate a loan on it?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. With the Federal land bank?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. For how much?

Mr. DANIEL. Oh, about $6,000.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you get that loan; back in 1916, 1917, or 1918?

Mr. DANIEL. Somewhere along there; several years back.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it during the World War that you got this loan?

Mr. DANIEL. No.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it afterward?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. When wheat was $2.20 a bushel and you could raise 12 or 15 bushels per acre, it was rather profitable to grow a lot of wheat, wasn't it?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. But when wheat got down to 31 cents it wasn't profitable, it wouldn't pay expenses, would it?

Mr. DANIEL. No; not at two bits a bushel.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, farmers generally throughout the United States, and I have seen lots of them—I did some farming after the World War myself—they had the idea that wheat and corn and everything else was going to be as high as a cat's back from then on. They never thought about the reaction that was going to follow. What are you doing now?

Mr. DANIEL. Farming.

Mr. PARSONS. You are farming now?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. On rented land?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You say the farm is still in your name. Did you make the bank a deed to it or are they closing out on you?

Mr. Daniel. No; they haven't done nothing to it.

Mr. Parsons. Are you in default on your payments?

Mr. Daniel. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You just moved off and left it?

Mr. Daniel. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you intend to go back?

Mr. Daniel. It looks kind of hard to get back on a place like that.

Mr. Parsons. Well, there probably will be some fellow after the bank takes it over that will go out there and have some hopes that he will do better than you did?

Mr. Daniel. Yes; I rented the place to a young fellow.

Mr. Parsons. What rental is he to give you?

Mr. Daniel. One-fourth.

Mr. Parsons. How much land are you farming now on this place you have?

Mr. Daniel. About 200 acres, I judge.

Mr. Parsons. In the valley?

Mr. Daniel. Right on the river.

Mr. Parsons. What river?

Mr. Daniel. Cimarron.

Mr. Parsons. Bottom land, is it?

Mr. Daniel. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. That is bottom land that was made from the early days of the overflow?

Mr. Daniel. I suppose so.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of crops do you have there this year?

Mr. Daniel. Well, it is good, and I have also about right around 50 acres of hay land.

Mr. Parsons. What are you growing; corn?

Mr. Daniel. Corn and maize.

Mr. Parsons. What do you think your corn will make per acre?

Mr. Daniel. The corn ain't so good.

Mr. Parsons. Will it make 25 bushels per acre?

Mr. Daniel. Something like that, I judge.

Mr. Parsons. Have you ever read anything about so many people going out to California or did any of your neighbors go out that way?

Mr. Daniel. I know a few.

Mr. Parsons. Did you ever have any idea of going to California?

Mr. Daniel. Well, I didn't know what to do, I belonged there and I never went nowhere, I stayed; I seen them come and go, going to California.

Mr. Parsons. And coming back?

Mr. Daniel. And coming back.

Mr. Parsons. And they came back worse off than when they left?

Mr. Daniel. Yes; and then maybe try somewhere else.

Mr. Parsons. Well, of course, they have a wonderful climate in California?

Mr. Daniel. Well, we have one here.

Mr. PARSONS. It is a very fine climate here if it would just rain, isn't it?

Mr. DANIEL. I believe hell would be all right if there was plenty of water.

Mr. PARSONS. Are all the children living with you on the farm?

Mr. DANIEL. All but one; I have a married daughter.

Mr. PARSONS. That makes how many in the family?

Mr. DANIEL. Eleven, now.

Mr. PARSONS. Do they work on the farm, too; help you?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes; they help what they can.

Mr. PARSONS. It is quite a little problem getting enough food and clothing to feed and clothe that large a family?

Mr. DANIEL. It is on the farm.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you educating all the children?

Mr. DANIEL. I am trying to.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you sending any of them to high school or college?

Mr. DANIEL. I got a boy through high school last year; he isn't going to college; I couldn't send him.

Mr. PARSONS. How far is this farm from a high school?

Mr. DANIEL. Nine miles, 9 or 10, and I have got another boy starting to high school.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your plan or ambition for the future?

Mr. DANIEL. So far as my children, my ambition was to get them an education.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you ever tell your children that you would give them an education so they wouldn't have to work as hard as you did?

Mr. DANIEL. I never did tell the boys that because I thought work was good for them.

Mr. PARSONS. There never has been anything discovered that is as good for the human body as good hard, honest toil, has there?

Mr. DANIEL. No, sir; these people don't know what rest is; if you go out and work all day in the hay or something like that, you know what rest is.

Mr. PARSONS. And after all, that isn't as hard on the human body as running around and staying up all night and trying to rest the next day. The youth of today think they are having a hard time. What do you think about that?

Mr. DANIEL. About all I can say about them people that carouse around like that is that they live a hundred years in fifty and I would just have to live a hundred years.

Mr. PARSONS. Of all the millions of people that live on farms in the country most of them live to a pretty ripe old age, don't they?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You would be pretty contented out here on these Plains if you just had moisture, wouldn't you?

Mr. DANIEL. Moisture is the whole thing.

Mr. PARSONS. You don't have any intention of going out on the road, do you—you are going to stay anchored to that farm?

Mr. DANIEL. I am going to try to stay there. I have been anchored to it so far.

Mr. PARSONS. And you are going to stay there and try to grow good crops from now on?

Mr. DANIEL. I hope so.

The CHAIRMAN. What rent are you paying for the farm you are on now?

Mr. DANIEL. The hay is half; they furnish the mowing machine, a rake, and a man; of the crop I pay one-third; they gather their third or hire the gathering, so I figure it is better than one-fourth.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with that large rental, Mr. Daniel, what are your hopes to get back to the old farm or make it on this new farm?

Mr. DANIEL. Well, I can't make it on the old farm unless something is done; my land isn't good enough; I am close to the breaks and it is wheat land. This land I am on is sandy and on the sandy land they get along with less rain some way.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you remain on this rented farm; do you see any great hopes for you and your family in the future?

Mr. DANIEL. Well, if I had more cattle and more grass, there is some hopes.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you got any indebtedness besides the mortgage on this farm?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you got a farm-security loan?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes, sir; if I hadn't, I wouldn't be here.

Mr. PARSONS. How much is that farm-security loan?

Mr. DANIEL. It is better than $1,000. They have stayed with me.

Mr. PARSONS. They have a chattel mortgage on your cattle and farming equipment, I suppose?

Mr. DANIEL. Yes; and I am trying horses this year instead of the tractor.

Mr. PARSONS. You are leaving that tractor behind?

Mr. DANIEL. I have got to, where I am now, because it is too sandy.

The CHAIRMAN. You are to be complimented. I will say one thing—that you are a stayer, anyway, and I hope you have good luck.

Mr. DANIEL. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF J. H. YOUNGBLOOD, WACO, TEX.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Youngblood, will you please give your full name?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. J. H. Youngblood.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Waco, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a farmer?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Yes, sir; I am a farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your farm located?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Around Waco, central Texas.

The CHAIRMAN. How many acres do you operate?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. I have been operating about 12,000; I operate now about 5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What accounted for the reduction?

Mr. Youngblood. Well, I operated the bank farms for the bank.

The Chairman. That is farms that were foreclosed by the bank?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes, sir; about 7,000 acres.

Mr. Curtis. Now, by operating, do you mean you managed them and several tenants farmed them all or did the bank do the farming operations with hired labor?

Mr. Youngblood. We did both, depending on the farm and the type of farm.

Mr. Curtis. Was it half and half or did the bank do most of the farming?

Mr. Youngblood. On the big farms we operated them by hired labor and cleaned them up, and others we rented them out on thirds and some on fourths.

Mr. Curtis. When you took those over and farmed them by hired labor, how many families moved off?

Mr. Youngblood. Well, the farms were very poorly farmed, take for an illustration a 1,000-acre farm, I guess possibly 8 or 10 families moved off when we took it over.

The Chairman. Where did they go?

Mr. Youngblood. First one place and another. We used some of them as hired labor; those farms were practically solid in Johnson grass. These were foreclosed farms, and the farmers owed the bank and couldn't pay them and gave them the farm and the farm was usually mortgaged also to some loan company.

The Chairman. Could you give us the approximate number of farm foreclosures in Texas, say, in the last year?

Mr. Youngblood. No; I couldn't.

The Chairman. You are just limiting yourself to what you know of your own personal knowledge in your district?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes, sir.

CAUSES OF FAILURES ON FARMS

The Chairman. What were the causes of these failures on these farms?

Mr. Youngblood. There were two principal causes, in my opinion. One of them was too many people to support on that farm, they had more people on the farm than that farm would support and consequently when they borrowed the money to farm the land they were supporting more people than the income from that farm would support and they never could pay the money back; that was one reason. Now, the other reason, I am talking about the big farms now, was the wrong use of this land. The men who operated the farms, who owned the farms, hadn't made a close enough study of what that farm was fit for, you might say. We took over farms where it was taking, after checking it up, I am confident it was taking as much as 400 hours, I will say, possibly 250 hours to put in and care for the crop and possibly the picking would constitute about another 150 hours labor to make and gather one bale of cotton, and the time required was too great; consequently, the farm when the bale of cotton was sold wouldn't pay that expense and the bank lost the money because the bank put it up.

SOIL CONDITIONS

The CHAIRMAN. That land around that district about which you are testifying has indications of being worn out?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Some of it does, but it is not worn out there like you might think. I have one farm that I moved on in 1910 and I have the record of every year of the number of pounds of cotton produced, from 1910 until the present time, and for the last 5 years my production has been as great as it was the first 5 years, per acre.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you use many tractors?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Yes, sir; I use a good many tractors; mostly tractors.

The CHAIRMAN. What, on the average, does the tractor supplant in the terms of individual help?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Well, on a big farm it will take a 4-row general purpose tractor. On 1,000 acres we will use about 3 is what we will use and on the old style when we first started farming we had the 1-row cultivator and we would use about 20.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty men?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Yes, sir; we would have about 40 teams and have about 4 mules, well, we would have more than that, and with the tractor we would replace about two-thirds, I mean about four-fifths, of that type of labor, and the tractor plowed deeper and we possibly replaced 50 percent of the hoe bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is mechanization of farms on the increase in Texas?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What chance is there that these large farms will some day go back to family type farms?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. The chance is just in proportion to the income of that farm; that farm will have to produce more income in order to get the people, it has got to have enough income to support more people.

Mr. CURTIS. What is your average rainfall?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. About 34 inches.

Mr. CURTIS. That would drown them in Nebraska. What kind of soil do you have?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. On the plains we have black soil, and then we have some post oak sand.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of sand is that?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Very poor; the bank had a good many of those farms.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you raise on there?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. They attempt to grow cotton, but it is not practical.

Mr. CURTIS. Your black soil is a good black loam?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. It is a good tight heavy black land.

PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF LAND

Mr. CURTIS. With 34 inches of rain on this poor soil can a farm family raise vegetables for their home consumption?

Mr. Youngblood. We tried on some of the farms; we had some 25 or 30 families along in 1930 to 1932, I will say from 1930 to 1936 and 1937, and we had our home demonstration agents fix out on each of these farms a family budget, you might call it, and we bought canners and passed them around and we owned them but we passed them around and we tried to buy cans wholesale and we discovered that we were somewhat disappointed that even with 34 inches rainfall there were lots of the vegetables that didn't make like we thought they ought to; we didn't come out so well with it.

Mr. Curtis. I am referring to an individual family that has over a period of years given some time and effort to raising a garden. Is your soil such that with that rainfall you can produce a garden?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes; but you would have to produce too much one year to carry you over.

Mr. Curtis. What are your dry months?

Mr. Youngblood. July, August, and September.

Mr. Curtis. Do you ever have a shortage of feed for cattle, I mean a small number of cattle to provide milk and cream and butter and things for those families out on the farm?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes, sir; we had that in 1934, that was the last year.

Mr. Curtis. Well, you will have a year like 1934, where it is almost a Nation-wide drought?

Mr. Youngblood. Normally you don't, normally you can support a few cows and chickens on a farm. You will have enough feed to do that.

Mr. Curtis. Assuming you had a hard-working, intelligent, American family on those farms, they could produce a good deal of food, both in gardens and by dairy products, is that right?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes; I took several families into personal interest and gave them so many chickens and so many cows and then furnished them the gardens according to the home demonstration agent. She worked very particularly with me and even on the sandy post oak land they made a go of that. Under close supervision they were able to make a living and buy a car and things like that.

Mr. Curtis. It can be done?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes; even on the post oak land. We figured out and kept records and found that 20 hens brought more income than a bale of cotton at 10 cents. We kept the records, I had them keep an exact account, of course, the idea was that the bank out there had the farm and couldn't dispose of it. The plan was to work up each poor farm that way, first, work it out with a few individuals and then take it on, extend it as we learned. There was two families on poor post oak land that we got thoroughly worked out. After we got them started, of course, they put in more hens, possibly more than was necessary, because they got to making a little money.

Mr. Curtis. Chickens are still good eating regardless of the price?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And so on with eggs and butter and milk?

Mr. Youngblood. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The moral of that would be to increase the number of hens, would it?

Mr. YOUNGBLOOD. Yes, sir; the idea was to fix that family to where they could get out there on that place and make a decent living, not just an existence, but a decent living.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. NORRIS, CHILDRESS, TEX.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you state your name to the committee?

Mr. NORRIS. Robert F. Norris.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. NORRIS. Childress.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What State?

Mr. NORRIS. Texas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. NORRIS. Denton County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that in Texas?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you, Mr. Norris?

Mr. NORRIS. Fifty-nine.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Were you raised in Denton County?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What was that you said?

Mr. NORRIS. I said I was raised there and I stayed there until 1925, then I come to Hardeman County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was your father a farmer?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you ever own any farm land in Denton County?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did you leave Denton County, Mr. Norris?

Mr. NORRIS. The doctors told me to leave there on account of my health.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you go?

Mr. NORRIS. Hardeman County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is in Texas?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What part of Texas is Denton County in?

Mr. NORRIS. That is in the central part, north central.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And Hardeman County is farther west, is it?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; and farther north.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you stay in Hardeman County?

Mr. NORRIS. Two years and seven months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then where did you go?

Mr. NORRIS. Childress County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you have been in Childress County ever since?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I was in Cottle County 5 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You went to Hardeman County, Childress County, and Cottle County, and then back to Childress County?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever owned any land in any of those counties?

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you been a farmer all your life?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You farmed in every one of those counties when you were there?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you stayed pretty well on the farm, on the same farm, as long as you have stayed in each county?

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir; I have moved at different times.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When did you move last?

Mr. NORRIS. I moved from Cottle County 2 years ago and come back to Childress County.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, have you been on the same farm in Childress County ever since you have been back?

Mr. NORRIS. No; I am off the farm now; I am just living in a house on the farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are not farming now?

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. When did you quit farming for yourself?

Mr. NORRIS. This year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean last year was the last crop you made?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did you quit, Mr. Norris?

Mr. NORRIS. Most of the people know that the landlords want this rental money and the tenants don't want to give it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You mean the A. A. A. benefits?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did that happen in your case?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, it happened in a way. I was renting south of Childress on old man Joe Ray's place and he taken 30 acres of this conservation land and I was supposed to have it and I didn't know anything about it until I got my crop planted and I got my allotment and I seen I was 30 acres of land short and I didn't say anything to him for a few days. I waited until he come around and then I asked him about it and he said that they said I would have to change the allotment on that land and I said, "Who is they"? He said, "the committeemen," and I said, "The committeemen said you didn't have to do that," and I told him, "You just changed it for the sake of the rental money and so far as I am concerned, I didn't think you was that kind of a man but if you are that kind of a man, you can have possession of your land because I don't uphold that kind of business."

Mr. SPARKMAN. When was that?

Mr. NORRIS. Last spring.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But you stayed there and finished out the crop?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I gathered the crop on the place.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How big a farm did you have rented?

Mr. NORRIS. It was supposed to be 200 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the first trouble that came up between you and your landlord had to do with these farm benefits that he claimed he was entitled to and that you claimed you were entitled to?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, he didn't say that, but he taken this land and got the rental money on it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many different tenants did he have on that place?

Mr. NORRIS. He had four.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did any of the others leave?

Mr. NORRIS. All four of us left and he has got one of the tenant farmers working on the land, he said he could take this rental money and work his land himself.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What happened is that he changed from the tenant system to the self-operating system?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And one of the tenants stayed?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does he operate the farm mechanically with a tractor?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; he bought a new tractor.

Mr. CURTIS. How much land was involved?

Mr. NORRIS. I guess it was a section that was in cultivation or better.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Each one of you had about the same amount of land?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; there was five of us.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, that would be a thousand acres, how much of that was in cultivation?

Mr. NORRIS. Offhand, I would say about 700 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And all of you got off but the one that he kept to operate the tractor?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He is paying him wages, is he?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you move to?

Mr. NORRIS. North of Childress about a half a mile from the city limits on a farm that a fellow had rented, in order to get a house.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you pay for that house?

Mr. NORRIS. I didn't pay anything, he was a tenant farmer just like I was; if it was a landlord I would have to pay about $5 a month, that is what they usually charge.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But you don't pay anything for it?

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What do you do to make a living now?

Mr. NORRIS. Under the F. S. A. program I draw a grant and work some at what I can get; in most places they won't hire a man my age. They say that they won't hire a man my age, that I am too old, but I was doing it until I got put off the farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did I understand you to say you draw a grant?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is that?

Mr. NORRIS. From the Government.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand, but what kind of a grant?

Mr. NORRIS. Just a grant to take care of me.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Under the social security or old-age insurance?

Mr. NORRIS. The social security.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Or is it the farm security?

Mr. NORRIS. It is farm security; no, it is Federal loan security.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, how much does it amount to?

Mr. NORRIS. $16 a month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you get that every month in the year?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, I haven't; no, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long have you been drawing it?

Mr. NORRIS. It has been this year, this is the first grant I got; I got it through Mr. Coleman, he is the farm security man.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any children?

Mr. NORRIS. I have two at home; I have three children; two at home and one in the Army; I have two at home but just one lives at home, the other one is married.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the one at home a boy or a girl?

Mr. NORRIS. Girl, 17.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the other boy married?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir; he is a boy with a family; he is 25 years old.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, you have only one child at home, and that is a girl?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the girl work?

Mr. NORRIS. When she can get work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of work does she do?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, she has kept house for different ones.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What kind of place is this that you live on now; are there any other tenants there?

Mr. NORRIS. I moved from this place there at Childress to the Culbertson farm in Garden Valley.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are there any other tenants on that farm?

Mr. NORRIS. Not any tenants there where I am now.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is this the first time you have been without any farm?

Mr. NORRIS. When I wanted to farm; I worked some for wages at different times, not many times, but I have done some farm work too when I was doing that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the condition you have described to us typical of many others?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir; lots of others.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Lots of others are in the same fix you are in?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is this $16 a month you get sufficient to take care of you?

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, how much do you earn from your odd work?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, it is very little; sometimes I get to work for a week and sometimes it will be a month that I don't work.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about your daughter, how much does she earn?

Mr. NORRIS. Not much.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old is your daughter?

Mr. NORRIS. Seventeen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is she in school?

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How much schooling has she had?

Mr. NORRIS. Third grade.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Through the third grade?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long has it been since she went to school?

Mr. NORRIS. Two years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And she is not in school and doesn't contemplate going to school this year?

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is the health of the other members of your family good; is your wife living?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is her health good.

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your daughter's health, is it good?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, she is a weakly girl.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does your married son live anywhere near you?

Mr. NORRIS. No, sir; he lives at Texhoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that very far from you?

Mr. NORRIS. Well, Texhoma, you know, is right on the line of Oklahoma and Texas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Unfortunately, I don't know where Childress is and I don't know what the distance is; is it far or near?

Mr. NORRIS. It is about 200 miles.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, sir.

(Witness excused.)

PANEL TESTIMONY OF J. H. BOND, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR; ROBERT M. M'KINLEY, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR; E. H. BANKS, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR, TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, AUSTIN, TEX.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bond, will you give your full name to the reporter?

Mr. BOND. J. H. Bond.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. BOND. Austin, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your position?

Mr. BOND. Assistant director of the Texas State Employment Service.

The CHAIRMAN. And these men here are members of your staff?

Mr. BOND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will, please, give their names to the reporter?

Mr. BOND. Robert M. McKinley, farm placement supervisor.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you stationed?

Mr. MCKINLEY. Austin.

The CHAIRMAN. And you likewise?

Mr. BANKS. E. H. Banks, farm placement supervisor, Austin, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bond, in testimony in other hearings we have heard a great deal about the farm-placement service in Texas. Incidentally, it has been favorable reference to it. The statement submitted for the record will be received and entered here.

(The statement appears below.)

STATEMENT ON EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF MIGRATORY FARM WORKERS ORIGINATING IN TEXAS BY THE TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

ANALYTICAL OUTLINE

I. Background review of facts and factors.
  A. Immigration of Mexicans into Texas.
    1. Immigration the genesis of all Mexican labor problems in Texas.
    2. Analysis of effect of national immigration restrictions and laws upon Mexican labor in Texas.
      (*a*) Growing demand of agricultural employers for Mexican labor as
      (*b*) Immigration restrictions tightened, giving rise to
      (*c*) Labor agents of various types and varying degrees of integrity, with result that
      (*d*) Illegal entries of Mexicans into Texas flourished, with
      (*e*) Increasing risks to smugglers and entrants after 1924, and
      (*f*) Consequent increase of pernicious practices by labor agents, and
      (*g*) Chaotic conditions in labor, with no attempt at an organized labor market, resulting in
      (*h*) Thousands of migratory workers—white, Negro, Mexican—wandering aimlessly over the State in search of work, this situation eventuating in dispersion of migrants to other States.
  B. Disperson of migratory labor from Texas into other States.
    1. Dispersion the logical result of unorganized labor market.
    2. Reason for dispersion—job seeking in areas where more favorable employment opportunities existed, with result that—
      (*a*) Migrants streamed out first to adjoining States, and then on out to—
      (*b*) More remote States, the evidence to be found in—
      (*c*) Census figures from decade to decade, accompanied by—
      (*d*) Appearance of new type of labor agent, the emigrant agent, acting as intermediary between Texas workers and out-of-State agents, with resulting—
      (*e*) Larger-scale disorders in the labor situation.
  C. Unorganized labor market.
    1. Vicious circle established: Immigration, labor surplus, more immigration, more surplus dispersion.
    2. Annual clamor of labor shortage, with—
      (*a*) Employer demands for relaxation of immigration restrictions, and—
      (*b*) Increasing activities of labor agents of all kinds, with—
      (*c*) Untold hardship and misery for migratory workers, and—
      (*d*) Gradual recognition of need for remedies.
  D. Attempted legislative remedies.
    1. Establishment of Bureau of Labor Statistics, Texas, 1909.
    2. Gradual steps toward remedies from that time, including—
      (*a*) Agitation for control of private employment agencies, for establishment of free employment agencies, and—
      (*b*) Much activity in Texas Legislature, until—
      (*c*) Texas Employment Agency Law, 1923, and—
      (*d*) Texas Emigrant Agency Law, 1929.

II. Experience of the Texas State Employment Service and Farm Placement Service, 1935-40.
  A. Inheritance of problems existing before 1935.
  B. Economic problems arising from cotton decline and mechanization.
  C. Combination of two sets of problems, with intrastate and interstate aspects of migratory labor, faced by the Employment Service, resulting in, through year-by-year development.
    1. Control and direction of interstate-migratory labor, with
    2. Stabilization of migratory-labor market.
  D. Appearance of new problems in 1940.
  E. Imperative need of control by legislation of interstate migratory labor situation which is menacing the equilibrium of the labor market.
  F. Review of the Employment Service farm activities year by year, to show progress made and to indicate how experience has led the way for policy making.

III. Observations resulting from survey.
  A. Employer demand before 1935 for surplus labor supply resulting in conflict with immigration restrictions and unregulated migratory labor supply in Texas.
  B. Increasing stringency of immigration laws giving rise to less and less scrupulous activities of labor agents of all kinds in Texas.
  C. Attempts at legislation not satisfactory thus far.
  D. Unorganized labor market before 1935, resulting in loss of time, money, and motion.
  E. Effect of decline of cotton and mechanization of agriculture since 1930 something to be faced and considered in labor-market organization.
  F. Refinement of Texas State Employment Service and Farm Placement Service procedures to the point of control and direction of intrastate migratory labor market not hitherto known.
  G. Interpretation of stabilization of migratory-labor market to mean directed and controlled migration of workers when, where, and in what number needed at seasonal peaks, preferably not far distant from home bases, with new work patterns evolved to fill out the rest of the year.
  H. Social and economic effects upon migratory workers a byproduct of new stabilization of labor market.
  I. Sound and effective policy of exhausting local labor market first before calling on outside labor.
  J. Seriousness of interstate drain on Texas labor, particularly apparent in 1940.
  K. Exploitation of Texas migratory workers a menace.

BACKGROUND

Until recent years, Texas was the open recruiting ground for migrant labor of both types: Intrastate and interstate. The migratory worker, therefore, has long been a familiar figure in Texas. He may be native white, Negro, or Mexican by descent, member of a habitually mobile group whose work-pattern of casual and seasonal labor has continuously presented a maze of employment complexities to local and State authorities.

To understand the nature of these complex problems and the difficulty of their solution, it is necessary to review in some detail certain background facts and factors. Since it is estimated that approximately 85 percent of all migratory workers within the State of Texas are of Mexican descent, the remaining 15 percent being distributed between white, 10 percent; and Negro, 5 percent;[1] and since the peculiarly complex problems adhesive to this Mexican migrant labor are immediately pertinent to the purpose of this discussion, it is logical to begin the background review with a survey of the Mexican labor situation in Texas over a period of many years.

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[1] Estimate made by Farm Placement Service of Texas on basis of experience and records.

IMMIGRATION OF MEXICANS INTO TEXAS

The genesis of all Mexican labor problems in Texas is the basic fact of immigration of Mexicans into the State.

During the period of unrestricted immigration between 1783 and 1820, when the doors of the United States were open to immigrants from all countries, no problems arose on the border. In the next period, 1820–82, immigration was largely controlled by the individual States. Although, in this period, there was some agitation against immigration previous to the Civil War and certain States passed restrictive measures, public sentiment changed rapidly as a labor shortage developed at the beginning of the war. By 1864, Congress had passed an act, the purpose of which was to encourage immigration. Post-war industrial and agricultural expansion demanded an increasing number of workers, including women, Negroes, and foreigners. The 1864 law proving unsatisfactory, however, it was repealed in 1868. The individual States again assumed control of their own immigration problems, but this system culminated in a series of United States Supreme Court decisions which declared such laws unconstitutional and established the incompetency of States so to legislate.[2]

There were definite reasons why Texas, remaining aloof from the controversy, did not recognize Mexican immigration as a problem during these years. In the first place, Texas had been a part of Mexico. The Mexicans were here first, and they were accepted as part of the locale by their more aggressive Anglo-American successors. In the second place, they became useful to their ambitious successors in a sparsely settled country where there were few Negroes to labor in the sun.

The earliest laborers tending the cattle and sheep on the south Texas ranches were Mexican vaqueros and pastores. As the cattle and sheep industries expanded, opportunity for employment increased; and more and more Mexicans crossed the river, many on a year-around, permanent basis.

In addition, seasonal occupations opened up. Gangs of shearers, for example, came over twice a year for periods of about 2 months each to supply the seasonal demands of the ranches. Most of these workers returned to Mexico until the next shearing season.

With the decline of the sheep industry in south Texas in the eighties, the demand for pastores and seasonal labor decreased in that region; but there was still some demand for these types of labor farther west. At the same time, other forms of agriculture were expanding, and Mexican labor was in demand.

When, therefore, Congress, in 1882, by passing the first general Immigration Restriction Act in this country, foreshadowed complications for Texas, Mexican laborers, urged by economic necessity, had long been crossing the Rio Grande to and from Texas. Three years later, Congress passed what is popularly known as the alien contract-labor law, which prohibited the importation of contract labor. It aimed, to be sure, in the first instance, at employers who were importing European laborers under contract to work for lower wages; but it was inclusive of and applicable to all aliens. This law was destined to intensify labor complications in Texas.

That these laws seem not to have weighed heavily upon Texas, at first, is evident from the fact that there was little interruption of the steady flow of Mexican immigration into Texas. Although the 1882 act stressed the exclusion of persons likely to become public charges, and the 1885 act was stern about labor contractors, Texas employers were less worried about the danger of Mexicans as public charges and about labor contractors than they were about the danger of labor shortage at seasonal peaks.

That much of this Mexican labor was seasonal is evident from contemporary records. According to a reliable source in the lower Rio Grande Valley, as early as the nineties Mexicans from both sides of the river were following the cotton harvest afoot into east Texas, returning to their homes in Texas or Mexico in 4 or 5 months. Some of these migrants traveled as far as the Sabine River.[3]

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[2] Materials regarding national immigration laws are summarized from discussion in Albion G. Taylor, Labor Problems and Labor Law, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, pp. 420–459.

[3] Paul S. Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1934, p. 102.

In the meantime, the future negative policy of the Nation toward immigration had been set by the Act of 1891, which intensified the earlier legislation of 1882 by specific mention of types of undesirables and enlarged its scope by providing protection to national health against certain diseases. This tightening of restrictions was to be followed by a succession of acts, each more stringent than its predecessor, the acts of 1917, 1921, and 1924 constituting the proof of this statement and indicating growing determination to protect the workers of the Nation in their jobs.

The immigration from Mexico into Texas, however, continued steadily throughout the nineties. Shortly before 1900, conditions in Mexico and increasing labor demands in Texas combined to give a new impetus to the immigration. According to the United States census, there were in Texas in 1900, 71,062 Mexicans; during the next 10 years, in spite of immigration laws, the number increased by nearly 76 percent, reaching a total of 125,016.[4]

Credit for this uninterrupted flow of Mexican labor into Texas between 1900 and 1910 was due in no small degree to the growing energies of private employment agencies and labor agents.

The quickened activity of these agents was the inevitable result of the threatened conflict between increasing stringency of national immigration laws and demand by Texas employers for more and more Mexican labor.

Recognized by Texas employers as a valuable labor medium, the agents openly advertised their services. In 1909, for instance, a Corpus Christi agent inserted the following ad in a local paper:

"Plenty of labor: I secure laborers for all kinds of work at reasonable prices and in any number."[5]

It is significant that by 1910, also, the transition from foot to vehicular travel had been accomplished, largely through the efforts of the labor agents. A contemporary account, dealing with the Mexican labor migration to central and east Texas in 1911, highlights this transition; the growing importance of the labor agent, the trend toward mass movement overland by rapid transit or in wagon trains under his direction, the use of the family group as a labor unit:

"Not for a number of years has there been such demand for cotton pickers in southwest Texas. Almost every neighborhood is calling for help to take care of the crop. To meet the demand agents have been sent across the border into Mexico to secure help. Today, a coach load of Mexican pickers passed through this city for the great cottonfields about San Marcos and tomorrow an entire trainload will go over into the Brazos bottoms where there is great demand for help. One peculiar thing about the Mexican head of a family is that as a rule, wherever he goes, he takes his family and his dog. Many of those going into the cottonfields of Texas are accompanied by their entire families. This is to the liking of the planters, for it is maintained that children as a rule will pick as much cotton as grown-ups. Those who have come from Mexico have in addition to the family and the dog brought their donkey. It is not an uncommon sight to see long trains of Mexicans in small wagons en route to the cottonfields."[6]

By 1910, therefore, it may be repeated, there were clearly visible the separate strands which, year by year, were to enmesh more tightly into the background of a complicated and disorderly pattern for Mexican migrant labor in Texas.

Briefly, as we have seen, these strands included—

(1) Long-time acceptance of Mexican labor in Texas and disinclination on the part of Texans to recognize any immigration problem involved.

(2) Increasing demand for Mexican labor by Texas employers after 1880, both on permanent and seasonal basis.

(3) Economic need of Mexicans as incentive to enter Texas.

(4) National immigration restrictive measures beginning in 1882 and increasing in stringency with each successive act.

(5) Imminent conflict between increasing stringency of immigration laws and determination of Texas employers to use Mexican migrant labor.

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[4] The United States Census, 1900, 1910.

[5] Corpus Christi Caller, December 2, 1909. Quoted by Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., p. 105.

[6] Carrizo Springs Javelin, September 2, 1911, probably copied from a San Antonio paper. Quoted by Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., p. 102.

(6) Quickened activity by private employment agencies and labor agents to supply Texas employers with Mexican migrant labor, in spite of the acts of 1882, 1885, and 1891.

(7) Mass movements of Mexican labor overland by rail and wagon trains into Texas, directed by labor agents.

For the next 20 years, 1910–30, the activities of private employment agencies and labor agents dominated the Mexican migrant labor situation in Texas practically unchecked.

On September 1, 1909, the Bureau of Labor Statistics was established as a State Department of Texas, with the obligation of publishing biennial reports, beginning with 1909–10. From the third biennial report, for 1913–14, every report has carried records, experiences, or recommendations regarding the contol of private employment agencies and labor agents. At a later point in this discussion, this agitation for remedies is given full treatment. Here it is necessary only to mention that the publicity given to the activities of these agencies and agents by the Bureau of Labor Statistics did much to create opposition to the unregulated and unscrupulous methods of their operation.

Although many farmers, individually and collectively, imported workers from Mexico, others relied almost entirely on the labor agents and private employment agencies. In spite of the alien contract labor law, farmers on this side of the river are reported to have accepted laborers from agents who contracted for them in Mexico, and even to have sent supposedly dependable Mexican agents into Mexico to recruit labor, if necessary giving them money to pay immigration fees.[7]

Furthermore, they took these practices so much for granted at first that, in spite of the illegality of such, many farmers made little attempt to conceal their dealings. As time went on, however, they became less frank, especially after 1917.

New immigration legislation in that year strengthened the alien contract labor law of 1885, excluding contract labor under penalties, but allowing skilled labor to enter at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor; making unlawful the prepayment of transportation of contract laborers; and prohibiting all forms of advertising for contract labor, either at home or in a foreign country.[8] Illiterates over 16 years of age were excluded, and the head tax was raised to $8 as an insurance of property qualification.[9]

The effect of this legislation in Texas was the rapid increase of illegal entrances of Mexican migrant laborers, engineered largely by unscrupulous labor agents and smuggling agents, known realistically as "coyotes."

During the World War, shortage of labor was claimed, with the result that between 1918 and 1921 the National Government allowed freer temporary admission of Mexican migrant labor. With this alleged labor scarcity and the loosening of the ban on Mexican immigration, another type of labor operator appeared on the scene, the curbstone operator or man catcher.

Although the quota laws of 1921 and 1924 and the national-origins clause, effective July 1929, left Mexico in the nonquota class, the rigid restrictions of the preceding immigration laws in combination with the establishment of the border patrol in 1924 served to increase the difficulty and danger of illegal entrances into the United States.

Then, as the depression following 1929 became more and more acute, loud agitation arose for further restriction of immigration. Instead of adoption of any of the several suggestions advanced, an administrative order injected renewed vigor into the acts of 1882 and 1891, which prohibited entrance of any aliens who might become public charges. By this order, in September 1930, American consulates were instructed not to issue entrance permits to any immigrants who were likely to take jobs away from American citizens who might become public charges.[10]

The labor agent, the coyote, the man catcher, however, as the immigration net tightened, devised new methods of cunning to elude the law and to exploit Mexican migrant labor. Although the Mexican migrant laborer was the special prey of all these racketeers, native white and Negro laborers were victimized also by labor agents and man catchers. Employers, too, were at the mercy of these rogues. From various authentic sources, the operations of these agents during these years are here summarized.[11]

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[7] Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., p. 101.

[8] Labor Laws of the United States with Decisions of Courts Relating Thereto, United States Department of Labor, Bulletin, No. 370, May 1925, p. 1174.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Albion G. Taylor, op. cit., p. 452.

Although the activities of these several types of agents overlapped, and although any one of the agents might also be one or both of the others, still each term connotes certain peculiar characteristics.

The labor agent, in the first instance, was an intermediary between an employer and a worker. In the capacity of contractor, he might also carry on large-scale operations; and as the national immigration laws tightened, his activities became less and less scrupulous. Operating alone or as a representative of a so-called private employment agency, he charged extortionate fees to both worker and employer. He advertised extensively, baiting his prey with ill-kept promises. He herded the Mexicans in groups, sending them on long journeys across the State, without system or plan. Whites and Negroes he treated similarly, with the difference that Negroes are less inclined than either white or Mexican labor to roam far afield in search of work.

The smuggler or coyote, working singly or as the member of a gang, made up of other smugglers or of smugglers and labor agents, instigated the illegal entrance of Mexicans into the United States. Smugglers took many risks, particularly after the border patrol became active.

For the Mexican immigrant desiring legal entrance into the United States, the procedure since 1930 has been somewhat as follows. Having arrived at Ciudad Juarez or any other port of entry, he first registers at a hotel or boarding house. From there he goes to the Mexican migration office, where he is given a number and waits his turn, sometimes 3 or 4 days. Having presented the required papers with his photograph and having given the required information about himself, he is then sent to the American consular authorities for a visa. Again, he may have to wait a day or even several days. From here, he goes to the offices on the international bridge to be examined and questioned once again, given literacy tests, and asked how much money he has. Here, too, he pays his head tax of $8, is given a medical examination and bathed (sometimes in gasoline) while his clothing is disinfected. Women, too, are put through the same process. The total cost, head tax plus visa, is $18. Living expenses during the days of waiting are, of course, additional.

For the Mexican smuggled into the United States, the procedure during the years of extensive smuggling was varied and complicated. In the first place, the reasons for entering the United States illegally were these:

(1) Slight knowledge of and considerable fear of the immigration laws on the part of the Mexicans.

(2) Impossibility of meeting the literacy test

(3) Inability to prove that one would not become a public charge.

(4) Labor contract already made in violation of national immigration laws.

(5) Inability to prove that immigrant might not take away a job from an American citizen.

(6) Loss of time and expense entailed while waiting at the border for legal entrance.

(7) Cost of illegal entry held out to immigrant as less than legal.

As a matter of fact, the "wet feet" being smuggled in had to submit to as much routine and more inconvenience than they would have submitted to in the process of legal entry.

The coyotes employed various methods of approach. If the Mexican had already contracted for his labor with a labor agent, the agent acting for him did the dirty work. If the coyote was sneaking around on his own or as the member of a gang, he might suggest subtle promises and sly advantages in illegal entrance, including the lower cost. He frequently used fear with considerable force and effectiveness, scaring the timid, ignorant, non-English-speaking Mexican with lurid tales of what the immigration officials might do to him if he tried to enter legally. Then, when the coyote had landed his victim on United States soil, he terrorized him with tales of what would happen if his illegal entrance were discovered, forthwith demanding hush money and stripping the victim of all his funds to get it.

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[11] Especially, Biennial Reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Texas; and Manual Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. 205–207.

Methods of getting the Mexicans over the border were various. A common method was to herd a group in some small border town and watch a chance to get them across by land or river. "Jumping the fence" at La Colorado, not far from Ciudad Juarez, was a common method until the border patrol became too interested in that region. Usually, the Mexicans jumped the barbed-wire fence at night and made their way either to the employer who had contracted for them or to some other likely employer.

Sometimes, the coyotes sent them across shallow places in the river by automobiles or by carts and trucks Others came over in boats; some even were known to swim across, although swimming is dangerous in the treacherous Rio Grande.

The usual charge for smuggling was from $5 to $10 a head, and more if there was baggage. Forged head-tax receipts and forged passports might be sold or rented for the occasion. If rented, the immigrant was required to return these forged documents when he was safely on United States soil; and they would serve the same purpose over and over. American citizens were known to "rent" their own personal passports to labor agents and coyotes for the smuggling racket. Smugglers and labor agents, working in gangs, frequently had elaborate secret organizations, with codes and signals.

The employment angle of all this activity of labor agents and smugglers is the important point in this discussion. Since it is estimated that the majority of Mexican immigrants during the years under consideration had already contracted their labor to employers on this side of the river with or without the services of labor agents, there were, therefore, apparently more illegal than legal entries.

The obvious handicaps of such an entry proved a lever of advantage to the agents, many of whom lost no time in availing themselves of its use. They could, and too often did, keep the fact of the illegality of the whole transaction dangling over the heads of the frightened peon workers, paying them meager wages and treating them almost as slaves.

At times, the smugglers were employed by big commercial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises. When labor was scarce, they paid the smugglers so much for each worker imported; when labor was plentiful, they maintained the smugglers on a salary basis.

Although soliciting labor from one side of the river to the other is contrary to Mexican laws also, for years, as late as the thirties in fact, it went on under cover. Just across the river were stationed the offices of the contractors or enganchistas, who made or clinched the final labor bargains. The contractors were paid from 50 cents to $1 for each worker they supplied to soliciting ranches, railroads, or other enterprises.

Once in the hands of one of these labor agent-contractors, particularly if they had been smuggled in by him, the Mexican workers suffered hardships added to those imposed by the employers. A common abuse was the camp store, concession for which was frequently held by the contractor in the services of the employing unit. Overcharging and other fraudulent dealings of all sorts drove the Mexican deeper into debt; and since his meager wage was turned over to the contractor each week until he was out of debt, he seldom drew any or much of his earnings.

Employment complications increased with the activities of curbstone operators or man catchers. It was their practice to gather groups of workers—Mexicans, white men, Negroes—for "selling" and "reselling" to farmers.

The operations of man catchers, first reported in the year 1915–16 by inspectors of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, were varied and devious, intended always to fleece both employer and laborer.[12]

As reported in these years, the man catchers were especially active during the harvest seasons. They would gather up groups of men, twenty-five to a hundred or more—Mexicans, white laborers, Negroes—take them out along some railroad line, and "peddle" or "sell" them to farmers in need of help.

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[12] Fourth Biennial Report, 1915–16, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Texas, p. 12.

The men were charged railroad fare, frequently on a 3-cent-per-mile basis, allowing a profit of 1 cent per mile to the man catcher. They were, in addition, charged a fee for their lunches and for the employment furnished them. Furthermore, the employing farmers paid fees for the services of the man catcher in finding them help.

A common practice was to permit the worker to remain with one farmer only a few days—perhaps only one day. He would then be taken to another farmer some distance away where the process of "selling" would be repeated, both worker and farmer being victimized.

By 1919–20, when there was a cry of labor scarcity, the man catchers had perfected their techniques. Especially active along the border, they would take advantage of the Mexican immigrant, wangling all his money from him as soon as he landed upon United States soil. The man catchers would "sell" a farmer a group of Mexican laborers one day, and then secretly send their agents—usually smooth-talking Mexicans—to steal the laborers away the next, only to repeat this "selling" process all over again to another farmer, collecting fees from laborers and farmers alike.

Another common trick was to collect transportation money from a prospective employer at some distance and then start a group of men on the way to him, accompanied by a secret agent who would persuade the workers to desert just before their arrival, when they would be "sold" to another employer-victim.

Instances were on the records of the Bureau of Labor Statistics where farmers had paid these man-catching agents as high as $10 per head for Mexicans, in addition to feeding them and paying transportation to the place of employment, only to have a part or all of the laborers desert either before going to work at all or within a day or two thereafter.

Since man catchers handled only common labor, the farmers and railroads were the employing units most commonly victimized.

One of these enterprising crooks in a border town was found to have a gang of Mexicans in his hire for the purpose of fleecing farmers. These Mexicans he would "sell" to a farmer with immediate delivery at from $3 to $5 per head. As soon as the agent had collected his money from the farmer, all the Mexicans would desert and return to their employer, to be "sold" to the next farmer seeking help, with a repetition of this performance as many as two or three times within 1 day sometimes.[13]

It has been almost impossible to arrive at any satisfactory estimate of the number of Mexicans in Texas during any given period. Complicating factors are several in number. In the first place, illegal entries into the State are not easily apprehended for a count. Immigration officials, obviously, can have no record of such illegalities. In the second place, until the increased tightening of the Federal immigration laws since 1924, the same Mexican might pass back and forth to seasonal or casual jobs on this side but maintain residence on the other side of the border. Again, it was impossible to count the number of migratory workers roaming around the State.

As has been indicated earlier, United States census figures for 1900 showed a Mexican population in Texas of 71,062 and for 1910, 125,016. According to the same standard source, there were in Texas in 1920 an estimated total of 388,675 Mexicans, of whom 242,735 were born in Mexico and 145,940 were born in the United States.

For 1930 the census estimate was 683,681 Mexicans in Texas, or 11.7 percent of the total population, divided into 351,077 males and 332,604 females. Of the total, 536,875 were born in Mexico, the remaining 146,806 being natives of Texas. The gainfully employed Mexican population above the age of 10 years in that year numbered 236,201. Of this number, 110,865, or 46.9 percent, were agricultural workers. How many of these were migrant workers there is no way of knowing; nor is there any way of knowing how many of the 842,001 counted in the agricultural total—white, Negro, Mexican—were in the migrant group.[14]

However, as a result of the activities of all types of labor agents, the migratory labor racket scattered Mexicans, as well as white laborers and Negroes in lesser numbers, all over the State, frequently on unplanned and fruitless expeditions.

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[13] Sixth Biennial Report, 1919–20, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Texas, pp. 15–17.

[14] United States Census, 1930.

As foot travel yielded to wagons, to trains, to broken-down Fords, to trucks, the labor agent was able to enlarge his range of operations to include portions of the State far removed from the border where, logically, the Mexican labor at least originated. Farther north in the State, white labor moved out from Fort Worth as a labor-distributing center.

Cotton pickers would start from home with no idea as to their destination or with dubious directions from a labor agent or private employment agency that charged from $1.50 to $3 per head each for information. Rumors were sufficient to start the migrants off hither and yon, and more rumors would start them off from there. In the meantime farmers would be combing the State for pickers and other labor.

It was a crazy pattern in which worried farmers wanted an ample supply of labor on hand at peak seasons in any way available, credulous migrants dreamed of better pickings a little farther on, and opportunist labor agents wanted as much money as they could fleece from uneasy farmers and hopeful migrants—white, brown, and black.

With immigration, therefore, as the genesis of the Mexican labor problem, and agricultural development as the impelling factor and force behind the exploitation of all mobile labor—Mexican, white, Negro—the next factor was the dispersion of that labor on wheels to points beyond the boundaries of the State of Texas.

DISPERSION OF MIGRATORY WORKERS FROM TEXAS TO OTHER STATES

The main reason for this dispersion was job seeking in areas where employment conditions were more favorable. Only at the peak seasons in bumper-crop years could Texas agriculture begin to utilize the hordes of migrants swarming over the State looking for work. In less abundant years and during slack seasons there was a vast surplus of migratory labor. From time to time there were cries of labor shortage, to be sure; and the farmers and agents would then bring more Mexicans into the State.

It was therefore inevitable that, with the expansion of agriculture and other industries in other States, the migratory movement should spread out into those regions. It streamed out first into adjoining States, on its own many times, following the trail of rumor; and again under the direction of labor contractors and agents who, faced with the surplus labor situation in Texas, began making contacts with employers in other productive areas.

A new type of labor agent appeared on the scene with this dispersion—the emigrant agent. His primary function was to act as intermediary between labor in Texas and prospective employers elsewhere. In time he assumed more and more responsibility. He might act as direct representative of an employer; he might direct groups of laborers from the time they left Texas until they returned, reaping a goodly sum for his efforts. He negotiated, he contracted, he controlled, he exploited migratory labor. He had no regard for seasonal needs of Texas farmers. If he could persuade the migrants to start for the Michigan beet fields or elsewhere, so much the worse for Texas farmers if the labor supply was short. The emigrant agent very soon became one of the most serious problems in Texas labor.

Record exists of trips to the Louisiana cane fields in the nineties. By 1910 there were in Louisiana 1,025 Mexicans; in Oklahoma there were 2,744; in Colorado there were 2,502; and in Nevada there were 752 as against 98 ten years earlier.[15]

During this period Mexican labor was employed chiefly in the cultivating and harvesting of cotton, corn, sugarcane, and fruit; but it was also in demand in mines and on railroads.

Kansas City, as the entrance to the wheatlands, early became a temporary stopover and distributing center of immigrants passing to Eastern and Midwestern States, where the demand for Mexican labor developed rapidly. Accordingly the Mexican population in Kansas jumped from 71 in 1900 to 8,429 in 1910. In Missouri the Mexican population moved up from 162 in 1900 to 1,413 ten years later, with the result that St. Louis became a distributing center only secondary in importance to Kansas City.

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[15] Paul S. Taylor, op. cit., p. 102; United States Census, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930.

The growth of Mexican population in the next decade paralleled the demand for their labor. Louisiana had 2,487; Kansas had 13,770; Missouri had 3,411. Large-scale immigation from Texas into Arizona accounted for some major part of the 61,580 Mexicans there in 1920. Anglo-American migration to Arizona from less likely portions of Texas and Oklahoma had commenced also.

It is significant for later considerations in this study that during the decade from 1910 to 1920, demand for Mexican labor in the beet fields of Michigan was greatly intensified. In this State, Mexican immigration by 1920 was 20 times greater than in 1910, with a total of 1,333 Mexicans in the later year. By 1930, the Mexican population in Michigan had reached 13,336. The census for this same year showed 4,552 Mexicans in Louisiana, 19,150 in Kansas, 57,676 in Colorado, 114,173 in Arizona. In increasing numbers also, Mexicans were found in Wyoming, Nebraska, Idaho, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana.

A large proportion of these Mexican laborers, according to certain distribution studies, were engaged in rural occupations, with a smaller proportion in industrial enterprises.[16] The population figures of the United States census cannot be all-inclusive. As has been pointed out, no satisfactory count of mobile Mexican and other migratory labor has been made. Even though, however, these population figures are undoubtedly incomplete, they do show definitely that not all the migrants who left Texas and other border States looking for work returned. Large numbers, of course, from year to year, went back and forth, following routes that in time assumed patterns of migration.

By 1933–34, certain of these patterns were fairly clear. According to one authority, a work pattern was to be found in Texas and Oklahoma, beginning at the southern tip of Texas and extending north into Oklahoma, and northwest and west across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona into California.[17] A pattern of grain crop migration extended from Houston to El Paso, from Dallas to El Paso, and from Amarillo to El Paso, from which junction routes flowed out to the West. Two routes cut across the Texas Panhandle from Oklahoma to Albuquerque, New Mexico. The beet and berry pickers moved from as far south as San Antonio all the way across intervening States to Minnesota, with branch routes extending out to States on either side of the main routes.

In the meantime, during these years from 1910 to 1930, there was rapid acceleration in the manufacture, sale, and use of mechanized farm equipment. In 1925, the sales of farm tractors in the United States accounted for $92,506,790, or only 27.2 percent of all farm equipment sales. In 1929, the record year before 1937, tractor sales amounted to $155,406,163, or 33.9 percent of total equipment sales. By 1935, the percentage of tractor sales to the total equipment sales had risen to 40.8 percent.

In the State of Texas, the number of tractors rose from 13,817 in 1920 to 73,981 in 1936.[18] The effect of this mechanization upon migratory farm labor and farm tenancy had made itself felt long before 1935. Many tenants, thrown upon their own resources, joined the migrants, adding to the labor congestion. Dust Bowl refugees, displaced tenants, habitual migratory laborers—Mexican, white, Negro—dispersed in all directions in search of work. In the meantime, immigration from Mexico into Texas continued.

By 1935, the migratory labor surplus had become a major problem in the United States, particularly in California and Texas. An analysis of the immigration and dispersion factors brings to light the next factor in the employment problems previous to 1935—an unorganized labor market.

UNORGANIZED LABOR MARKET

For years the annual labor supply was a subject of contention, some claiming shortage, some declaring abundance, some admitting possible abundance but lack of availability. There was no disinterested agency those years to organize a labor market that would provide labor supply when and where needed within the State and to set up an economy of employment that would abolish waste movement and loss to both employer and worker.

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[16] John N. Webb, The Migratory—Casual Worker, Washington, 1937, pp. 88–89.

[17] Ibid., pp. 34–39.

[18] C. Horace Hamilton, The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture, A. and M. College, Texas, Progress Report No. 579, December 1938, pp. 1–2.

Local organizations, such as chambers of commerce, local and State newspapers, labor and emigrant agents flashed notices and "ads" and bulletins calling for labor or promising labor to demanding farmers. Some farmers, needing perhaps from 50 to 100 workers, would cry loudly for 1,000, merely to assure themselves an abundant supply from which to pick and choose. The employer's interest in a plentiful labor supply is, obviously, twofold. He desires a mobile labor reserve large enough to handle his peak operations; he desires, equally, a supply that must accept low wages, long hours, and poor working conditions. With a labor market entirely unorganized, the farmer-employer had to depend upon deliberately scattered rumors and advertising to achieve his two desires.

On the other hand, it happened that a farmer was actually in need of labor when it seemed not available. In the next county, at the same time, there might be surplus migratory workers eager for jobs. Again, the complete lack of coordinated effort to maintain a balanced labor market might make it impossible for the two needs—employer and worker—to meet and satisfy each other.

Constant pressure was brought by farmers upon their Congressmen, from 1920 on, to let down immigration bars in order to let in surplus labor for peak seasons. In years of abundant crops there might be labor for most of the migrant workers during the short peak seasons. In lean years there was much suffering from unemployment.

Agents, interested only in personal gain, would collect fees from migrants and start them off to uncertain destinations. Arriving there they might or might not find work; too often they did not find any housing or sanitary facilities; they had no money; exposure and sickness would result. Stranded migrants—broke, hungry, sick, unsheltered—came to be altogether too common figures as the years passed.

Recognition of these employment problems was not lacking, and the final factor in the background review of complexities is the legislative remedies attempted.

LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES ATTEMPTED

At least as far back as 1911 there was considerable agitation to regulate so-called private employment agencies, requiring licenses and bonds, and providing penalities for violations.

In its 1913–14 report the bureau of labor statistics, Texas, called attention to the grave need of regulation of the so-called private employment agencies because of abuses inflicted by them upon the unemployed. A proposed uniform law drafted by a committee of the National Association of Factory Inspectors was introduced as House bill No. 705 into the Thirty-third Legislature of Texas, but it died on the calendar. The bureau report specifically mentioned certain evils in need of remedy: the charging of fees, which should be abolished unless fees were returned when employment was not furnished; collusion between employers and agents, making employment dependent upon the services of a fee-charging agent, with subsequent split of these fees between agent and employer.[19]

In his recommendations to the Governor and to the legislature in this same report, Commissioner J. A. Starling announced that there would be presented to the thirty-fourth legislature a bill providing for a free employment bureau to be established by the State in four of the largest Texas cities.[20]

With the subsequent placing of responsibility for regulating private employment agencies upon the bureau of labor statistics, the crookedness of these agencies came more clearly into the light. From the Fourth Biennial Report, 1915–16, on, every report for a number of years carried accounts of violations, open defiance, and evasions, with recommendations. Increasingly, stress was laid by the incumbent commissioner upon the need for free State employment bureaus.[21] In this Fourth Report, for example, Commissioner Woodman, in recognition of the urgent need for direction in and organization of the labor market, said:

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[19] Third Biennial Report, 1913–14, bureau of labor statistics, Texas, pp. 144–145.

[20] Ibid., p. 11.

[21] Biennial reports, bureau of labor statistics, Texas, 1915–16, 1917–18, 1919–20, 1921–22.

"In the enforcement of this law (employment agency law) we have made a study of the needs of the people patronizing employment agencies, and have reached the conclusion that the State would make no mistake if it established at least five free employment bureaus. During the harvest seasons these agencies should be located in whatever section of the State that might be of the greatest advantage to both the farmers and applicants for employment. Thousands of dollars per year would be saved the farmers and other employers and labor protected against impositions. Unemployed labor congests unless intelligently directed. Through a system of State employment agencies communication could be established between labor centers and the unemployed directed to the best advantage."[22]

The thirty-eighth legislature enacted a new employment agency law, effective February 28, 1923. According to this law, an employment agent, following proper application, pays a license fee of $150 for each county in which he maintains an employment office, and executes a bond for $5,000. False advertising is prohibited, registration fees are not allowed, and any employment fee may not be collected until employment is actually furnished. Employers also are obligated not to make any false statements in soliciting labor.[23] This law, however, was openly violated over a period of years.[24]

Finally, cumulative thereof, the emigrant agency law went into effect in 1929.[25] The distinction between employment agents and emigrant agents by this legislation was carefully drawn. An employment agent who operates only within the State of Texas is subject only to the Texas employment agency law; an employment agent who operates only as an emigrant agent is subject to the Texas emigrant agency law; an employment agent who carries on the dual enterprise of intrastate service to Texas employers and labor and emigrant agent service to Texas labor is subject to both the Texas employment agency and Texas emigrant agency laws. Any emigrant agent who hires, entices, or solicits laborers within the State of Texas for employment outside Texas must pay an annual license tax of $10 for each county in which he operates, an annual State occupation tax of $1,000, and an annual graduated county occupation tax according to the population of the county or counties in which he operates. If said emigrant agent is also an employment agent operating within the State of Texas for Texas employers and Texas laborers, he is subject also to the payment of an annual license fee of $150 for each county in which he maintains an office and to the execution of a bond of $5,000 for each county where he maintains an employment office.[26]

Violations and evasions of these laws measurably reduced the effectiveness and weakened the original purposes thereof.

The occupation taxes in Texas, as in other States, were intended to be a deterrent to the exploitation of migratory laborers. They were established to discourage invasions from outside on the State's labor market and mobile workers.

That the occupation tax provisions for emigrant agents in Texas has been largely inactive is apparent from the fact that, according to the records, only one company has ever paid the State occupation tax of $1,000. That was shortly after the passage of the Texas emigrant agency law.

Evasion of the State occupation tax was long favored by the liberal construction on the part of the State labor department of the exemption as stated in section 7 of the Texas emigrant agency law.[27]

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[22] Fourth Biennial Report. bureau of labor statistics. Texas, 1915–16, p. 18.

[23] Laws of Texas Relating to Labor, 1939 ed., pp. 28–37.

[24] Biennial reports, bureau of labor statistics, Texas, beginning 1923–24.

[25] Laws of Texas Relating to Labor, 1939 ed., pp. 38–44.

[26] Texas employment agency law, art. 5208, R. C. S., art. 5210, R. C. S., Texas emigrant agency law, art. 5221a–1, R. C. S., secs. 1, 2; art. 7047, R. C. S., sec. 40.

[27] Texas emigrant law, sec. 7, reads: "This act shall also apply in all its terms and provisions to every other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers to be employed by him beyond the limits of this State, but not maintaining an office therefor, except that such other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons as used in this section shall not be required to pay the occupation taxes in order to procure a license, but shall pay to the labor commissioner the annual license fee provided by this act, and shall perform all the other provisions of this act, and such license shall in that event be limited to such holder thereof hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers exclusively and only for said holder of such license: provided, however, that this section shall not apply to a person where the number to be employed by such person shall not exceed 10 employees." (Acts 1929, 41st leg., 2d C. S., p. 203, ch. 96.)

Chief offenders in this evasion and violation of the occupation tax provision are employment agents and emigrant agents representing the cotton growers of Arizona and the sugar-beet growers of Michigan and certain other States.

In the meantime, another remedial measure was evolving: the public employment service. A Farm Placement Service was organized in 1918 as a division of the United States Employment Service; and it survived the demobilization of that Service in 1919.

After the World War, the Service was confined to a few States in which casual and migratory labor was the main source of worker supply to farmers at peak seasons.

Recruitment and placement of harvest hands in the wheat belt was the principal activity of the Service during the years until 1931 when the increasing use of combines displaced thousands of harvest hands. Operating from headquarters in Kansas City, the Service had about 20 field officers, 1 of which was in Fort Worth.

Operations from this office originally were on a 45-day basis, allowing just enough time to handle the migrant labor moving to the wheat harvest in the Panhandle and on the North Central Plains.

An emergency situation in which the Fort Worth office helped save the cotton crop in 1922 by rounding up migratory labor at the precise moment it was needed was the beginning of an extension of Farm Placement Service activity in handling the cotton season employment. In 1923, offices were opened in San Antonio, El Paso, and Brownsville; and service was extended to crops other than cotton from these offices.

DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCE OF FARM PLACEMENT SERVICE OF THE TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, 1935–1940

On June 6, 1933, the Wagner-Peyser Act was passed, abolishing the old employment service system then existing and providing for the development of a new system of public employment services to be set up and administered by the individual States in cooperation with and as a bureau of the Department of Labor. According to this law, one duty of the United States Employment Service is to maintain a farm placement service. In the thorough reorganization of the United States Employment Service which followed, a division was created at national headquarters known as the Farm Placement Service. This Service was charged at the outset with the organization of the agricultural labor market so that farmers and both regular and casual or migratory workers might be brought together at seasonal times, looking over toward the keeping available of an adequate labor supply to meet employer needs.

Early in 1935, a plan was adopted for the integration of the Farm Placement Service with the service of the regular employment offices. Federal farm supervisors were assigned to States having the largest farm problems. These supervisors being made responsible jointly to the Director of the Farm Placement Service and to the directors of the State employment service to which they were assigned. There they were to act as members of the administrative staff of the State service and to be specifically responsible for supervision of farm placement activities.

The Texas State Employment Service was created by an act of the Forty-fourth Texas Legislature in regular session, 1935, in response to a special message from Gov. James V. Allred. The State law directed affiliation of the Texas State Employment Service with the United States Employment Service, according to the provisions of the Wagner-Peyser Act.

The gigantic problems facing the Farm Placement Service in Texas in 1935 centered in migratory labor. In Texas, agriculture and migratory labor are inseparable. Behind the chaotic conditions of immigration, dispersion, and unorganized labor market, already reviewed as background, there were definite economic causes operating to increase the difficulties. Although some of these economic causes have been mentioned, they deserve more extended treatment in their relation to the problems and activities of the Texas Farm Placement Service between 1935 and 1940. Their direct bearing upon migratory labor will appear as they unfold in the following survey.

Radical shifts are taking place in the productive enterprises of Texas. To a large extent, these problems involve agriculture, manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade and service industries, and, to a lesser extent, certain other enterprises.

During the old era of Texas economy, now coming rapidly to a close, employment was built upon natural resources—soil, timber, minerals, with its emphasis upon volume production of basic raw materials and its enormous demand for labor of the hand, directed largely by experience to perform limited functions. Little thought was given to conservation, either of natural resources or of human resources. Changes in this type of economy were inevitable.

Moving slowly at first, but gathering momentum until today they are tumbling over each other almost too fast for our comprehension, the changes in Texas economy, catching us woefully "short," have thrust us into a period of swift transition on the very threshold of the new era of industrialization and mechanization.

Of these changes and shifts, none are more spectacular than those which have occurred in agriculture. They include a decrease in total rural—farm population; a sharp decline in number of croppers and a lesser decline in all types of tenants; and increase in farms, farm-owners, and farm managers, with some stress on growing absentee ownership; a noticeable increase in farm laborers; a steady drop in numbers of gainfully employed in agriculture in proportion to decade census of gainfully employed as a whole. Under the old rural culture, there developed a self-maintaining family-farm institution which took care of all the social needs, including education, care of the aged and dependent, and adjustment of the unemployed. How completely this family-farm institution has broken down is indicated by the sweeping social security legislation of recent years and the persistent downward trend of the old system of agriculture.

This trend is reported statistically in successive census reports. In 1935, for instance, the rural-farm population of Texas was reported as 2,421,000, or 39.7 percent of the total population of the State, 6,117,009, as compared with a rural-farm population of 2,234,553 in 1930, or 40.2 percent of the total population of that year, and as compared further with a rural-farm population of 2,265,734 in 1920, or 48.6 percent of the State total at that time. In 15 years, that is, there was a decrease of 8.9 percent in our State rural-farm population.

It required only 5 years, however, for the absolute number of cropper tenants in Texas to decrease 27.3 percent, from 105,122 in 1930, to 76,468 in 1935, changing the distribution of croppers to the total rural-farm population from 21.2 to 15.3 percent. The absolute loss of all tenants was 5.2 percent, from 301,660 to 268,103, with distribution percentages declining from 60.8 in 1930 to 57.2 in 1935. But this loss of 28,654 cropper tenants is significantly balanced by the gain of 25,601 farm laborers during the same period. As we shall see, this numerical resemblance is not mere coincidence.

Increases appeared during the 5 years also in the total number of farms, in the total number of farm operators other than tenants, and in the total number of households engaged in agricultural occupation.

Farms increased in number from 495,489 in 1930 to 501,017 in 1935, a gain of 1.1 percent. The number of full owners increased 13 percent; the number of part owners increased 2.8 percent; the number of managers increased 4.8 percent. In absolute numbers, farm laborers increased 34.7 percent, from 73,807 in 1930 to 99,408 in 1935. The number of Texas households engaged in agriculture, therefore, both rural-farm workers and agricultural workers living in towns and cities, totaled in 1930, 569,296; and in 1935, 600,425, a total gain of 5.5 percent.

This increase in total number of farms with full and part owners and managers threw some emphasis on absentee ownership, thus accenting the loss of community enterprise and the accumulating decline in local agricultural interests.

The decline is still further stressed by the census reports of gainfully employed over the age of 10 years. Although there has been some increase in absolute numbers from time to time, there has been steady decrease in percentage of agricultural workers to gainfully employed workers as a whole, from 62.4 in 1900 to 38.1 in 1930, a loss of 24.3 percent in 30 years. Estimates by the University of Texas Bureau of Business Research are that 1940 figures will show that only 30 percent of the gainfully employed in the State are in agriculture.

These figures, furthermore, are not to be interpreted to mean that all the gainfully employed in agriculture in Texas in any given year are year-round, full-time workers. Since the outstanding characteristic of Texas agriculture is its seasonality, with a minor cultivation peak of about 2 weeks and a harvesting peak in most crops of from 6 weeks to 2 months, varying according to area and crop, it is the first factor to be reckoned with in agricultural employment.

The great majority of agricultural workers in Texas do not labor steadily 12 months a year at one job. Owners and tenants on large cotton acreages, until recently, perhaps made a year's living off a single crop in a single farm unit. Owners and tenants on mixed or diversified farms likewise have had a way of rounding out a year of work and income. But small farmers and transient workers are compelled to shift from region to region, following the peaks of the various crops, or to find part-time jobs in other industries in towns or cities. There is, therefore, during the year a constant movement from farm to farm to other regions to town and city back to farm by agricultural workers.

The census evidences of persistent decline are in accord with certain other data. Dr. A. B. Cox, for instance, estimates that agricultural workers furnished as high as 50 percent of the relief cases at the peak of the depression in Texas. Again, 84 percent of unemployed agricultural labor in the rural counties of the State are farm tenants and farm laborers; also, the 1937 Census of Unemployment reported 137,000 jobless agricultural workers in Texas—over 59 percent of the total number reported as unemployed.

In spite of this steady decline, agriculture has not yet relinquished first place to manufacturing and mechanical industries, which, since 1900, have climbed steadily from 7.8 percent of the gainfully employed in Texas to 17.5. Agriculture was still in the lead in 1930 by 20.6 percent. The rapid development during the past decade will undoubtedly show very different figures in the new census.

Between these two trends—agricultural revolution and industrialization—neither of which has reached a point of equilibrium, either high or low, Texas economy now wavers. Agriculture no longer provides employment and livelihood for thousands who until recently were completely dependent upon it for every economic need. Large-scale industry, on the other hand, sufficient to support masses of Texas population, is still in the future. It may well be, paradoxical as it sounds, that the present expansion of industrial activities in the State of Texas, largely due to defense measures, will, by absorbing every type of labor susceptible to training and retraining, create an actual shortage in agricultural labor, including migratory. Trends in this direction will be noted later.

In the meantime, the economic gap between agriculture and mechanical industry is filled with employment problems for which specific causes will now be considered.

The most critical of these causes centers around cotton. The major interest of Texas in the cotton industry is the production of raw cotton for market.

Of utmost significance is the fact that no other agricultural interest in Texas provides the employment opportunities until recently afforded by cotton. Cotton growing and harvesting have been unique in their resistance to change. As late as 1928, it was still possible to say that in the method of cultivation and harvest the cotton crop had been subject to less progress than almost any other harvest crop. On the small tenant farms in the middle and eastern sections of the Cotton Belt cotton farming was not essentially different—from the planting of the seed through the picking of the seed cotton from the open bolls—from the methods employed in east India at the dawn of history.

Volume cotton production in the peak years of the year just closing in Texas called for mass hand labor on a large scale and gave employment and livelihood to thousands of farm and migratory workers. In 1928 it was estimated that 70 percent of the population of Texas was dependent directly or indirectly upon cotton.

In the peak year of 1926, 5,628,000 bales of cotton were produced on 16,374,000 Texas acres. Two years later, in 1928, 5,150,000 bales of cotton were harvested from 17,743,000 acres. Ten years later, in 1938, the harvested acreage was 42 percent less than that of 1928. Only a small percent of the acreage released from cotton has been planted to other crops for harvest, and the combined income from livestock and livestock products and from other agricultural sources, although on the increase, has not been sufficient to offset the loss in cotton income.

These terrific losses in income are, obviously, accompanied by equally terrific unemployment and displacement. In 1930 there were in Texas 349,452 cotton farms with 106,228 full and part owners and managers. All tenants on these farmers totaled 243,224—5,455 cash tenants, 147,483 share tenants, and 90,286 cropper tenants. The decline that set in early in this decade, as already mentioned, is emphasized by the shocking fact that in 1 year alone, between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938, according to the 1937 Texas Population Changes Survey, there was a decrease of 20,000 cotton farms in the State. Since many displaced families from cotton farms migrated, probably, to noncotton farms, the displacement from cotton farms was no doubt greater than 20,000 families.

The cotton-reduction program and the loss of world markets, to which formerly the bulk of Texas cotton went, are in no small degree responsible for the dire unemployment condition among migratory workers; but of equal importance as a cause is the technological displacement—the mechanization of crop production and crop harvest. To quote Prof. C. Horace Hamilton in a study sponsored by the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College, "The rate and magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are, to put it mildly, beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man."

In the Southwest Texas leads in this mechanization, with 61,618 tractors added in 1938 alone, an increase over 1930 of 165 percent. The tractor ratio in Texas is now 19.8 per hundred, considerably higher than that of any other Southern State except Oklahoma, with 19.5. The 1938 total of 98,966 tractors in Texas far exceeded the total in eight old South Cotton States.

In cotton farming the most rapid mechanization has taken place in the western areas of Texas and Oklahoma. In Texas the high and low plains and the Corpus Christi area are almost completely mechanized. In a study made by C. A. Bonnen and A. C. Magee in 1937 it was found that of 141 representative farmers in the high plains that year, 79 percent were depending on tractor power and multirow equipment, as compared with only 26 percent in 1931. Furthermore, as the use of four-row equipment has increased the use of work stock has become obsolete.

In the Blacklands of Texas at least 30 percent of the farmers use tractors to such an extent that possibly 50 percent of the cropland is cultivated with tractors.

Although the large plantations of the river bottoms have been slow to mechanize cotton, the number of tractors on them doubled in 4 years preceding 1938. Certain factors will keep hand labor on the plantations longer than elsewhere.

This displacement of farms and tenants by the thousands has not been confined to cotton workers. The same situation applied to all other agricultural activities in Texas in proportion to their rating as labor markets.

Depending upon transient and migratory labor almost entirely, when any is needed, the Plains and Blacklands farmers keep a rapidly diminishing number of tenants on their places. The displacement of from 1 to 3 families by 1 tractor is not uncommon. An exaggerated case, perhaps, is one reported in which 9 families were displaced by 1 tractor. On the assumption that 1 tractor will displace only 1 family, more than 60,000 farm families were displaced from Texas farms between 1930 and 1938. We know that at least 20,000 of these families were displaced from cotton farms. Furthermore, since the number of tractors on Texas farms increased about 50,000 in a 3-year period before April 1, 1938, it may be estimated that more than 10,000 families have been displaced annually from Texas farms since 1935.

Although, by the peculiar requirements of cotton production, technological displacement of cotton workers is the most spectacular change in Texas agriculture and accounts for much of the steady decline since 1900, the entire curve is skewed over in the direction of the machine. That is, mechanization has appeared in wheat, corn, potato, truck, and even in citrus-fruit crops. Although hand labor still prevails in several of these crops, and there is increase in development of those industries, the displaced farm workers cannot be absorbed en masse into truck and fruit growing, nor even into fruit, vegetable, and dairy-processing plants. Where do they go? Many of them, as already remarked, go to poorer and unmechanized farms. Some try, with no conspicuous success, to find work in other lines of activity. Some remain in the country to work as partially employed or common laborers. Increasing numbers of them migrate to towns and cities, there to become common laborers, alternating between agricultural and town occupations with the seasonal drifts. It is not a coincidence that there were in 1935 a decrease of 28,654 croppers and an increase of 25,601 farm laborers. Others—thousands of them—join the transient and migratory hordes following the seasons of Texas crops and crossing State lines far afield.

In 1937 there were an estimated 600,000 of these migratory workers in Texas, of whom one-half worked the entire period, traveling from one crop to another over the State. They represented the 50 percent of migratory transient laborers for whom the crops of the State have, until recent technological displacement and crop reduction, provided year-round employment. In 1938 there were in Texas already some 2,500 mechanical choppers in use, primarily in large units, which previously had used migratory workers in large numbers.

The experience of the Texas Farm Placement Service in attempting to reduce the magnitude of the problems by organization of the labor market from 1935 to the present reveals in retrospect a continuous progress toward clearer understanding and increasing control of intrastate and interstate movements of migratory workers. Review of the experience of the service during each year of this period will indicate the developmental stages.[28]

Perhaps it is too obvious to mention, but it is important to keep in mind that the size and area of the State of Texas render ridiculous any attempt to describe it briefly and simply as a whole, for assuredly it is made up of many parts that in themselves defy simplicity of description.

Each of these parts or regions has its conditions and problems of climate, soils, rainfall, vegetation, natural resources, population, industries, numbers employed, crops, agricultural seasons of sowing, cultivating, and harvesting, livestock, production methods, seasonal characteristics—factors which bear directly upon the employment problem and dictate in no small degree the methods by which the problem must be handled. Certainly migratory movements of workers over the State must be interpreted and treated in terms of these factors.

Preliminary observations, therefore, were undertaken by local offices under the direction of the farm-placement service supervisors assigned to Texas. These two supervisors, although directly accountable to Washington, worked under the direction of one of the assistant directors of the Texas State Employment Service who had been put in charge of all farm placement activity for the State.

The agricultural worker was registered in the employment service office by the same procedure as any other worker, and his various registration and work history data went through the same routine as those for any other applicant.

But since migratory labor, with its mobility and frequently unattached state of transiency, did not lend itself to permanent and immediately available record in the active files of an employment office, other means of checking had to be devised. Accordingly, local employment office personnel began tentatively to collect for their own information and direction data on crops, peak seasons, crop outlook, labor needs, and farmer expectations and attitudes.

From the outset, it has been the policy of the Texas State Employment Service and its farm-placement service to exhaust a local labor supply before calling in outside labor. In its tentative approach, therefore, to the migratory worker situation, it had some idea that the migrants within easy distance should be the ones called upon first. Right here, the service, in many parts of the State, ran into a stone wall of determined opposition to any change from common practice.

That is, many growers were firmly committed to the contractor system for obtaining their labor supply. By this system a contractor handled all negotiations for the labor required by a grower. Often the contractors would contract large blocks of acreage and let it out to laborers on an acreage basis. Large growers were known to encourage their contractors to keep a surplus of labor on the property, allowing the workers to become so indebted they could not easily get away. Wages were very low in such cases, 75 cents per day being the prevailing wage. Cotton chopping was usually paid for on acreage basis, so set that the average worker could not make more than 75 cents per day.

Another not uncommon practice came to the early attention of the service. A so-called contractor would agree to furnish migratory labor to a grower on the understanding that the selection of the gin would be left to the contractor. The "deal" between the contractor and the ginner then usually amounted to $1 per bale profit to the contractor.

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[28] Materials taken from files and reports of the Texas State Employment Service.

Furthermore, it was found that growers preferred outside contractors and laborers. When explanation for this preference was sought, service representatives learned that "local" contractors are too exacting at times in the amounts they receive for hauling, and they pick up and move their gangs out without giving warning. It was said, too, that local labor might become too easily discouraged, whereas workers brought in from a distance were more or less helpless, at the mercy of the contractor as to wages and conditions of working.

To all intents and purposes these contractors were labor agents of a type already discussed as part of the picture previous to 1935. From the start, therefore, the Farm Placement Service of Texas had to face a situation hardened by the skillful evasions of the Texas employment agency law.

Owners of many of the large holdings were found to be out-of-State investors, interested only in returns. Since they could speak no Spanish and were unfamiliar with farming and ranching methods in the Southwest, they hired Mexicans to handle their labor problems; but to evade the provisions of the Texas employment agency law the contractors were paid, not on a direct per capita basis, but having brought in the workers free of registration charges, they were then employed to haul the crop harvested by the laborers contracted to them.

This method of contracting had spread to other crops, especially onions. It was found that onion growers wanted only south Texas Mexicans, brought in by truckloads from the San Antonio area by contractors.

The contractor system yielded not a whit to employment service approaches in 1935. Uncontracted migratory workers, meanwhile, roamed as aimlessly as ever. Frequently, these nomads, either starting out on their own or on misleading information from a labor agent, would make an untimely arrival at some destination where they might find neither work nor shelter. If the weather happened to be inclement, they would bog down in the mud along the road or in some vacant acreage until they were told to move on.

Rumors of violations of the Texas emigrant agency law began to filter through to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and to the farm placement service.

Although there was no request for an emigrant agency license after 1930, it was discovered that some attempts were being made to ship labor out of the State to northern beet fields. Emigrant agents could and did, no doubt, paint the advantage of a summer in the beet fields of Michigan or Colorado in rosy colors. While unemployed labor idled, Mexican laborers were hauled across five States and 1,600 miles to the beet fields of Michigan. Having heard the proposition, the Mexican would count his children, load them into car, bus, or truck and start out for the beet fields, where wages per acre from $17 to $20 awaited him and his family.

In spite of the discouraging aspects of the labor situation in Texas, the farm placement service in 1935 carried on a steady if not extensive activity, its principal placement record resulting from cotton-picking seasons over the State. Other crop harvests received little attention; and total placements were small in proportion to the volume of labor turn-over in agriculture.

A Kardex control was set up in 1935, maintained by district and county to show the status of each office at any time. All available county data were recorded, including kinds of crops, acreage of each, production of each, planting time, cultivating time, harvesting season. Space was prepared for regular farm and transient placement records, with separate space reserved for entries on required outside labor.

By the beginning of 1936 the Texas State Employment Service had a larger personnel, expanded office facilities, and nearly a year of experimental experience behind it. The farm placement service began to expand.

The sketchy information each local office had collected for its own use and the hasty observations each had made of its own vicinity had served their limited purposes.

The first joint effort toward an articulated survey and analysis of the conditions and problems of the State as background for employment techniques was an early project of the year. The ultimate aim of all these data was to furnish a working knowledge of the available labor supply at any given time and of farmer-employer needs in the successive seasons.

Directed from the administrative office in Austin, this survey stressed information on acreage and yield in all crops, manner in which labor was handled, and the numbers of local and migratory workers used during the peak seasons.

Personal solicitation of growers, shippers, contractors, and laborers served the employment service representatives a double purpose. They gathered valuable and pertinent information; and by projecting their organization and its aims wherever they went, they established many valuable contacts. For the most part, they had excellent cooperation from farm agents, chambers of commerce, and local businessmen, many of whom openly welcomed the service as a benefactor to labor and to industry.

In the administrative office, the reports were studied and analyzed; and there began to emerge a plan of labor organization.

The survey proceeded by districts, beginning in the Winter Garden area of south Texas, where winter vegetables are the basic crop, with spinach and onions leading in importance. It was found here that the accepted method of securing labor for the various seasons was through the contractor system.

The service, however, began to receive orders; and a highlight of experience in this region was the receipt and disposal of an order in the San Antonio office from a grower's contractor at La Pryor, 130 miles from San Antonio. The order was for one hundred spinach cutters, with transportation, fuel, and living quarters furnished.

When the order was referred to the administrative office, the farm placement supervisor instructed the San Antonio office to take no action until conditions at La Pryor could be checked. It developed that there was no shortage of labor at La Pryor. In the Crystal City area, due to slack production, there were hundreds of available spinach cutters. At Carrizo Springs, 30 miles from La Pryor, there were spinach cutters at the very time the contractor had appealed to San Antonio for workers.

Adhering to its hardening policy of referring only local labor until it is exhausted, the employment service refused to fill the order. Such a transaction would have produced congestion of unemployed labor in that area and would have aggravated the idleness of available local workers.

This conclusion tightened into definite and final policy the practice of the service to supply workers only upon receipt of specific orders for labor, and then only when it has been ascertained that no local labor is available. Outside labor was to be referred only when it had been unquestionably ascertained that labor demand by farmers actually exceeded the supply and that all labor brought in would be put to work. In such cases, the imported labor was to be obtained from the nearest possible point as a measure of economy in time and motion.

This experience in the winter garden area early in 1936, which crystallized into one of the fundamental principles of farm placement service policy, is an excellent example of the cumulative method by which farm placement service procedure in Texas has developed. Experience has led the way; and experience has tested ideas, eliminated unsatisfactory results, established practical practices.

The survey was carried into the citrus fruit region in the lower Rio Grande Valley. The onion is an important crop in parts of this area, and in 1936 service representatives had opportunity to see at first hand what happens when a glutted market extends the season, causing delayed harvest. Production here was stretched out over weeks and migratory workers were stranded up and down the roadside, living on the rotting vegetables left in the fields after the harvest, suffering from sickness and lack of decent living conditions.

Many of these stranded workers were white persons from out of the State. Next to cotton, the onion crop of this area received the most extensive and unwarranted publicity with the result that year after year migrant workers moved into the brush and set up their camps.

The 1936 survey reports from this area, on the basis of observation, carried suggestions for dealing with the situation in 1937 and thereafter, to the end that such conditions might be prevented by the rerouting and redirecting of workers from a congested area to one where labor shortage might exist.

Favorable to employment service corrective intentions was the attitude of many growers who preferred Mexican skill in their fields and who said that

Mexican labor was usually available in sufficient numbers to perform peak operations.

In the coastal bend area, where agriculture is a year-round activity, the survey reports told of vast labor needs at the peak seasons. The system of contractor labor, however, promised to be a deterrent to service functions.

From the coastal bend area, the investigation moved to Waco and Dallas districts, large cotton-producing areas. East Texas with its tomatoes and diversified farming; Fort Worth with its cotton, cattle, grains, and wheat interests; Abilene with its sheep and goat ranching and its cotton; the north high plains with its wheat and cotton; El Paso with its cotton; Houston with its cotton and rice; Beaumont with little agricultural activity—one after the other, these areas were surveyed and put down into the record for all that they had to yield in the way of pertinent data.

The survey was finished in July 1936, too late to serve as a guide in some of the south Texas districts, but in time to function effectively in other districts. Plans, therefore, were immediately laid toward an organizational beginning of the labor market in districts where the harvest seasons were yet to come. For the other districts, there at least existed a ground work upon which to lay plans for the 1937 seasons.

The significance of migratory labor in Texas agriculture made itself conspicuous in the survey. From only two districts was there no report of need of migratory workers at peak seasons.

The first opportunity for putting plans into operation came with the opening of the cotton season in the Brownsville area, where, annually, the growers overestimated labor needs. Following tradition, calls for labor went out in 1936. From one community, a long distance telephone message to the employment service office requested 2,000 pickers. An investigator was dispatched to the community where again he was assured of urgent labor needs, but names of specific growers needing labor were not forthcoming. After every grower had been contacted and all rumors tracked down, it turned out that bona fide orders for 85 workers took care of the situation. In spite of continued rumors of labor shortage, it was possible to handle the harvest without bringing more than 200 workers in from outside. As was to be expected, other migrants drifted in on the wings of publicity and rumor; but the employment service was commended for the way it handled the emergency. Total placements in the valley cotton counties during July and August of this year were 4,264.

The first big movement of migratory labor to be handled by the service was that of cotton pickers moving into the coastal bend country. In this section, Nueces County leads in cotton. In 1936, in spite of production control, growers had 190,000 acres of cotton, with an estimated yield of 80,000 bales.

According to plan, the Service employees in the several counties of the district reported daily to the Farm Placement Supervisor who was stationed at Alice, in Jim Wells County, strategic point through which the main streams of migratory labor must flow from the Lower Valley, Laredo, Eagle Pass enroute to the coastal bend cotton picking section.

On the basis of these reports regarding bona fide openings and conditions, the supervisor directed the movement of workers to localities where labor was needed. As the workers were intercepted, they were given referral cards for presentation at an employment service office holding orders. The card carried the name of the group leader or the family head and the number of workers in the group.

When the movement started out of the valley about August 10, the service employees in that region were able, on the basis of their own experience that season, to provide advance information as to numbers and time of checking out, so that they might be intercepted and redirected.

To help handle the movement more expeditiously, five employees were transferred to the coastal bend district from other offices for the month of August. Two areas were consolidated; and the number of placements in these two areas for August was 6,275, the majority being in Nueces and Bee Counties.

The traditional tendency of the migratory labor to pick the cream of a crop and then move on to another district where the crop might not yet be ready gave the service some difficulty in the coastal bend area. Still skeptical as to the intentions and reliability of service information, the workers too many times would not accept the word of the Service representatives as to conditions elsewhere. To their ultimate inconvenience and hardship, they would move off undirected, to follow a rumor.

The cotton-picking season in central Texas which usually opens about the middle of September and that of the plains area which opens about the middle of October were early in 1936 so that in the midst of the picking season in the coastal bend area, demands for cotton pickers began to come in from those regions. It was difficult, and in cases impossible, to keep the pickers at work in the coastal bend fields.

The total number of placements during the cotton season in these two central and north districts—Waco and Dallas—was 13,944 for the months of August, September, and October.

When cotton picking ceased on the north plains in November, the year's cycle was completed ;and the migratory workers turned south again to be on hand when the season opened in the Brownsville district for winter vegetables and citrus fruits.

Since the employment service was not able to put into practice much of its planning until midsummer of 1936, it had not experienced all the turns in the cycle; but it had built up a corpus of valuable experience to be absorbed into policy-making, and it had met many problems squarely and intelligently.

In addition to situations already mentioned, the Farm Placement Service of the Texas State Employment Service in 1936 met and tackled the following problems:

(1) A shortage of labor developing in the Dallas district, the employment service cooperated with the Works Projects Administration which released 1,900 men and women from going projects to pick cotton for 2 weeks.

(2) The need of itinerant service arising, it was provided for counties where no regular offices were located but where large-scale seasonal demands of labor existed.

(3) Headway was made with contractors. Gradually, the more reliable contractors were coming to see a possible ally rather than a competitor in the employment service. By actual experience, some of these contractors learned that by cooperating with the service, they would save themselves and their crews the loss of time and money that resulted from aimless and fruitless wandering over the State. They were beginning to see that an organized labor market where employer demand and worker supply could meet was distinctly advantageous to all concerned.

The contractors were usually owners of trucks who hauled the laborers to and from the areas of production. The reliable and responsible type of contractor was described in a report early in 1936. From this report is quoted the following excerpt:

"The only specific information I have on contractors and the way they operate is in connection with those with whom we have dealt—the truckmen-contractors who are sent by growers to our office with order for workers * * * The order is sent to us by either telephone, telegram, or letter and we are requested to notify the contractors, or they are notified beforehand when to expect orders. Certain contractors are very dependable, honest, and considerate of the laborer; have known them to return workers who were ill to their homes at their own expense * * * In addition to transporting labor, they are hired to weigh the cotton, take charge of the commissaries and oversee the work generally. They are responsible for any loss in sacks or groceries—the groceries being advanced to workers, paid for out of wages when earned. If any of the workers get an allotment of groceries, then decide to leave, the contractor is required to pay for them. This past season, as I understand it, Messrs. M—— paid $1.50 per adult for transportation of labor to their farms; $1 per bale for overseeing the work, and extra pay for weighing of cotton. For cotton chopping, I believe the pay was $1.50 a day for managing the crews and extra pay for transporting of labor.

"Customary price contractor receives for vegetable harvesting is 5 cents per bushel, or its equivalent, or is paid on a commission basis. The farmers sell their crops to large companies or buyers from the East and they employ contractors for the gathering of the various crops. For this reason, contractors are employed more for vegetable harvesting than for cotton. They usually have charge of work such as grubbing land also.

"This policy of the farmers to resort to contracting for labor has developed in the last few years to a great extent because the laborers have been less and less able to get to the work. If the farmer wanted his crops harvested, he had to send for the labor. Sometimes transportation is furnished free and sometimes a small fee charged to the account of the laborer. The truckmen usually serve as contractor. As you know, the farmers' employing of contractors, as far as the contractor proper is concerned, is a disadvantage to the laborer, as the wages paid him rightfully belong to the gatherer of the crops. However, this is the existing condition and the problem we face.

"There is another type of contractor, commonly known as the 'bootlegger' * * * He recruits his labor, with an aim at the more ignorant, uninformed classes—offering work, very often misrepresenting wages and working conditions, possibly having no definite location for them, but promising work, after collecting fees. He may deliver them to a farmer who knows nothing of his tactics, but badly in need of labor, hires them at any price and they are forced to remain * * *. However, this practice is not so prevalent as it once was." [29]

The Texas laws regarding employment agencies and agents were evidently having some effect upon the unscrupulous contractors whose activities dated back to increasing stringency of the national immigration laws. Apparently, also, the activities of the employment service were acting as a curb on their bootleg methods.

(4) The handling of migratory workers in the Lubbock area in 1936 was a vast improvement over the situation in 1935. With the cooperation of businessmen and growers, better living conditions were provided for the migrants.

(5) Interstate problems arose at least twice during the year. In April 1936 employment service representatives learned that Mexican labor was being recruited in the San Antonio area for work in the beet fields of Minnesota. The Labor Commissioner of Texas was notified that a company of workers were headed north on their way out of Texas, and correspondence was initiated between the Texas State Employment Service and the Minnesota State Employment Service. It developed that the representative of a large Minnesota sugar company had written to former Mexican employees in Texas, telling them that there might be work available for a few families. A check upon the labor supply in Minnesota indicated neither shortage of labor nor need of out-of-State importation. Although Texas labor officials halted the north-bound Mexicans, they were released when it developed that they were family groups in hired cars and had sufficient funds. To all intents and purposes, this was in violation of the Texas Emigrant Agency Law, as was the soliciting of Texas by growers in Arizona. Heavy rains in the Waco district delayed picking and irked the waiting migrants who were hearing from news reports and the "grapevine" that Arizona was in urgent need of pickers. The employment service refused to advise the workers to make the long, expensive trip; but several hundred went anyway. Other pickers from various parts of Texas went to Arizona. Many of them were stranded there because of overcrowded labor supply, and many others returned to Texas late in the season with tales of misery. The situation in Arizona, which caused the Texas Service some annoyance from 1936 to 1939, has been treated in fuller detail elsewhere.[30]

The year 1936, in spite of handicaps, mistakes, and inexperience, had been generally successful. The survey early in the year had pointed to methods of handling migratory labor, had provided basic information for the making of seasonal calendars by districts, had, in short, given direction to the organization of the Texas farm-labor market. Problems had been met and faced squarely and intelligently, if not solved. A Kardex system of controls had been set up by districts by counties. Pertinent county data were recorded in proper spaces; placement records of regular and transient farm labor were kept; and information regarding outside labor requirements was reported on the cards. Graphical charts had been devised to visualize the year's experiences.

The year 1937 opened on a note of fresh confidence. With its activities in the harvesting of spinach, citrus fruit, and mixed vegetables beginning in December

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[29] Report from a district supervisor of the Texas State Employment Service.

[30] A Brief to Analyze the Texas Emigrant Agency Act and Other Pertinent Legislation, prepared by the Texas State Employment Service.

1936 and continuing through March of the new year in the lower valley and winter garden areas, the service had its first experience in this phase of the annual cycle. Over 2,300 placements were made in Zavala County in December and January, largely handled by interviewers transferred to the area because of their knowledge of Mexican psychology. In January and February there were 1,724 placements in 3 counties of the area.

The service chalked up success in meeting an emergency when a quarantine order prohibited any shipping of citrus fruit out of the valley after April 23. In helping the growers and shippers, the service made 1,974 placements during March in the citrus areas.

The San Antonio district showed over 10,000 placements during April and May, with the major activity in onion harvesting and cotton chopping in the coastal bend area.

Of particular significance during the onion season in Willacy County in the spring of 1937 was the establishment of the first so-called work assembly camp in Texas. It will be recalled that a deplorable situation arose in 1936 in this region, and service observers came away from the scene with corrective intentions to which the growers were mostly cordial.

The camp, promoted by local businessmen and civic organizations, provided running water, garbage-disposal units, and sanitary units for men and women. The camp idea was permanently accepted, and plans for further development began to take shape.

About 2,300 placements were made during the April and May Bermuda onion harvest in the county. Although approximately 90 percent of the labor used in this harvest is migratory, the discouragement given to out-of-State workers in 1936 favorably reacted to the advantage of growers and workers alike in 1937. That is, there was a considerable decrease in the use of out-of-State white workers. The larger portion of Mexican labor that handled the onions moved in at the close of the spinach harvest in Zavalla County.

In fact, during these early months of 1937, increasing confidence in the service on the part of the growers, contractors, and especially the migratory workers themselves, began to be noticed. For example, when the onion harvest opened in Wilson County, as it was closing in Willacy County, 270 miles distant, the workers almost in a body moved from the one county to the other, reporting voluntarily to the employment service at Floresville for instructions and referrals. Approximately 2,325 placements were made in the area during April and May.

Late in May, when the onion harvest was finished in Wilson County, contractors and workers began to move north to Collin County, a distance approximately 325 miles. Offices along the route were notified of the movement, and checkers were stationed at strategic points to count the trucks and workers and especially to reroute them to points where there were labor demands.

In the heavy cotton season of 1937, growers exhibited an accented fear of labor shortage; but the employment service refused to be stampeded from its policy of studying the actual needs before pointing any labor in any direction. It required constant and careful checking on all migratory labor movements, with men stationed along the various routes to intercept and to give workers instructions and directions. The employment service offices were swamped with orders, and only the smooth functioning of advance planning kept the whole situation from becoming hopelessly confused and disordered.

Peak activity in the Lubbock area found workers coming in from all sides; but they were expected and preparations had been made for their coming. Businessmen, civic organizations, and other local interests in Lubbock cooperated to provide a work assembly camp on the Lubbock fair grounds. Here the workers found for their use lights, running water, toilets, garbage-disposal facilities. Contractors turned in and helped to maintain order and keep the premises in good shape. In Hockley County, Levelland turned over the fair park and exposition building for sleeping quarters; and in Terry County, Brownfield offered a camping lot, furnished oil, stoves, electric lights, and sanitary conveniences.

So successful were the camps in every way that the employment service was assured of their use in 1938. At the close of the 1937 season, when the last truck had pulled out of the camps, they were returned to the local authorities as clean and orderly as they had been before the workers came. It is worthy of notice, too, that the labor market in counties of the area in which camps were not furnished was not as successfully organized or managed during that season.

A new system of checking on migratory labor in Texas was begun in 1937 with registration service established at the Lubbock camp Here, all migratory workers were registered; the number arriving; the number leaving; the number making their arrangements directly with the farmers without employment service assistance; and the number moving on to other points.

According to the register, 3,721 qualified workers were in the camp between October 11 and December 1. Of this number, 2,482 were placed; 619 had made previous arrangements to report to employers; 620 moved to other locations. No exact count was possible of the number who negotiated directly with farmers without employment service assistance.

Service representatives were at the camp at all hours to assist employers who came to the camp in search of workers; and proper referrals were made of the registered workers.

Altogether, 389 conveyances of all sorts came into the camp. Of these, 317 showed Texas registration; 45 Oklahoma; 7, Arkansas; 7, California; 6, New Mexico; 3, Michigan; 2, Kansas; 1, Mississippi; and 1, Louisiana.

So effectively did the plans of the service function that the harvest moved swiftly; and gins, working day and night, could not keep up with the continuous stream of wagons and trucks.

By the close of December 1, the season was practically over; and approximately 75 percent of the workers, mostly Mexicans, had already arrived in the Brownsville and San Antonio areas to begin the cycle all over again.

Although the employment service is not a welfare agency, its effects upon the social and economic life of migratory labor was a remarkable aspect of the organization of the labor market in 1936–37.

By routing the workers who depended upon the service from area to area, from crop to crop, from farm to farm, even, the service was able to provide more consecutive working days than many of the workers had ever known before, and steadier income than they had ever received. Pertinent to this fact is that migratory workers who returned to their homes in the winter garden from the north plains had, by December 1937, deposited more than $26,000 in one of the local banks.

The effect of better housing upon these workers was a second social benefit. Better health, better morale, even increasing demand for adequate housing facilities were perfectly apparent results.

Perhaps the outstanding feature in the 1937 program of the farm placement service of the Texas State Employment Service was its farm crew of 18 interviewers who were stationed in the various crop areas during peak seasons. Moving from one place to another, they kept constant check on employer needs and available labor supply, making timely contacts between the two.

By the end of the seasonal cycle, principal migratory routes had been mapped, charted, and depended upon for future needs, as the work pattern of those migratory workers who would depend upon the service in making the cycle of the crops

Estimate of the numbers of itinerant workers in 1937 was 600,000, half of whom worked a maximum length of time, deducting time for travel and days lost because of weather conditions. The remaining 300,000 were not migratory workers in the true sense of the term. These went only short distances from home and worked varying lengths of time. For the most part, they were engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, in private industry, in self-employment, or in governmental employment; or they were on relief.

From all the records of the 2 years of active service there was compiled the first report of the farm placement service in Texas, with the title, "Survey of Farm Placement in Texas, 1936–37."

To summarize the farm placement activity of 1937, it is sufficient only to say perhaps that placements in that year exceeded by 344 percent those of 1936.

By the beginning of 1938, the period of exploration into the real purposes of farm-placement service was over. Experience was still to be the guide, as it must ever be in dealing with human labor and changing economic conditions; but by this time the service had a definite plan and a program of action for every phase of the yearly cycle. Factual surveys, investigations, cooperation of other agencies were part of the regular routine of keeping informed and ready. Farm-placement procedure had taken its place as an established technique in employment-service operations. More than that, the farm-placement service had State-wide and national reputation as the leading agency in effectiveness of attack on employment problems of farm labor, regular and migratory.

As one evidence of this effectiveness, at the end of 1938 it had made during the year a total of 356,209 limited farm placements, through special mass referral procedures provided for peak harvest seasons in handling migratory labor; and 46,826 regular placements, or those made in the local employment offices according to the prevailing "five point" procedure for all registrations.

Continued effort toward more orderly and efficient work-pattern routes for migratory workers in the name of timeliness was one objective of 1938. As a short cotton crop threatened a labor surplus in places, the employment service concentrated on keeping unclogged the areas where there was sufficient local labor and on shifting work-pattern routes so as to direct migrants to sections where serious need of labor had developed in the 1937 season.

This anticipation reflecting previous experience worked out to the advantage of growers, contractors, and workers in more than one instance. Contractors, growers, and workers were displaying increased confidence in the service. The reliable contractor was more easily dealt with; some of the larger growers still went into a state of panic as harvest seasons drew near and wanted a surplus of labor from which to pick and choose. Other growers, however, had discovered, from pleasant experiences, that the service could be depended upon in its handling of mass labor.

By 1938, therefore, the employment service was an accepted unit in the cycle of agricultural activity in Texas. Service interviewers visited camp sites and became acquainted with the workers. By this contact, they were able to organize working groups into units reporting to the service. An example of such organization was that of onion laborers in Willacy County. Organization was also effected among the spinach workers in Crystal City.

In this area it was found that approximately 3,500 agricultural workers claim Crystal City as their legal residence. For 4 months during the year, they harvest the spinach crop; and then 90 percent of them follow the crop harvests over the State for the next 8 months. No outside labor is needed in this area.

In Willacy County there was a heavy influx of migratory white workers from Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana, in spite of the well-known fact that the growers prefer south Texas Mexican help which is available within easy distances. Although a work-assembly camp had been established in this area in 1937, and in 1938 it provided space for 3,000 persons, with water and sanitary conveniences furnished, there were in the camp in March only 500 migrants. Five miles away in a mesquite thicket 2,000 migrants were camping in most deplorable and unsanitary conditions. When State health and State labor officials appeared on the scene the colony scattered. Some of the workers moved into the camp; others, frightened at the sight of officials, hurried from the vicinity and did not reappear.

With visible evidence of the economic decline in agriculture, for reasons discussed earlier, it had became necessary by 1938 to experiment with diversion of labor possessing capacity for transfer of skills. As a result of the efforts in this direction, numbers of former farm workers were transfered to unskilled labor jobs with shed operators, packers, and shippers. At the end of the harvesting season in the winter garden area, a number of placements effected this transfer. A considerable number of former migrants, therefore, remained at their homes instead of moving out on to the road. The twofold result was increased net income for these transferred workers and better control of the movement out of the valley north. This movement was held back until it was definitely determined that migratory labor was needed elsewhere.

As a second broadening of the labor market to accommodate migrants, the service began exploratory efforts to bring other agricultural interests into the range of service operations. Sheep shearing and truck industries were among these industries explored.

As the labor market takes shape and form, however, with constant enlargement of service operation, the more subject to uncalculated emergencies and conditions it becomes. Such a condition developed in the lower valley and winter garden sections at the close of the cotton season. Late in November about 3,000 persons who had gone north to pick cotton returned to the valley to find that the vegetable season was off due to low prices and frost and that early citrus was coming on to a dead market. Canneries and shipping sheds opened slowly with skeleton forces. The diversion plan had run into difficulties.

The service hit another snag in Collin County at onion harvest time. Growers, refusing the advances of the employment service, insisted upon bringing a surplus of outside labor. They brought it in; and when employment service representatives made a survey at the end of the season to determine the number of workers available for the cotton picking season in the lower valley they found completely stranded workers living in miserable circumstances.

In the Amarillo district the county judge of one of the heavy cotton-producing counties notified the employment service in March that 300 Negroes were stranded on a large cotton plantation in an adjoining county. Investigation revealed that the operator of this plantation, preferring Negro labor, had hired certain truck owners to bring in Negro workers from central Texas, paying approximately $5 per person, that sum to be deducted from each worker's pay.

The Negroes were housed in so-called dugouts, 3 feet in the ground, with weatherboard side and roof. In each of 3 or 4 of these dugouts, each 80 by 12 feet, about 100 people slept in bunks arranged in tiers. There was little ventilation and only surface toilets in the way of sanitation. A few wood stoves, with cheap fuel, were furnished. Throughout the winter the Negroes had existed in these miserable dumps, without transportation to get away, with only enough pay to provide scanty food. The cotton harvest on this plantation extended into March on limited scale. Continuous bad weather late in the winter made it impossible for the Negroes to work and put them more deeply into debt at the commissary.

When the sheriff visited the camp, he found two dead Negroes covered with old gunny sacks in one of the dugouts; and the others in wretched plight. To his questions, the owner of the property said that there was nothing to get excited about; the Negroes would "fade out" when the warm weather came.

In contrast to these unpleasant experiences in service attempts to organize the labor market in 1938, the development of work-assembly camps continued In the Sinton area, city and county officials purchased a plot of ground and turned it into a gathering point for migratory cotton pickers. At Robstown a similar but smaller camp was constructed.

At El Campo, in Wharton County, a camp was established for the workers, to the considerable benefit of employers, employment service, and labor. In Levelland, Lubbock, Lamesa, and Plainview also there were gathering points and camps for the migrants, with the result that handling migratory labor in those areas proceeded without complications.

Although the employment service does not build or maintain these camps, its interest in them is several-fold. A concentration of workers at one point makes possible the rendering of more satisfactory service to farmers and laborers alike. The quieting effect of the camps upon the workers is apparent in the new steadiness with which many of them work in one area until the job is done, instead of rolling off to some other place, leaving the crop behind half picked. The usual tendency of migrants to get on the road toward the central and northern Texas sections was still active in 1938; but in many cases the workers listened to and heeded employment service advice and suggestions. The increasing confidence of the workers in the service and its efforts to provide them with work was constantly noted throughout this year.

The annual crop-harvest fear and claim of labor shortage was less evident in 1938 than for many previous years in Texas. There was no appeal to the Labor Department to relax the immigration restrictions in favor of Mexican labor.

Although complete count of migratory workers is scarcely possible, the checking systems devised by the service prior to 1938 were refined and extended in that year with the result that in certain areas it was possible to arrive at some fairly close estimates.

Mention has already been made of the 3,500 agricultural laborers who claim Crystal City as legal residence. From the Brownsville district, during the cotton picking season in 1938, according to a service check, 404 trucks carrying

12,801 migrants took to the road, principally during the last days of July and the first of August as cotton picking opened up over the State.

On the Sinton labor lot the following count was taken: 708 whites, 4,086 Mexicans, 105 Negroes, making a total of 4,899. States represented and numbers from each were: Texas, 4,772; Oklahoma, 61; California, 3; Arizona, 29; Florida, 12; New Mexico, 22; making the total of 4,899.

The number of vehicles coming on to the lot was 413, carrying the 4,899 persons, of which the employment service referred 4,586. The remaining 313 moved on of their own accord. Of the 787 farmers operating 1,219 farms in the area, 584 placed bona fide orders for 7,870 workers, of which the service referred from all sources 7,768. Of these, 7,070 were placed, leaving 698 not hired.

Checks were made at other points also; and the estimated figure of 200,000 to 300,000 figure of full-time migrants in the State of Texas was substantiated. The origins of this labor are estimated to be between 60 and 65 percent, south Texas labor, chiefly Mexicans; 20 to 22 percent, central Texas labor; 9 to 10 percent, west Texas labor; from other States, 2 to 3 percent.

In addition to the community gathering points and camps, individual farmers and growers this year provided more and better housing facilities for the workers and their families. Shacks, sheds, and tents were erected to care for the migrants. As a result of all the efforts to improve living conditions for these workers, there was less suffering and less sickness than in any preceding year.

A most promising situation in the matter of camps and gathering points developed in September 1938, when representatives of the Farm Security Administration received the assistance of the employment service in making an agricultural survey of Texas, with a view to location of subsistence labor camps in the State.

At the close of the survey recommendations were sent to Washington. These recommendations included a permanent camp to be established at Raymondville in the heart of the area where, from time to time, unfortunate situations arise among incoming migrants during the onion and cotton seasons; permanent camps at Robstown, Sinton, El Campo, Vernon, Lamesa, Lubbock, and probably Childress. Later, the employment service received word that work would begin early in the new year on the Raymondville migratory labor camp on a site 4 miles south of that city.

In the meantime, the interstate migratory movement was causing some alarm to labor department officials in Texas. Evasion of the Texas emigrant agency law was apparently growing. Arizona cotton growers and the beet-field operators of Northern States were the chief offenders. Claiming exemption from the Texas occupation tax through application of section 7 of that law, the beet-field growers and their agents were taking out increasing numbers of Mexican labor, to an estimated annual total of around 8,000. For a complete discussion and presentation of these growing interstate problems of migratory labor originating in Texas, see the Report on the Migration of Mexican Labor From Texas to the Sugar Beet Fields, and A Brief to Analyze the Texas Emigrant Agency Act and Other Pertinent Legislation, prepared by the Texas State Employment Service on the basis of fact.[31]

A word should now be said regarding the organization of farm placement activity in the administrative office. Here, the two farm placement supervisors and the district supervisors reported to an assistant director of the Texas State Employment Service. In this office were analyzed and processed all incoming reports from the field, with policies continuing to evolve from actual experience.

A cotton fact survey was established to precede the opening of the cotton season by several months. In this survey, data pertinent to crop acreage, crop handling, crop yield, and labor supply were collected and put in shape for ready reference. A similar survey was made for other crops.

The Kardex system of district and county information, kept up to date, had been set up by offices to show agricultural activity, migratory labor requirements, and other important information. A system of large maps to carry all sorts of information regarding crops and migratory workers was worked out in detail.

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[31] These reports are available for reference.

A special control map was devised to show movement of migrants over the highways of the State. Interception points where employment service employees were stationed to stop workers and offer them assistance of the service were located on the map. The farm crew of 1938 numbered 21 interviewers assigned to this special work from their regular work in employment service offices.

For the use of this crew in the field in 1938 the first Farm Handbook was prepared. Designed as a practical operations guide, the handbook contained summaries of agricultural industries in the State, review of migratory and local labor problems, maps showing migratory work-pattern routes and crop informations, and Operations F–1, Farm Placement Procedure.[32]

Again, an annual report was prepared, entitled "Annual Report of the Farm Placement Service, Texas, 1938." [33]

In 1939 the total number of placements made in Texas by the farm placement service was 550,074, indicating increased use of the service by farmers and labor, with placements in the cotton harvest alone showing 30-percent increase over 1938, and that in spite of reduced production.

This quantitative evidence of increased service, however, although important, is not more important than the qualitative indications of greater efficiency.

Carrying out the policies already established through trial and error in the years between 1935 and 1938, the service in 1939 strengthened its position in the State and Nation.

In the first place, acceptance of the employment service in the Texas scheme of agriculture was attained by the wider use of its assistance by farmers and growers. Also, it was able to project its program into fields heretofore untouched.

Contractors, generally, also had fallen into line with employment-service policies by the end of 1939; and the labor racketeer was rapidly disappearing from intrastate labor. The contractor was usually a truck owner acting as "capitan" or "jefe" in handling contracts for a group which he represented. His dealings might be with farmers or with the employment service. For the most part these truckmen-contractors were found to be reliable and fair in their transactions.

Closely related with this wider acceptance of the service by employers and contractors was the greater community acceptance of the service and its program, with hearty cooperation extended by many agencies. Realization of the economic and social value of an organized labor market in its area had taught more than one community the wisdom of aiding and abetting the service in every way possible.

The program of service extension into certain seasonal-crop problems, only superficially touched before 1937, was widened. The concentrated effort to handle labor needed in these crops had as its objective the rounding out of a year's employment and income for migratory laborers. The attainment of maximum employment for these workers remains a chief aim of the service. Recent studies have indicated that in agriculture the median gross earnings of migratory workers ranged from $154 to $574.[34]

Furthermore, the effort to establish a rotation of labor from one camp to another with the varying crop season has the intention of restricting workers to a limited area wherein they may move more easily and quickly. At the same time they may establish permanent living headquarters—a happy situation many of these migrants have never before known. From their home basis they may follow the crops in a given area, never roaming any great distance from their homes.

Since it was estimated in 1939 that there were 325,000 of these workers employed varying periods of the crop harvesting; and since mechanization is rapidly curtailing certain types of hand labor, it is important that all agricultural employment be integrated into the labor market and that efforts at diversion to other skills be continued.

As in other years, uncalculated emergencies arose which taxed the cooperative energies and facilities of the service, agricultural operators, shippers, civic agencies, grain elevator operators, railroad officials even—introducing new factors of coordination of effort into the service program.

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[32] Farm Handbook and Operations F–1, Farm Placement Procedure are available for reference.

[33] This report is available for reference.

[34] Migratory Labor: A report to the President, Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, July 1940.

Bootleg immigration of Mexicans into Texas was apparently reduced to the minimum. The alertness of immigration officials and the activities of the border patrol had practically put an end to the illegalities rampant up to 1935. Following the outbreak of the war in September, border restrictions tightened.

Interstate problems of migratory labor became increasingly serious. The accumulation of evidence regarding the evasion and violation of the Texas emigrant agency law led to the preparation of a study and a brief,[35] the former in 1939, the latter in 1940. In 1939, there were 4 emigrant agents operating in Texas with the knowledge and consent of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Through these agencies there were cleared for beet fields in other States a total of 4,315 workers. In 1938, there had been 2. During these 2 years, many other workers went out undirected, bringing the estimated total up to between 5,000 and 8,000. The pernicious practices involved in the handling of these workers were rapidly bringing the authorities to a state of action.[36] From authentic reports it is known also that a total of 7,812 migrants passed border check stations into California this year, a decrease of 10 percent from 1938.[37]

Tightening of organization and management in the administrative office was reflected in the increased efficiency and smooth functioning of local offices. The effect of experience in previous years and analysis of that experience made itself apparent in the 1939 handling of migratory labor situations.

Procedural changes, emanating from the administrative office, simplified the interviewing routines and clerical work in the local offices, allowing more time for productive activity. All superfluities were trimmed and procedures pared to absolute essentials in order to get the job done with maximum expedition and efficiency.

There were 25 in the 1939 farm crew, working in the cotton and wheat harvests of 45 counties. Again, they were provided with a Farm Handbook for Crew Members.[38]

Also, an administrative office procedure reduced to definite lines of routine the handling of migratory labor problems and provided for systematic controls.

The success of the program was seen to hinge on integrated day-by-day control, with the administrative office acting in the capacity of clearing house on labor supply and demand, as well as directing authority for the movement of migratory labor.

Camps and labor lots grew in number and popularity. The camps to be built under the Farm Security Administration continued in projection on paper, with plans for actual construction taking form.

With the publication of the Annual Report of the Farm Placement Service, Texas, 1939,[39] publicity on the value of the service began to appear. Typical of the appreciation of the work performed by the service is this statement in a State newspaper:

"Formerly it seemed little could be done about the problems of the migratory workers and the farm owners who require seasonal labor. This is the fifth year, however, in which the Texas State Employment Service has attacked these problems on a State-wide scale. The results have been highly gratifying." [40]

This same news article was impressed by certain factors in summary:

"The local worker received a greater amount of employment due to the coordination of demand and supply in the community. * * * Transient workers were sent to the proper places at the right time and in the correct numbers, assuring them of more work and relieving them from being stranded in a locality with no work available. The entire group of workers had employment for a greater amount of time and spent less time and money looking for jobs.

"The farmers' crops were harvested quicker, giving a definite increase in the quality of their products, as damage from weather conditions was decreased.

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[35] Report on Migration of Mexican Labor from Texas to the Sugar Beet Fields, 1939, and A Brief to Analyze the Texas Emigrant Agency Act and Other Pertinent Legislation, 1940—Texas State Employment Service.

[36] Brief, op. cit.

[37] United States Department of Labor, U. S. E. S., Annual Report, 1938; Bureau of Employment Security, Annual Report, 1939 (Farm Placement Service, California Reports).

[38] This handbook is available for refernce.

[39] This report is available for reference.

[40] Houston Chronicle, September 2, 1940.

This meant a higher price for the crops. The speed with which the crops were gathered lessened the danger of complete destruction by storms. The farmer was also saved the money which he formerly had to spend in going considerable distances in search of workers.

"Each community benefited from the service rendered workers and farmers * * * there were no instances of disturbances resulting from maladjustments in the labor markets of local communities."

To date, the year 1940, sixth of Texas State Employment Service and Farm Placement Service activity in Texas, although moving through its recurrent cycles of weather, crops, and seasons, and although superficially presenting, under the familiar names of migratory labor, farm crews, concentration camps, the problems which have annually faced the service since 1935, is in fact offering a set of problems familiar in name only. The cycles may be the same—spinach and mixed-vegetable picking, onion harvest, cotton chopping, cotton picking, wheat harvest, citrus season—but the tide has changed. In 1940, to date, there have been no waves of migratory labor washing on to the shores of an ocean of work.

That statement does not mean that there has been a decrease in service farm placements. Rather, as a matter of fact, to the end of July there had been in Texas a total of 203,259 farm placements in comparison with 180,400 farm placements during the same period in 1939, an increase of some 13 percent.

Neither does it mean necessarily that there is or will be an actual labor shortage in Texas this season. It simply means that there are fewer migratory workers available for the seasonal peaks than there have been for many years. Its significance lies in the trend it may be setting toward labor scarcity.

The phenomenon—for such it is—of a Texas swinging into the heavy harvest seasons of the year without hordes of migrants rolling in trucks or limping in broken-down Fords over the byways and highways to the fields is another and new experience for the employment service.

Reasons for the phenomenon, varied as they are, are not far to seek. Curiously enough, several different forces operating toward entirely separate ends have embraced migratory labor in their respective zones of influence.

The first of these operating forces is the Mexican farm-repartition project. Under the endorsement of the present Mexican Government this project began to expand rapidly in 1939. The purpose of the project is to establish Mexicans on redistributed farm lands in Mexico, principally in the State of Tamaulipas, located in northeast Mexico. The applicants for land must be agricultural workers, and, if accepted, they receive certain initial assistance from the Government.

The effect of this project upon migratory labor in Texas may be seen from the report of one of the Texas farm-placement supervisors who made a trip to the border late in August of this year.[41]

Since January 1, 1939, Mexican consuls in Brownsville, McAllen, Laredo, and Eagle Pass report that there have been returned to Mexico from the lower Rio Grande Valley a total of 4,451 Mexican agricultural workers. Records of the Mexican consul in Brownsville show that in 1939 repartition clients numbered 452 families, or, on the conservative average of 5 persons to a family, a total of 2,260 persons; and in 1940, to date, 83 families, or an estimated 415 persons, making a total from the Brownsville area since January 1, 1939, of 2,675. These persons were recruited in a territory extending from Brownsville to Donna on the west and as far north as Falfurrias. The fact that Brownsville is the nearest Texas point to the repartition project in Tamaulipas accounts for the preponderant number of repartitionists who passed through the Brownsville consulate.

Records of the Mexican consul at McAllen show that in 1939 repartition clients numbered 148 families, or an estimated 720 persons; and in 1940, to date, 83 families, or about 415 persons, making a total since January 1, 1939, of 1,135. These workers moved out of an area between Donna on the east and Rio Grande City on the west to as far north as and inclusive of Edinburg.

Clearing through the Laredo consulate were 210 repartition clients in 1939 and 181 to date in 1940, making a total of 391. This area extends from Roma on the west to the Webb County line on the north.

From the Eagle Pass area the records of the Mexican consul showed that in 1939 repartition clients numbered 183 persons, with 54 thus far this year, making a total of 237. Because of the distance of Eagle Pass to the repartition lands, the Mexican Government, until further notice, is no longer paying the expenses of repartitionists from that region—only those having means of support and expense money being approved by the Eagle Pass consulate.

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[41] Report, dated August 31, 1940.

In addition to these 4,451 Mexican agricultural workers who have returned permanently to Mexico as repartitionists, immigration authorities have assisted 1,266 agricultural workers to return to Mexico from the lower valley alone. From points in the interior of Texas it was estimated that 50 percent of the 1,103 Mexicans returned to Mexico through the Bureau of Immigration were agricultural workers. The grand total, therefore, of Mexican agricultural workers who have returned to Mexico through the points indicated in the report since January 1, 1939, is approximately 6,268.

An analysis of the immigration reports brings out interesting facts regarding the types of Mexican labor, aside from repartitionists, leaving through Bureau assistance and included in their total figure of 1,818—already included in the grand total of 6,268.

Among the Mexicans returning to Mexico during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, according to the reports of the assistant chief of immigration at Brownsville, there were 116 aliens and 235 American citizens of Mexican descent from the lower valley seeking permanent entry into Mexico. From Dallas, San Antonio, Austin, and other interior points a total of 378 Mexicans, most of whom had had previous agricultural experience, passed through the immigration bureau at Brownsville. Another fact revealed by the records at Brownsville is that 75 American citizens of Mexican descent who reside in Matamoros, Mexico, work regularly in Texas, and 121 citizens of the same type residing in Matamoros cross the river intermittently for agricultural employment in Texas.

The city of Laredo is the main gateway to Mexico for deportees and undesirables from all over the United States, and immigration reports from that point show only total numbers, with no separate break-down for Texas and the Rio Grande Valley. The estimates of the local official show, however, 725 deportees—coming from as far north as San Antonio, Victoria, and Houston—and 800 voluntary departures to prevent deportation. His estimate of agricultural workers from the Rio Grande Valley making permanent entry into Mexico through the Laredo office, aside from repartitionists, during the fiscal year was 815 persons.

A second force operating to influence decrease in migration of agricultural workers this season is stated to be the tightness of the immigration restrictions on the border, with the effect that it is daily becoming more difficult for illegal entrants to enter or to remain in Texas and the United States as a whole.[42]

A third operating force has to do with the failure of many Mexican cotton pickers in the Brownsville area to take to the road this season. One reason advanced for this unusual condition is that at the end of their migrating season last year many workers returned to the lower valley with no money to show for all their work and long journey. The increased effort of the employment service to organize year-round employment for these people at easy distances from their legal residences through diversion and better service to other agricultural interests is apparently meeting with favorable response, for workers in that area are actively concerned with rounding out 12 months of work in other local industries.

Another reason advanced is that many are delaying their migration because of the recently enacted Federal law requiring them to register and be fingerprinted at the post offices of their places of legal residences. Since the first registration date was August 27, it was impossible for many of them to leave prior to that date. An immigration official has predicted that after November 15, when the Bureau of Immigration starts checking those who failed to register, there will be many more agricultural workers missing from Texas.

Concrete evidence that there are fewer migrants on the roads coming out from the Brownsville district this year rests in a report given out by the quarantine station of the Pink Boll Worm Division of the Department of Agriculture on the Falfurrias road. For the year 1939, 15,000 cotton sacks of transient workers were inspected at this station. On the basis of 1 sack to a person, this figure may be interpreted as meaning 15,000 persons. It is estimated that this figure represents about 85 percent of the total number coming out of the lower valley last year.

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[42] Statement of an assistant chief of immigration, August 1940.

The remaining 15 percent did not have sacks. On that basis, close to 20,000 migratory workers left that section last year.

According to the same report, this year up to August 22 only 8,334 cotton sacks had been inspected at this point, a loss of nearly 50 percent. A few migrants, of course, will drift out from the lower valley the rest of the year to add to the number of inspections.

A fourth operating force is the direct effect of the Farm Security Administration camps upon migratory labor. There are now 4 of these large camps in operation in south Texas—at Raymondville, Weslaco, Sinton, and Robstown. These camps offer permanent housing to agricultural workers at a rental of approximately $8 per month. On August 29 the Weslaco transient labor camp had a population of 325 persons in 87 families, all of whom had been residents of the Weslaco vicinity for several years. None of these families joined the migrating crews in 1939. This year, between August 10 and August 25, 15 families of 74 persons checked out to go north to pick cotton.

By arrangement between the Farm Security Administration and Employment Service representatives, permanent residents in the camps are considered as local labor. Pursuing its policy of calling upon local labor first, the service is handling these permanent residents along with other crews of local labor. In the event that the local labor supply is exhausted, laborers in the camps who do not have permanent status are to be eligible for referral and placement by the service.

A fifth force operating to the decline of agricultural workers is the attraction to other industries presented by industrial expansion, particularly in national defense projects. One example may be cited. The need of dump and other type trucks at the building of the Corpus Christi Naval Air Base has inspired numbers of Mexican truck owners to take their trucks, formerly used to haul agricultural migrants over the State, and head for Corpus Christi.

A sixth force operating to the unbalance of the labor supply in Texas is the induced interstate migration of labor from Texas to other States. One of the functions of the Texas State Employment Service is to work toward greater stabilization of migratory labor in Texas. This statement does not mean that the migratory labor market in Texas should be stabilized to the point where no reserve is available; but it is imperative that there be direction and control of this type of labor, if orderly service be rendered the employer. Until the employment service began to organize the labor market in Texas, as we have already seen in this report, there was no control and no direction. During the past 5 years the service has made considerable progress toward an organized labor market. Gradually the service has reached the point of efficiency where there can be no considerable movement of workers out of the State without the knowledge of the service.

Since 1938 the annual migration from Texas to the northern beet fields has become increasingly heavy and increasingly serious to the farm-labor supply in Texas. Again it may be repeated that without migratory labor in large quantities at certain times in certain parts of the State Texas agriculture cannot carry on, in spite of the reduction in cotton crops and in spite of the reduction of hand labor by mechanization. Serious as this mechanization has been for thousands of Texas agricultural workers, it has still not reached the point of self-sufficiency. The migrant worker is still needed in large numbers.

Last year it was estimated that between 5,000 and 8,000 workers were taken out of Texas by growers and emigrant agents. The early estimate this year was 10,000 people who ordinarily pick cotton. As the present cotton picking season got under way, checking of unfilled orders in the local offices of the employment service disclosed that the early estimate was far too low. The shortage is definitely and seriously reflected in the lack of cotton pickers, a lack easily verified by farmers in several localities at this time. Whether or not an actual emergency arises in any part of the State remains to be seen.

Early in March the service learned that there were four emigrant agents rounding up Mexican labor in the San Antonio area. These agents represented beet growers in Michigan and Ohio. They gave out the information freely that they would send out 4,200 workers from that area. The Dallas office reported the activity of agents and growers in that area. There were in all six so-called licensed agents this season in Texas as against four in 1939 and two in 1938. According to State labor department figures, they sent 6,624 workers to other States. An employment service check showed that the coastal bend area, the lower Rio Grande Valley, Laredo, Crystal City, and Eagle Pass areas were being drawn upon for beet field workers. Special attention was given to the Texas emigrant agency law which is difficult to enforce.[43] A decision handed down from the office of the attorney general of Texas in March,[44] the sharper attention of the State labor department, and the cooperation of the other agencies mentioned has at least started agitation for the strict enforcement of the law.

Highly pertinent to the interstate migration situation is the statement made by an immigration official that we are losing many more agricultural workers to industry of the sugar-beet States than are going back to Mexico. His estimate is that each year, of all those going to the beet fields, 25 percent never return to Texas, or not as agricultural workers at any rate. He said that the older men, women, and children may return, but that husky boys and men between the ages of 21 and 35 drift into Detroit and other cities, permanently lost to agriculture.

Since the Michigan laws require medical examination of all Mexicans recruited for the beet fields before they leave Texas, it is apparent that only the most fit are allowed to go to the fields. It is from this preferred group that Texas loses the 25 percent mentioned by the immigration official. From good authority,[45] it appears that the United States Health Department, by providing part of the funds for this medical examination, is a party to the violation of the Texas emigrant agency law and a party to inciting unnecessary migration.

In addition to beet-field growers in other States, cotton growers in Mississippi this year have sent trucks to Texas to carry cotton pickers to that State, in spite of threatened labor shortage in the very regions where they solicited labor.

With all these forces in operation, the employment service has been able thus far to keep reasonable order and system in the labor market. Harvesting may be slower than usual, but it is the intention of the service to get the job done.

OBSERVATIONS

On the basis of the background facts and factors of immigration, dispersion, unorganized-labor conditions, and legislative remedies attempted, and the experience of the Texas State Employment Service and Farm Placement Service since 1935 in meeting the challenge of these complexities as they contributed to employment problems of migratory farm workers originating in Texas, the following observations are here offered:

1. Previous to 1935 the continual conflict between immigration restrictions and employer demand for cheap labor in Texas agriculture brought about a surplus and unregulated labor supply.
2. The increasing stringency of the immigration laws in conflict with employer demand for more and more Mexican labor gave rise to the activities of the various types of unscrupulous labor agents who victimized both employer and worker.
3. Attempts at legislative remedies eventuated in the Texas employment agency law of 1923 and the Texas emigrant agency law of 1929, neither of which has been successfully administered to date.
4. The labor market before 1935 was entirely unorganized, with consequent loss of time, money, and motion to employer and worker alike.
5. Since 1930 the decline of cotton and mechanization of agriculture have created serious problems for Texas agricultural hand workers, throwing tenants and regular farm workers by the thousands into the already congested migratory-worker class or setting them adrift in towns and cities. As of 1939 there were 325,000 of these workers in Texas. In 1940, because of peculiar forces operating simultaneously, there may be reduction in the numbers of migratory workers.
6. In the past 6 years the employment service has refined procedures to the point of a control and direction of the intrastate migratory-labor market. It has been a gradual pointing of method and policies on the basis of experience. Better organization has from year to year brought about less aimless wandering of migrant labor. In 1940 there is marked a settling down of migratory workers in Farm Security Administration camps or in other homes close to restricted areas

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[43] Law, op. cit., and brief, op. cit.

[44] Opinion No. 0–2120, liability of person, firm, or corporation conducting business as an emigrant agent to occupation tax and license fees * * *. March 25, 1940.

[45] Statement of an assistant chief of immigration, August 1931.

in which they may, with the help of the employment service, try to evolve new work patterns on a year-round basis. This program, in many cases, calls for diversion—transfer of skills to other industries or seasonal work in new agricultural activities.

7. Therefore, in its concern for stabilization of migratory labor, the employment service interprets that stabilization to mean controlled and directed migration of workers when and where and in what number needed at seasonal peaks, preferably not far distant from home bases, with new work patterns evolved to fill out the rest of the year.

8. The social and economic effects upon migratory workers of regulated employment and systematic work patterns, of more and steadier income, of better housing facilities are inevitable byproducts of an organized labor market.

9. The employment service policy of exhausting the local labor supply before calling upon outside labor has proved to be sound and effective. The community should come first. If the laborers of any given community are given first chance at community employment, aimless wandering will eventually be reduced to a minimum. In case of need, the employment service has clearance facilities for bringing in outside intrastate or interstate labor.

10. The interstate problems centering upon migratory labor are so serious as to demand either new legislation or strict enforcement of the legislation already on the statute books. The disrupting of the labor market in Texas at peak seasons reveals itself with special force in 1940 as a very real peril to workers, farmers, and State prosperity. With immigration from Mexico at a standstill, with active emigration of Mexicans from Texas back to Mexico taking out agricultural workers, with the constant drain of migration out of the State to the beet fields or other industries, there are more unfilled orders in the employment offices of the Texas State Employment Service at this season than ever before.

The Chairman. In order that we might question you a little concerning the fine paper that you have already submitted, will you briefly tell us something about the Texas migratory labor problem, how many people are involved, how many people you have placed, and how your agency has met that problem? Just proceed briefly in your own words.

Mr. Bond. I am going to ask Mr. McKinley to answer the first part of that question because he has been working with those facts long before the program started—since 1912.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT M. McKINLEY, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR, TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, AUSTIN, TEX.

The Chairman. You may proceed, Mr. McKinley.

MEXICAN MIGRATORY LABOR

Mr. McKinley. To begin, let us go back a little to get the background. Texas is presumed to be a source of inexhaustible cheap Mexican labor. The need for agricultural labor in Texas dates back along after the Civil War times. Of course, there was not much slave labor in Texas, and Texas, of course, being originally a part of Mexico, there was lots of Mexican labor in Texas in the beginning when it became a State. As I said, there was not much slave labor and quite a good deal of the slave labor they had in Texas escaped and went to Mexico and it was necessary to depend almost entirely on Mexican labor for agriculture, sheep shearing, cowpunching, and everything like that, and after we developed in that State we needed more and more Mexican labor. Of course, while we have had emigration losses dating away back, emigration losses were never thought very much of and never paid very much attention to by Texas people.

Farmers were able to go to the border and bring out Mexicans or hire labor agents to herd up Mexican labor for them and haul them in by train or by wagon, and sometimes the labor even walked from the border to the interior of the State. To show the background, the farmer has depended almost entirely on Mexican labor, and he had various ways and means of getting it. We never had any restrictions on labor agents until about 1919; somewhere along in there the legislature passed a law licensing employment agencies. That was brought about because of the labor agents who would charge workers so much per head to get them a job and send them to places where they were not needed. All of those things entered into it and brought about the passage of a law licensing the employment agencies. Then, later on, the railroads, taking lots of Mexican labor out to do track work and other things, and farmers from other States coming into the State after labor there was a very rigid emigrant agent act passed, but it hasn't had much effect. Now, at the present time we are confronted every year with a proposition of other States coming into Texas after Mexican labor. During the spring of this year we kept a pretty accurate check and approximately 10,000 Mexican workers went to Michigan and Ohio to work with the sugar-beet industry. That movement out of the State into the sugar-beet States has increased gradually year by year and there has been very little done about it. Of course, we are not an enforcing agency and can do but little except to pass on our observations to other agencies as we go over the State in our farm placement work. The agricultural system that we operate under in the State of Texas, and, I presume, in California and other States, is such that migratory labor is absolutely essential to harvest our various crops; whether it is right or wrong—whatever social aspect it may have, the farmers have to have migrant labor.

Mr. Curtis. At that point, what percent of your migratory laborers in Texas are Negro, and what percent are Mexican, and what percent are white?

Mr. McKinley. Of course, it is all an estimate, but about 85 percent of our migrant laborers in Texas are Mexican, about 5 percent Negro, and the rest, of course, white.

Mr. Curtis. Of this Mexican labor, how many of them go beyond Texas farther north?

Mr. McKinley. As I just mentioned probably 10,000 went into the beet fields this spring; last year we estimated about 7,000. About 3,000 more went into the sugar-beet fields this year than last year.

Mr. Curtis. Of that 85 percent Mexicans, how many of them are not citizens of the United States?

Mr. McKinley. I don't know, but it is presumed that they are all legal aliens.

Mr. Curtis. What do you mean by legal aliens, an alien, but lawfully here?

Mr. McKinley. Yes.

OPERATION OF TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Mr. Curtis. How many employment offices do you have in Texas?

Mr. McKinley. We have 102.

Mr. Curtis. How do you locate these offices?

Mr. McKinley. We locate these offices, the majority of them, in heavy agricultural areas.

Mr. Curtis. How many counties do you have in that great empire of Texas?

Mr. McKinley. About 85 of the total 254 counties have heavy agricultural activity.

Mr. Curtis. Do all 85 of those counties have some special problem in agricultural labor?

Mr. McKinley. No; they don't all have special problems; there are approximately 60 of them that do require special attention, that use lots of migratory labor in harvesting their crops.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of county supervision do you now have in determining the need for your bureau?

Mr. McKinley. Mr. Banks can better answer that.

TESTIMONY OF E. H. BANKS, FARM PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR, TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, AUSTIN, TEX.

Mr. Banks. In making those surveys for us, and we have had unusual success with it, we ask the cooperation of the State extension services, the triple A organization, the farm organizations such as certain granges, farm bureaus, and committees in each of the counties, and we gather information from each of the counties and the men in our local offices are in contact all the time with those men in the local community gathering such information, and we have a system in Texas that every office has a map of the county in which they operate, the crops as they are actually planted each year are actually spotted on that map, and the permanent farmers are spotted on the map.

The Chairman. Do you have all that information and give it to the public?

Mr. Banks. No; that is for the use of our local offices in placing farm labor; of course, any of our information is available to the public.

The Chairman. Do the large farmers come to your office to let you know that they need so many men at such and such a time?

Mr. Banks. Yes; the way we operate, we don't send any labor into any community unless we have a written order signed by a farmer for a laborer.

The Chairman. All right, when we were over at Chicago the statement was made over there that one of the sugar-beet corporations in Ohio or Michigan, one or the other, sent their medical men down to Texas to conduct a physical examination of the workers before they were brought north.

Mr. Banks. That was in Michigan, the Michigan Sugar Co. and the Michigan Sugar Growers Association operate through the State health department of Michigan, where they have stringent health laws, and they sent men to San Antonio to make examinations, assisted by local physicians whom they employed in San Antonio.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other system of physical examinations before your workmen can be sent from place to place?

Mr. BANKS. No; practically all our placements are within the State of Texas, and those sugar companies have never used the Texas State Employment Service or the employment services of their own State; they operate through private employment agencies.

1. WAGE RATES

The CHAIRMAN. Has it been your experience or your observation in the last few years to know how much revenue per capita these migrant workers earn or receive in a year?

Mr. BANKS. There have been various reports on that. We have that incorporated, I believe, in part of the brief, but I know in several instances, two or three cases, at least, a Mexican family has worked an entire season, from planting to harvesting, in the sugar-beet fields and returned to San Antonio with $25 or $30 to show for their year's work.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that compare with the ordinary settled agricultural laborer in the State of Texas?

Mr. BANKS. Now, in Texas we have the average Mexican laborer who starts out in the lower Rio Grande Valley and works in a cycle up into north Texas and back again.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a great deal of intrastate migration?

Mr. BANKS. Yes; I think I can safely state that they are employed in Texas at least 9 months or more out of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your current price per hour or day or month that these agricultural workers are paid?

Mr. BANKS. Cotton picking, the principal activity, is paid for on a piece rate of so much per hundred pounds; that varies from 40 cents in El Paso Valley, where there is an abundance of cheap labor, to 50 to 80 cents through central Texas; the cause of the drop down to 40 cents in the El Paso Valley is because of all the cheap labor there.

The CHAIRMAN. How much can a good ordinary picker earn in a day at 60 cents a hundred pounds?

Mr. BANKS. We estimate, by taking the family as a whole, most of those pickers work in family groups, every member of the family will probably pick 150 pounds a day; of course, we have some pickers that when it comes to picking cotton will pick 700 or 800 pounds a day.

The CHAIRMAN. Per individual, or does that mean three or four children?

Mr. BANKS. Three or four in the family, maybe five or six in a family, and maybe each one will average 150 pounds per day.

The CHAIRMAN. How many individuals have you placed on jobs?

Mr. BANKS. I will let Mr. Bond answer that.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. BOND, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, TEXAS STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, AUSTIN, TEX.

Mr. Bond. The employment service placed 540,000 and some odd people last year, in 1939.

The Chairman. Explain to the committee the procedure, from the angle of a worker arriving in your State and wanting a job, what he does and what you do for them?

2. LOCATION OF STATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

Mr. Bond. May I take a minute here? Before I answer that question I would like to show you a map of Texas which points out the offices of the Texas Employment Service. Mr. McKinley told you we had 102 offices and how they are located; they are located in accordance with the supply and demand for labor and the industrial structure of the community, some on the basis of manufacturing, some agriculture, others on whatever community structure there may be. We open these offices whenever the condition in a given area warrants the service that can be given by the placement bureau. We have attempted to adjust the supply and demand for labor by bringing the worker and the employer together at the right time and in the right numbers.

The question that you asked—I want to proceed just a little more first. We have in Texas around 500,000 farms; in some parts some of those farmers require labor to harvest their crops, others don't. One of our big farmers farms twenty or thirty or forty or fifty thousand acres, others farm 20 acres or 30 acres and maybe down in the valley 10 acres, but the agricultural structure in Texas requires a given number of agricultural workers to harvest the crops. They can't get around it, and our job is to find the number of employers in Texas, farmers who need workers, and the number of workers who are available for these jobs. For the last 7 years we have made individual studies by counties; we contact the individual farmer and find how many acres he has, we find the number of people in his family, what he plants and how he plants it, we find out his seasons, at the same time we are making that survey that Mr. Banks told you about. We contact labor and find how many local workers there are, how many Mexicans there are, how many Negroes there are, how many whites there are; then our records are set up so that we know by counties, by communities, at what time of the year a certain activity is going to start in a county. You will notice here we have a system, we maintain a system of card indexes, that is, we set up the 254 counties in Texas and this shows every agricultural county and the migratory labor and various conditions in that county.

3. PERSONNEL

The Chairman. What is the personnel in your office?

Mr. Bond. It all depends on the activity in the county; it runs from 150 down to 1 man in an office. If there is a lot of activity out here in some particular county for a few months we may send in a bunch and then take them out when the activity ceases.

The Chairman. Those are not all full-year offices?

Mr. Bond. No; they operate at those times that the conditions in the community require it.

Mr. Parsons. What qualifications do you require for a man or woman to operate one of those offices?

Mr. Bond. It depends on the community that he is in. If it is highly agricultural he will have had some farm background, will be able to speak Spanish—90 percent of them can speak Spanish anyway—and will be familiar with the agricultural problems and working conditions and will understand the people he has to work with. It is his job to contact the people in the community, the employers and the workers, and then furnish work to the local workers in the community.

Mr. Parsons. How many years have you had the employment service in Texas?

Mr. Bond. It was originated as a result of the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933. In 1933 and 1934 it was the National Reemployment Service and in 1935 the Texas act created the employment service which took over the old reemployment service. In 1935 we looked, and didn't do a very good job of looking in some cases, but we did try to find out what the problem was and now with 5 years' experience we know by communities and by farms and by conditions what the agricultural structure of the counties is.

4. FINANCING

Mr. Parsons. Does the State government pay the cost of this?

Mr. Bond. The State government pays a very little of the cost; they pay a share, the local county pays a share, and some of the cities pay a share, but most of the money furnished at this time comes from the Social Security Board.

Mr. Curtis. How much do you charge the worker for getting a job for him, anything?

Mr. Bond. I hope not, we are not supposed to—there is no charge.

Mr. Curtis. It is a public service?

Mr. Bond. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And this is run in connection with your Social Security set-up?

Mr. Bond. Yes; we believe the important thing, whether it is unemployment or anything else, is to find a man a job and all our efforts are directed toward finding a man a job and not to pay benefits. However, we do seek to pay benefits on time and in the amounts due to people that are entitled to them. However, that is a bookkeeping proposition; the problem is to go out and find jobs and bring the workers into the community where they are needed, when they are needed.

Mr. Parsons. You have certainly done a fine job in that respect. I am just wondering what kind of conditions did exist before you got this set-up in the State of Texas?

Mr. Bond. Well, the conditions are not entirely corrected; there are pretty bad conditions there now, but maybe in another 5 years we will be able to correct them a little further than we have. I will say that when the Farm Security Administration, the W. P. A., and some of these other things came in there was a chaotic condition and the workers migrated from one end of the State to the other, which is 1,400 miles; they would leave the Rio Grande Valley and go 200 miles up in the State of Texas to find a job picking cotton, when they could have got one by going 30 miles.

Mr. **Parsons.** What did they do down there before the days of modern transportation?

Mr. **Bond.** Well, do you mean back in the days of 1850?

Mr. **Parsons.** No; 30 or 40 years ago.

Mr. **Bond.** Well, at that time they have been known to go on foot as far as that and get up in some end of the State and then get stranded.

Mr. **Parsons.** You have seen a great improvement since 1935?

Mr. **Bond.** Since 1935 we have seen a great improvement. In 1935 we would contact farmers and they would look down their noses at us.

Mr. **Parsons.** You filled how many jobs last year?

Mr. **Bond.** Last year there were over 500,000 placements made, and I mean by placements there was a written order by the farmer and verified by the signature of the worker and the signature of the employer.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do you keep a record of that man so that if he is pleasing to the farmer he can obtain his services again the next year?

Mr. **Bond.** If it is a local man he can; if it is a migratory worker, of course, he can't. At first we didn't know that we were going to be able to supply the men and sometimes they would give us an order for 500 men and then send trucks up some place else for a like number.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do these people have to be citizens of the State of Texas, or if an alien or a Californian or anybody that happens to be in the State of Texas wants a job, do you send them out?

5. LEGAL ALIENS

Mr. **Bond.** Yes; we take care of anybody that applies. These Mexicans are supposed to be legal aliens, but our facilities are open to anybody that comes in. Now, we like to take care of our own people first, but if a Californian comes into a community we would qualify him as a local man and would certainly rather put him to work than get a man some 1,400 miles away.

Mr. **Parsons.** With your system you are likely to curtail the migration of those folks long distances like to Michigan and Ohio and to the beet fields?

Mr. **Bond.** Nothing would make us happier; we prefer to keep them home.

Mr. **Curtis.** Those legal aliens, do they stay the year around?

Mr. **Bond.** Sometimes they do and sometimes they go back; we are having a little trouble with them now; the aliens have to register and have to go to the post office and they are a little afraid to register.

Mr. **Curtis.** You have made a placement of half a million people in a year?

Mr. **Bond.** Yes; that is right.

Mr. **Curtis.** How much in wages have they drawn?

Mr. **Bond.** It is in that report; we have worked it up, on cotton picking for example, at 40, 50, 60, and 70 cents per 100 pounds, depending on the crop and the number of laborers in that community at that time.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of this work was done by your 85 percent aliens is the type of work that can be done by citizen labor?

TESTIMONY OF E. H. BANKS—Resumed

Mr. BANKS. May I interrupt there? There is a little confusion there on this Mexican labor; possibly not over 25 percent of it is alien, the rest of them are native born.

Mr. BOND (continuing). We assume that all the aliens are legal aliens; we wouldn't deal with them unless they were.

Mr. CURTIS. Eighty-five percent of them are Mexicans?

Mr. BOND. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And of that 85 percent, 25 percent of them are not citizens of the United States?

Mr. BANKS. We assume that.

Mr. CURTIS. So about 20 percent of the total are not citizens?

Mr. BANKS. That may be correct; I don't know, nobody does.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, that 20 percent, those that are not citizens, are they doing a type of work which cannot be done by citizen labor?

Mr. BANKS. No; if that 20 percent is right when you mention that figure——

Mr. CURTIS. It is not my figure, he said it was an estimate of 85 percent Mexican and 25 percent of that Mexican labor was alien?

Mr. BANKS. I will say this, that if his guess is correct, and it is purely a guess, there is nothing they are doing that the local people in Texas can't do.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, what is your guess, that about 85 percent of these people are of Mexican descent?

Mr. BANKS. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Of that 85 percent what is your guess as to the number of them that are aliens?

Mr. BANKS. I don't know; I just haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. PARSONS. You have that in your records, don't you?

Mr. BANKS. We could go back and count them; yes. I have never been asked that question before and hadn't thought about it; our duty is to get these people on the job when they are needed.

Mr. PARSONS. But you do have a big population of American citizens that are Mexican in descent?

Mr. BANKS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What service do you extend to the nonresident people in your State; that is, nonresident employers. Suppose the employer is in Colorado or elsewhere, do you have a service whereby they can contact you and obtain laborers or do you just do what you can as a matter of courtesy?

6. DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

Mr. BANKS. Well, the State employment services throughout the country are affiliated with the United States Employment Service which is a part of the Bureau of Employment Security of the Social Security Board, and we operate back and forth from one State to another. I am not talking about agricultural labor, because we do not cooperate with other States in agricultural labor unless the employers in other States can employ these people. It is not violating any of our State laws or the intent of any of our State laws. We are not going to recruit 500 or 100 or any Mexicans for Michigan if that doesn't follow the laws on our statute books; if they can meet those conditions, then maybe we will assist them if we know there is an absolute shortage of labor in that community at that time, but we are not going to get them in when there is a local worker there that can do the job and we would not send any man anywhere if we thought there was a local man in that community that could do the job.

Mr. Curtis. Is there anything else you think of you want to include in your oral statement?

Mr. Banks. To clarify the picture I might state this: We know the approximate time of the year they migrate, we know where they migrate from, we know whether they are Negroes, Mexicans, or whites; we know where they go; we know that in one section of the State they have a lot of farms and use a lot of farm hands; we know in other sections of the State we have large farms and no farm hands; we know that in some sections of the State they need workers and in some sections they do not; we know when this migration starts, it starts in the valley. I told you there was some 1,400 miles over which they could migrate, and it starts out down here [pointing to a map of Texas] in the valley around July 1 and ends up here around El Paso in this area about December 15. Our 102 offices report daily to the administrative office so that in the administrative office we act more or less as a train dispatcher would operate.

Mr. Curtis. Do you use telephones?

Mr. Banks. We use telephones, teletype, telegraph, and anyway we can get the information in there the fastest.

Mr. Curtis. Suppose a group of workers applied at El Paso, Amarillo, Dallas, or any particular place, about possible employment down here at Brownsville, what system do you have that all your offices do not converge too much at Brownsville?

Mr. Banks. The Brownsville office notifies the Austin office daily of the conditions during the cotton season; that is, if they have 100 jobs or 500 Mexicans, or whatever it is.

Mr. Curtis. In other words, you clear through the State office?

Mr. Banks. Yes; the office in Austin knows whether there is a movement starting out of the valley or going into the valley, whether there is a shortage of labor or a surplus of labor, whether it is raining—and that is an important factor—we may start a group up here some place and it may start raining and rain for 10 days and there is no reason to send them up there and let them stay on relief or as community charges until they can get work. By keeping close check on all those things we know where there is a shortage and we move them in there.

Mr. Curtis. Suppose a family comes down from Arizona and goes into one of your offices and there isn't any work available in the whole State of Texas they can do, and won't be for 10 days, and they are out of money and out of gasoline, what do you do about it?

Mr. BANKS. Well, we feel sorry for them; send them to the relief people. We are not a relief agency, we are purely a labor exchange.

Mr. CURTIS. What does the relief agency do?

Mr. BANKS. I think those people are here; they can tell you that.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have much of that problem?

Mr. BANKS. Yes, sir, we do; we have workers coming in from all sections of the United States.

Mr. CURTIS. How many applications do you suppose you have had to deny, not deny because you are glad to give them jobs, but how many have you had to turn down because there were no jobs available?

Mr. BANKS. We don't turn anybody down; when those people present themselves to us we register them under the classification we think they are best fitted for and when the job comes up and they fit the need most nearly, they get the job.

Mr. CURTIS. How many people every year take the card that you give them or register with you, for whom you never have a job available that season?

Mr. BANKS. I don't know; I wouldn't even know how many local Texas people there are registered that don't get jobs; we have an active file of 257,000 people now that are registered that we are trying to get jobs for.

Mr. CURTIS. This committee is to investigate the interstate migration of destitute persons, those that can't get any jobs at all and who cross the State lines and there are undoubtedly people in that class coming into your State; I wonder if you have any information about how many people are coming into Texas?

Mr. BANKS. There are lots that come into Texas from Oklahoma, California, Arizona, and all over, but I do not have that information; we have been too busy with our own folks and I know that we have enough labor in Texas for all the jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the resolution passed by the House of Representatives, of course, we are concerned by the migration of destitute citizens from State to State, and we are interested, of course, in the State set-up that you have depicted here and from which we must arrive at some conclusions that will assist if possible in a solution of this mass migration and care of destitute citizens. Now, in our hearing in New York, Chicago, Montgomery, and Lincoln, Nebr., we had many witnesses who presented facts showing that they receive so much misinformation as to employment. Have you any information at this time, as to how the Federal Government could do something like you are doing in Texas?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. BANKS. You don't want me to brag a little, do you?

The CHAIRMAN. The world is yours, brag if you want to.

Mr. BANKS. I believe if the local employment offices in some of these other States could be strengthened and could be staffed and equipped to handle their local employment problems that a great number of these migratory workers from these other States would stay home. It is a condition over which they, and nobody else, have any control.

The Chairman. That is it; there is worn-out land, and tractors, and various causes for interstate migration, and one would be a very great optimist if he thought it would cease entirely?

Mr. Banks. That is right; but we have 10,000 that go to Michigan and get jobs. If the State of Michigan has the people to do the work let them hire them and we will get our Texas people jobs and that will stop it to some extent.

The Chairman. Yes; but if people start out and they receive a lot of misinformation about employment, what do you say about that?

Mr. Banks. I think it might be well if there were some kind of legislation enacted that would prohibit the migration of labor across the State line unless there was a definite shortage of labor existing in these other States. In other words, we don't want any workers coming into Texas unless we need them; and if they are coming into Texas and going on relief, they might as well stay home and go on relief there.

The Chairman. Do you know any instances of private employment agencies shooting these migrants across State lines, telling them that they were going to get jobs, and taking probably the last dime they have?

Mr. Banks. In the last 5 years we have heard of many such instances in Texas. Whenever we find such situations we see that the proper authorities are notified; since we are not an enforcement agency, we cannot tell that fellow to stop, but we can tell the proper authorities of it.

The Chairman. But you do know of instances of that kind?

Mr. Banks. Hundreds of them.

The Chairman. That is one thing this committee can do and will have jurisdiction over—private employment agencies shooting people over State lines. We will have jurisdiction over that, and that would be a very important recommendation for this committee to entertain, wouldn't it?

Mr. Banks. I think that would be very important; that advertising they pass out—they advertise, pass out handbills, have agents come in, go over the radio and paint a rosy picture—and these bring into different communities hundreds and hundreds of workers which they can't place, attempting to flood the market; and the result of that you know as well as I do.

The Chairman. You can readily see where this Congress would have jurisdiction over that, because in the crossing of State lines that would be interstate commerce.

Mr. Banks. Surely.

MIGRATION OF BEET WORKERS TO MICHIGAN

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Bond, I have been very much interested in this matter of migration of these Texans into the Michigan beet fields.

We heard something about that at the Chicago hearings, and you discussed it to some extent here. How are they carried up there ordinarily?

Mr. BOND. I have a complete report here on that that we haven't wanted to turn loose.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If you haven't wanted to turn it loose, maybe that is all the more reason why we would want to get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any way we can get that?

Mr. BOND. I am going to give you a copy of it; we decided that you might as well have it. I am going to ask Mr. McKinley to explain that; he worked up the report and knows how they travel and what the conditions are.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT M. McKINLEY—Resumed

Mr. McKINLEY. The beet industry—we have it from one of the officials of Michigan—desires Mexican labor. It is in our record that a Mexican will do about three times as much work as the average worker in Michigan will do for the same amount of money. So the Michigan people license these labor agents in Texas to recruit labor for the beet fields. The agent has to pay $150 for a license and has to put up a bond and comply with the State law; then he is turned loose, and he sends out the grapevine and gets people rounded up. In 1938 they only licensed two agencies.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they licensed in Michigan or Texas?

1. TRANSPORTATION

Mr. McKINLEY. I am talking about Texas; I am staying away from Michigan as far as I can. In 1938 they licensed two agencies to recruit labor for them and in 1939 four, and then business picked up and they licensed six during the year 1940. Well, those people are gathered together and examined, and they leave us the weak, sickly ones; they cull them out and take the best labor all to Michigan. The truck drivers go in pairs, and there will be two truck drivers in one truck, but those people will be stacked up in the trucks like cattle standing up, 35 to 40 people in one truck, and they drive straight through just as rapidly as they can go. They don't stop except for water and oil and perhaps break-downs and things like that. Of course, the people are subjected to hardships, but strange to say they like it, that class of people look on that as sort of a holiday or outing, and they will take that trip year after year more for the outing than anything else.

Mr. CURTIS. Do some of them come back with any money?

Mr. McKINLEY. Very few of them come back with any money. The truck drivers make plenty of money out of it; one truck driver was reported to Mr. Banks as having made $3,000 for hauling Mexicans to Michigan last year; he charged about $11 a head and he takes 35 or 40 at a trip and makes 3 or 4 trips. The person, after he is thrown out there in Michigan—I don't know much about it in Michigan—but if they could work regularly straight through the thinning and hoeing and topping and all that they could make some money, but they don't make much money in the long run.

Mr. Sparkman. I notice one of these truck driver companies required that not more than 30 should be transported in one truck?

Mr. McKinley. Yes; that was this year.

Mr. Sparkman. So they are beginning to get around to some form of regulation?

Mr. McKinley. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. You say they make the trip sometimes as much as 3 days and nights without stopping to sleep or anything?

Mr. McKinley. Oh, no; they don't stop. The Interstate Commerce Commission has a law or rule that all railroads hauling cattle must stop at the end of 36 hours and remove the cattle so they can stop and eat and rest, but the Mexican sugar-beet worker is not thus considered.

Mr. Parsons. What is the longest trip that you know of?

Mr. McKinley. A little over 1,600 miles.

Mr. Parsons. That would take a little over 3 days to drive that?

Mr. McKinley. Anywhere from 48 to 60 hours.

Mr. Sparkman. What do they do for food, take it with them?

Mr. McKinley. Oh, yes; they take a little food.

Mr. Sparkman. And water?

Mr. McKinley. Yes; a jug of water.

Mr. Curtis. Are those fellows licensed for the transportation of persons in interstate commerce?

Mr. McKinley. I don't think so.

Mr. Curtis. They are evading the law then, aren't they?

Mr. McKinley. Yes; I really believe, and I am sincere about this, that if the various laws were enforced that things would be remedied a great deal.

Mr. Curtis. We have enough laws to eliminate that, practically.

Mr. McKinley. The I. C. C. is making an investigation at this time, and it is said by those people that they have sufficient laws to regulate that.

Mr. Parsons. Mr. McKinley, do you have any comment to make on the sanitary conditions during this transportation; it seems to me that that would be rather important?

Mr. McKinley. It is so rotten I regret to have to discuss that in a mixed audience.

Mr. Parsons. Is it covered in your report?

Mr. McKinley. It is covered in that report that we just gave you. It is appalling, revolting.

Mr. Parsons. It is very bad?

Mr. McKinley. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How many thousand annually do you estimate go out of the State?

Mr. McKinley. We estimated 10,000 this year; we got an accurate check of 6,000, from those agents that are registered under the State labor department, from their reports of how many workers they sent out. They sent out over 6,000 and those that went out in their own jalopies and one way and another we estimated that with all of them there was a total of at least 10,000 went out this year.

Mr. CURTIS. Have we shut you off on any point you wanted to clear up here? We have asked these questions rather informally.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, anything not contained in the statement?

Mr. BOND. I think it is all contained in the brief.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to express the thanks of this committee for your very fine paper here, and it has been made a part of our record; we thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

(The report on migration of Mexicans to Michigan was received, as follows:)

REPORT ON THE MIGRATION OF MEXICAN LABOR FROM TEXAS TO THE SUGAR-BEET FIELDS

Each year there is a migration of thousands of Texas workers to the sugar-beet fields of Colorado, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, Minnesota, and California.

This report is made as a factual analysis of the conditions surrounding this migration; the conclusions are apparent. The existence of such a system affects the supply of labor available to harvest Texas' agricultural crops and is obviously acting to oppose the economic and social welfare of Texas' agricultural workers and employers.

THE SEASON AND LABOR REQUIREMENTS

Work in the sugar-beet fields, in a season which encompasses a 6-month period, is intermittent; that is, within the season there are lag periods between cultivation processes and harvesting. This highly seasonal aspect, together with the arduousness and monotony of the work deprives it of any great attraction for most laborers. Because of this fact, which makes difficult the securing of local labor over a contract period, the growers and growers' associations, in close contractual relationship with sugar manufacturers, recruit migratory labor to do their work. The largest percentage of this labor is Mexican. Perhaps an adequate explanation of the preference for this particular nationality is given in the following quotation from an employment authority of one of the leading northern sugar-beet-producing States:

"Other concerns say quite frankly that they prefer Mexican labor and insist upon having it for the reason that the Mexican sugar-beet field worker will do about five times the amount of work that the local farm hand will do for the same amount of money."

The wages offered the Mexican laborer are tempting. Both the Jones-Costigan Act of 1933 and the Federal Sugar Act of 1937 contain clauses which were intended to raise the wage level for the beet-sugar worker—minimum wages were to be established by order of the Secretary of Agriculture, and regulation of child labor reduced the amount of that type of labor which could be used in the fields by growers who subscribed to the quota system under the acts. These provisions have served to raise wages to some extent, at any rate enough to make them attractive to the Mexican laborer, whose agricultural wage in Texas appears much lower by contrast of gross unit. (From $17 to $21 per acre is the current average for all processes.)

However, the wages paid by the growers vary in scale approaching the minimum established under the quota system, according to the supply of labor available for the intermittent work during the 6-month period; it is, therefore, obviously to the advantage of the grower to encourage a surplus of labor influx. As this is true, it is also a fact that acreage allotted to individuals or family groups is reduced and thereby the income to the worker decreases.

In the past few years more of this Mexican labor is moving from the Southwest, with the bulk moving from south Texas to the beet fields of the Midwest, and large numbers moving from the northern part of Texas to Colorado and the far West.

From 6,000 to 10,000 of these workers are part of this movement from Texas annually. It is estimated that some 5,000 have been transported from San Antonio and vicinity to Michigan alone for the 1939 season. Approximately 2,500 move out of the Dallas vicinity each year, some going north, many more going west, some under contracts, some free lance.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES IN TEXAS DIRECTING LABOR TO THE SUGAR-BEET FIELDS

There are operating in Texas four licensed employment agencies whose express function is the recruitment of Mexican labor for work in the northern beet fields. Three of these agencies are in San Antonio and one in Crystal City (in the so-called Winter Garden area where great numbers of Mexicans are used annually in spinach and onion harvests).

The relationship between agencies and the growers and manufacturers is not made public, but it is acknowledged that these agencies are the direct representatives of a growers' association and sugar manufacturers in Michigan.

Twelve labor scouts work for these agencies, spreading out and recruiting Mexican labor exclusively. Michigan law requires that hospitalization and medical care be provided by the State for all tuberculosis cases; therefore, in the recruitment of labor from San Antonio south all applicants are required to pass a physical examination before they can be offered a contract of employment and assigned to truckers for transportation.

Recruitment begins in Texas in March, and this year the San Antonio agencies indicated that their needs had been supplied on April 27. The season does not open in the beet fields until approximately the first of June, so this means that Texas Mexican labor reaches the beet-field areas approximately a month before harvest time.

After the workers have passed physical examinations and have been accepted, a written contract is signed in most cases between the worker and grower or association. These contracts, a facsimile sample of which is attached to this report, in general specify the acreage on which the hand work is to be performed, the manner in which the work is to be done, whether housing is to be provided, and the rate of wages per acre which is to be paid. They also usually provide for the time of payment in relation to the completion of each process of cultivation, the conditions under which credit may be advanced, and the portion of wages which may be held back until completion of the harvest season. (This latter to insure, of course, that the worker does not move out during a lag period.)

After the applicant has been accepted and signed up, he and his family in most instances are put in touch with the truck drivers whose business it is to transport workers to the fields for a specified charge. Although it is held that the sugar companies have nothing to do with paying for transportation, they do provide for payment by advancing the money for these costs out of the workers' first pay. Testimonials of workers who have been transported to the fields show that the amount is about $11 per person (sometimes as high as $15)—$9 of this goes to the truck driver and $2 to the employment agency.

Some workers go in their own cars or trucks; many move out in spite of the fact that they have failed to pass physical examinations, and large numbers make the trip without specific promise of employment or written contract. The free-lance groups in most cases find themselves stranded in the North, or have to wait around for employment for such long periods, receiving credit from the growers in the meanwhile, that they become so indebted that they have no money at the end of the season to return to their residences.

Several of the sugar-beet producing States require physical examination for the laborers entering their State with the examination given after the worker has entered the State; this means, of course, that many hundreds of workers make the long trip only to find that they are physically unfit and will not be accepted for labor in the beet fields. In most of these cases they are left stranded more than a thousand miles from their residence with no money or means of return transportation and no source of work to earn money enough for return fare.

Representatives of beet-growers' associations, although not maintaining special employment agencies, also operate in north Texas, with headquarters in Dallas. For the 1939 season it is estimated that some 2,500 workers left for the beet fields from this area.

Solicitation in Texas on the part of Colorado companies is limited; this is undoubtedly due to the fact that the migration each year, unsolicited, is of such magnitude that large-scale recruitment is unnecessary. However, a Colorado agent operating in Crystal City this year is estimated to have directed some 2,500 workers to that State.

State employment services in sugar-beet States are aware that a surplus of labor moves into their States annually at the sugar-beet season, and that this surplus acts to the dertiment of local labor. In April of this year the Texas State Employment Service was advised by both the director and the farm-placement supervisor of the Colorado State Employment Service that an overabundance of labor was moving into that State from south Texas. The aid of the Texas service was solicited in putting a stop to this immigration.

When the Michigan State Employment Service was informed, early this year, by the Texas service of the operation of emigrant agents in Texas recruiting labor for five Michigan sugar-beet concerns, it was shown that the Michigan State Employment Service also is aware of the import of such a situation. Quoted below are paragraphs from a letter received from the director of the Michigan service:

"The situation concerning sugar-beet field workers is just about the same this year as in previous years. It is a little early yet to expect to receive definite orders, but our people are keeping in touch with the farmers and refiners in their respective territories and have promises from some that all the help that can be secured through our offices for this industry will be hired. Other concerns say very frankly that they prefer Mexican labor and insist upon having it for the reason that the Mexican sugar-beet field worker will do about five times the amount of work that the local farm hand for the same amount of money. Further, that they are more dependable, and that they are on the job ready to prepare for the harvest, while the local farm hand is very apt to desert the sugar-beet work in favor of some easier job about harvest time, which, of course, makes a very awkward situation for the sugar-beet farmers.

"As we said before, we are contacting the growers and the factories. We have succeeded in getting a few orders. In 1 office we had an order for 12 men and placed 10, but it is too early now to expect placements in any greater quantity.

"We shall continue to check this field very closely and expect to be able to place some workers, although we do not hope to be able to stop the influx of sugar-beet field workers from the South."

THE TRUCKERS

The increased deposits in south Texas banks at the end of the beet season, which are usually attributed to agricultural earning of farm laborers, most probably comes from the truck drivers who transport the thousands of workers to the beet fields at an average of $9 per head. In fact, one driver in a voluntary statement acknowledged that he cleared approximately $3,000 in the 1938 season.

Formerly the growers and companies transported workers by train; but a representative of a large association recently stated that this practice had been stopped because a great part of the labor now has its own conveyances, and because trucks which make the trips with workers stay in beet-growing sectors to do the hauling of beets.

The trip to the northern fields from Texas is about 1,600 miles, across five States. The interest of the truckers is, of course, to make as many trips as possible within the 6-week transportation period preceding the opening of the season, and some of them manage to make as many as seven. The average number of persons transported in one trip is between 35 and 45 in a single truck; one Michigan company this year is known to have specified that no more than 30 persons should be carried on its contract loads, a fact which disgruntled the drivers no little. Usually, however, as many men, women, and children as possible are crammed into the truck, some of them having to stand all the way to their destination, and begin a trip in which an average speed of around 45 miles per hour is maintained and the runs are often 48 hours without a stop.

Few, if any, of these truckers have interstate permits for the hauling of paid passengers, and often drive hundreds of miles out of the way to avoid crossing State lines on main highways.

Many of the drivers are stated to be unscrupulous in their attempts to exploit the workers and to exact additional fees from them above the amounts advanced by the growers and companies. The testimony of workers has revealed that the greatest number of complaints is leveled at these truckers. These complaints are perhaps clarified in the following paragraphs:

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The conditions under which labor is transported to the beet fields and the return to the worker in income is represented more vividly by the following statements of Mexican workers who have made the trip than by any summary description which could be given.

In spite of the fact that the workers were told that such statements were not being secured in any official enforcement capacity, it was difficult to get many of them to talk; although a few were verbose to the extent that their statements had to be condensed for clarity.

STATEMENT OF MIGUEL ALVA AND FATHER, 1203 MONTAZUMA STREET, SAN ANTONIO

Did not work in fields last year. Made trip as truck driver, but operation on lung caused him to stay home this season. In making trips to Linwood, Mich., not over two stops in 24 hours were made. Required 3 days and nights to make trip. Never stopped for bowel evacuations unless passengers made so much noise he had to stop. Says some of the drivers stimulate themselves with liquor or marijuana in order to stay awake, and that in the recent wreck in Missouri beer was found in the driver's cab. (Was told that one of the victims of this wreck was buried in San Antonio today.) Some of the trucks carry a relief driver and are O. K. Made a trip with Antone Escobedo in 1937, who is still driving, and has made two trips this season. Ten dollars and twenty-three cents is paid for each worker by R. E. Schanzer, Inc., which is later deduceted from earnings of workers. A copy of letter from this company is attached. Father says he did not go this year on account of operation on lung of son.

STATEMENT OF REYES SILLER, 1912 GUADALUPE STREET, SAN ANTONIO

Went to Michigan in 1937, but did not go last year. Did sell six 1-gallon cans to occupants of one truck last season to be used as receptacles for bowel evacuations, etc., and dumped along the road as they traveled on. Any food and water used had to be taken along and food was eaten cold, as no stops were made on the schedule of 40 hours for the trip. Said he had decided not to go again because he knew that trucks were unsafe and too crowded. That prior to 1933 beet companies transported workers by trains which usually arrived at the destination just a few days before time to go to work. He also complains that facilities of schools for children are very bad. He further states that employment agents make all the arrangements for transportation with truck drivers and notify applicants when truck is to leave. (Agents and beet companies claim they have nothing to do with transportation.) $11 is deducted from each worker's earnings, $9 of which is for transportation and $2 for the employment agent.

STATEMENT OF TELESFORO MANDUJANO AND SONS, 2112 GUADALUPE STREET, SAN ANTONIO

Truck, he, and family of six sons went to Ohio in last season; carried 40 adult workers to Findlay, Ohio, to work for the Great Lakes Sugar Co. This was a 1938 Ford V-8 owned and driven by Jose Rodriguez. Did not go through any emigrant agency. Driver solicited and carried the labor north independently. Truck did stop a few times for bowel evacuations and eating when the truck needed gas or oil, but on most occasions cans were used as urinals and dumped out of the truck. Passengers had to stand all the way, and one man tied himself upright to a stake so he would not fall out if he should happen to fall asleep. $15 was deducted from each worker for transportation. This is also shown by attached statement of itemized receipts and expenses by the author of this statement, which shows that on August 10 the total earnings at that time were $464.77 and expenses were $246.67, leaving a cash balance due of $200.10.

According to the statement, $36 of this was held back in order to keep worker until second part of job was underway. The total approximate earnings of the seven men from June 1 to December 1 was $900. After paying all expenses and $150 for a car, they returned to San Antonio with $23 each. Half of the transportation fee is paid driver by the sugar company on delivery of workers and the other half when it is determined as to how many of the workers stay on the job. This family is leaving next Wednesday in own car to Findlay, Ohio. Has letter from son-in-law advising them that job is open.

STATEMENT OF SALOME RAVAGO, 1802 COLIMA STREET, SAN ANTONIO

Left San Antonio May 6, 1938, with Trinidad Colunga (who at that time was in business with the Frank Cortez Emigrant Agency of San Antonio, Tex.). The trip to Saginaw, Mich., required 5 days and 4 nights. The weather was cold and rainy. No top on trucks, nor seats; roads were bad, and truck had no brakes. Workers forced driver at point of gun to stop and buy brake fluid, they lending him the money with which to make the purchase. After reaching Saginaw they were shifted to Seewin, Mich., and finally unloaded at St. Louis, Mich., where they were employed. This truck was double decked and had as passengers 35 adults and 10 children. Some of those on the top deck hung their legs down around the necks of those below, and caused several fights while en route.

The Michigan Sugar Co. was fair in its dealings with workers, but truck drivers cheated them on every turn. No stops were made except for gas and oil. The wife of Adolfo Salamone was very ill en route; thought she was dying, but truck would not stop for medical attention. The driver collected $15 for each worker from the Michigan Sugar Co. This money was later deducted from workers. Driver attempted to collect still another fare direct from workers, but without success. It was said that one boy had to stand on his feet the entire trip to Saginaw, Mich. Schools were provided for children under 15 years of age. Complained that acreage allotted to his family of five workers was too small, and that after all deductions were made he and family returned to San Antonio on November 12, 1938, with only $25 for their 6 months in the beet fields.

Adolfo Salamone returned to San Antonio with $6 at the close of the season. He also received vegetables to eat in lieu of cash for work done for farmers outside of the beet fields. He is a neighbor of Ravago.

STATEMENT OF CATRARINO RAMIREZ, 2317 EL PASO STREET, SAN ANTONIO

Left May 1, 1938, with Pedro Sifuentes for Hopetown, Ohio (name of town may not be correct), to work for the Great Lakes Sugar Co. There were 37 adults and 8 children in the truck. Spent 2 days and 3 nights on road; $10 was charged each worker for transportation; nothing for children. No stops were made unless forced to; when such stops were made they ate if they had time. Pedro Sifuentes and a Mr. Pena, of Realitos, Tex., are now soliciting labor for the same company and will leave the coming Wednesday if they get up a load. Thinks that he will be one of the load. Children under 15 years of age must go to school. Between 15 and 17 they get work permits for the asking. Says treatment of company was fair and that he made money.

LEGAL ASPECTS

Three Texas statutes may be said to have potential regulatory power in the trafficking of labor, both interstate and intrastate. These laws are known as the emigrant-agent law, the employment-agency law, and the motorbus law; the first two of these can be classified as labor statutes; the latter may have its effect upon the movement of labor only by inference in its regulation and licensing of common and contract carriers as defined in that statute.

Briefly, the content of these laws is as follows:

EMIGRANT-AGENT LAW

(1) The term "emigrant agent" is defined to mean every person, firm, corporation, or association of persons engaged in the business of hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers in this State to be employed beyond the limits of this State.

(2) It requires the payment of an annual license fee of $10 to the labor commissioner of Texas after the emigrant agent has filed application for such license and has paid the occupation tax as provided in the law.

(3) The occupation tax required as payable to the State is $1,000 annually, with the payment of an additional tax to the county where said emigrant agent operates or maintains an office, this latter tax graduated in amount upon the basis of population of the county in which operated.

(4) Exempt are persons, firms, associations of persons, or corporations which do not maintain an office in the State for the purposes of hiring, enticing, or soliciting labor for use beyond the limits of the State.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCY ACT

(1) Defines the employment agent as every person, firm, partnership, or association of persons engaged in the business of assisting employers to secure employees and persons to secure employment, or the collecting of information regarding employers seeking employees and persons seeking employment.

(2) Application for license must be made to the commissioner of labor and a license fee of $150 paid for each county in which an employment office is to be maintained by said agent.

(3) Records of the employment agency must be open for inspection by the department of labor; and the law is prohibited of such items as falsification in advertisement, irregular referrals, furnishing of employment to children in violation of compulsory school-attendance laws, division of fees with persons to whom help is referred, collection of fees before applicant is employed, and inducing of employees to leave one job for another.

(4) Exceptions to the law apply to agents who charge a fee of not more than $2 for registration only in procuring employment for school teachers, to department or bureaus maintained by State, Federal, or municipal governments, to farmers or stock raisers acting jointly in securing labor for their own use where no fee is collected or charged directly or indirectly, nor to any free employment bureau or agency chartered under the State law.

Investigation of these laws in operation reveals that the State Labor Department of Texas has been lenient in its interpretation of the Emigrant Agency Act in particular. Statements from both the labor commissioner and one of his deputies reveal that the four agencies now maintaining offices and operating in Texas—three in San Antonio (Bexar County) and one in Crystal City (Zavalla County)—have been required only to pay the license fee of $150 as prescribed in the Employment Agency Act plus the $10 license fee required in the Emigrant Agency Act. This means simply that there has been no action for or collection of the $1,000 occupation tax required in the Emigrant Agency Act. It was stated by an ex-labor department deputy that to his knowledge this tax had been collected in but one instance since the passage of the law in 1929. The explanation for ignoring that section of the law specifying the $1,000 occupation tax and the population-based county tax was that as the labor recruited by the licensed agency was for a particular association of growers they were exempt under section 7 of the law. This section of the law is here quoted:

"Sec. 7. This Act shall also apply in all its terms and provisions to every other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers to be employed by him beyond the limits of this State, but not maintaining an office therefor, except that such other person, firm, corporation, maritime agency, or association of persons as used in this section shall not be required to pay the occupation taxes in order to procure a license but shall pay to the labor commissioner the annual license fee provided by the Act, and shall perform all the other provisions of this Act, and such license shall in that event be limited to such holder thereof hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers exclusively and only for said holder of such license: *Provided, however*, That this section shall not apply to a person where the number to be employed by such person shall not exceed ten employees."

The labor officials pointed out the specific instance of one agent operating in Crystal City who is employed by a Colorado association. As he dealt with only one association, even though it covered the entire State of Colorado reaching out into other States, the Department had decided no occupation tax was due the State, and state that the same applies to others operating in San Antonio.

In consideration of the possibility that the collection of the occupation tax lay within the powers of the tax division of the comptroller's department, the comptroller was contented. It was his opinion that it was the duty of the comptroller's department to see that the tax was collected by the counties. An investigation of this feature is now under way in the comptroller's department, and an opinion on the application of the Emigrant Agent Act will probably be requested from the attorney general's department.

MOTOR-BUS LAWS

(1) Defines motor-bus companies as every corporation or persons owning, controlling, operating, or managing any motor-propelled passenger vehicle not usually operated on or over rails, and engaged in the business of transporting persons for compensation or hire over the public highways within the State of Texas, whether operating over fixed routes or fixed schedules or otherwise.

(2) Regulation within the law is vested within the railroad commission of the State of Texas.

(3) A driver's license with a $3 fee may be required for the operator of such common carrier; application for certificate of convenience and necessity must be made to the commission, together with the filing fee of $25. Such carriers must display identification plates issued by the railroad commission, and issuance of certificates to such carriers shall take into account (1) probable permanence and quality of service offered by the applicant, (2) financial abilities and responsibility of the applicant, (3) character of vehicles and character and location of depots and termini, (4) experience of the applicant in the transportation of properties and the character of the bond or insurance proposed to be given to insure the protection of the public.

The motor-bus law has had little or no effect upon the operation of truckers in the transportation of migratory labor, both interstate and intrastate. It is common knowledge that few, if any, truck operators make application to the railroad commission for permit and license under this law regulating common carriers.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE REGULATIONS

Texas law regulating common and contract carriers requires that before certificate or permit for operation is granted by the railroad commission the carrier must show compliance with the Federal Motor Carrier Act of 1935.

The Federal Motor Carrier Act of 1935 defines, in paragraph 14, section 203a, "common carrier by motor vehicle" as any person who or which undertakes, whether directly or by a lease or any other arrangement, to transport passengers or property, or any class or classes of property, for the general public in interstate or foreign commerce by motor vehicle for compensation, whether over regular or irregular routes, including such motor-vehicle operations of carriers by rail or water, and of express or forwarding companies, except to the extent that these operations are subject to the provisions of part I.

"Contract carrier" is defined as any person not included under paragraph 14, section 203a, who or which, under special and individual contracts or agreements, and whether directly or by a lease or any other arrangement transports passengers or property in interstate or foreign commerce by motor vehicle for compensation.

Certificates and permits for operation must be issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission after full application has been submitted in writing to the Commission. Certificate is based on rulings of "public convenience and necessity"; and identification plates are issued to certified carriers.

Every common carrier is required to publish and file a tariff. A tariff is a publication which states the carrier's rates and charges and the rules and regulations under which he will handle and transport commodities.

A carrier must satisfy the Commission of his responsibility by filing an approved surety bond policy of insurance, qualifications as self-insurer, or securities or agreements satisfactory to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Safety regulations are detailed and extensive.

There is no indication that the Federal Motor Carrier Act of 1935 has been made applicable to the "truckers" engaged in the regular transportation of workers across the State line at an average charge of $9 per head.

It has already been noted that most of these "truckers" avoid crossing the State line on main highways, possibly with the knowledge of their liability under the act.

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

(1) Texas labor is being recruited and transported out of the State in numbers large enough to curtail labor supply for the harvesting of Texas crops in a bumper cotton season.

(2) The system of physical examinations prescribed by some States tends to take the "cream" of Texas labor for out-of-State work and leave the local farmers with "culls" to do their work.

(3) Conditions existent in the mass movement and transportation facilities are revolting, and should be prevented for the general social good.

(4) The earnings of the Mexican laborer making the 1,600-mile trek are dissipated in the lag periods within the season, and any appreciable net return is mythical.

(5) Texas law, regulatory in intent, is in need of more strict construction in enforcement.

(6) Interstate commerce regulation offers possibilities as a deterrent to mass transportation of workers across State lines.

(7) State employment services are aware of the damaging effects of labor surpluses moving into their States for the sugar-beet harvest; but no effective control has been developed.

ATTACHMENTS

Facsimile contracts between grower and laborer.

Facsimile expense account of a Mexican laborer on his season in Michigan beet fields.

Facsimile of form letter distributed by a growers' employment committee.

Copy of a letter from one laborer who left in April 1939 for the beet fields in Ohio.

Facsimile of article appearing in San Antonio Express on movement of Mexicans to Michigan beet fields.

[Specimen copy]

GROWER'S CONTRACT WITH FIELD WORKER

Undersigned grower and field worker agree—

The field worker agrees—

To do all field work and properly care for ______ acres of sugar beets according to instructions given from time to time by the grower.

To bunch and thin beets so as to leave the beets, when hoeing is completed, not more than 8 to 10 inches apart on the average, leaving only the sturdiest beets, one in a place.

To hoe the beets whenever required during the growing season, so as to remove all weeds, keep the beets clean in the rows and for 4 inches on each side of each row.

To furnish hoes and topping knives.

To pull and top beets when ready for harvest, removing all the dirt possible by striking beets together before removing tops. Knives are to be used for topping only—not for picking up or handling beets.

To top beets at the lowest leaf line at a right angle to vertical axis.

To pile topped beets in piles consisting of the beets from 16 rows, the piles to be at least 2 rods apart. To cover piles with all the leaves immediately.

To pile all beet tops in neat piles when they are not needed to cover piles of beets to the end that grower may be able to use the tops to best advantage and not have them scattered about the ground.

To level and prepare the surface of the ground where beets are to be piled.

To accept as full payment for said work the amount shown on the schedule printed on the back of this contract, payable as stated in said schedule.

To pay the cost and expense of doing any work which he fails or refuses to do at the time or in the manner in which it should be done, and he authorizes the deduction of any such cost or expense from the amount herein agreed to be paid to him.

To pay any cost or expense, including attorney fees, imposed on the grower or Michigan Sugar Co. by reason of any attachment or garnishment of the amount payable to him hereunder, or by any litigation of any nature, or by any damage done by him to property of the grower or said company, and he authorizes the deduction and withholding of the amount of any such cost or expense from the amount payable to him.

The grower agrees—

To keep beets cultivated clean between the rows in a proper manner, and give them at least one cultivation before they are blocked and thinned.

To lift the beets when ready for harvest.

To pay the field worker for said work according to the schedule printed on the back of this contract.

To make all settlements with the field workers through the company's fieldmen.

To furnish free a suitable dwelling for field worker to live in until harvesting is completed and to provide pure water.

That, to secure payment to the field worker, any and all proceeds to which the grower may in any way become entitled to receive under his contract with the company shall be charged with the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder, and the company in behalf of the grower and for his account, and as provided in the grower's contract with the company, is authorized to make payment of same direct to the field worker, and this contract (or a copy thereof) when filed with the company shall be an order for such payment.

To haul or deliver the beets to the Michigan Sugar Co.

General agreements:

In case the grower fails to obtain a satisfactory stand of beets, or, if at any time during the time for performance of work hereunder, the condition of the crop shall be such that in the judgment of the grower further work on the crop would not be justified, the grower may terminate this contract by giving notice to the Michigan Sugar Co., the field worker, and the holders of any orders given by the grower and paying the field worker the fair value of what he has done to such date as nearly as may be according to the following schedule.

The grower and field worker shall be bound by the acreage as measured and the tonnage per acre as determined by the company.

In the event the grower and field worker disagree as to any matter pertaining to this contract or the performance thereof in any respect, or as to the amount payable hereunder, either party may notify Michigan Sugar Co., or upon said company hearing of any such disagreement, it may appoint a representative to look into such matter and his decision shall be final and binding upon the parties, but that company shall not come under any liability to the parties or either of them if it fails or refuses to decide such matter or because of any decision.

All debts incurred by the field worker as a result of credit extended or guaranteed by the grower or Michigan Sugar Co. shall be paid out of proceeds due the field worker hereunder from whatever source.

Michigan Sugar Co. by acceptance of this order as noted below, or otherwise, shall not come under any obligation or liability to either of the parties hereto except to pay to the field worker as far as may be out of money that may become payable to the grower, and then only after deducting therefrom any amounts owing by the grower to said company and any other items provided to be first paid by the terms of the contract with the grower, the amount to which the field worker may become entitled to receive hereunder.

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS PER MEASURED ACRE

For blocking, thinning, and hoeing: $11 for blocking, thinning, hoeing, and keeping beets free from weeds, payable $9 when work is completed and $2 when beets have been harvested.

For harvesting

Net tons per acre:	*Rate per ton*	Net tons per acre:	*Rate per ton*
Below 4	$1.50	Below 10	$0.91
4	1.30	11	.89
5	1.15	12	.87
6	1.06	13	.85
7	1.00	14	.83
8	.96	15	.81
9	.93	16 or above	.80

(The rate for all fractional tonnages between 4 and 16 tons rounded to the nearest tenth of a ton shall be in proportion within each interval.)

(Provision has been in the determination that if, because of unusual circumstances, it is essential to employ labor on other than a piece-rate basis, and/or in those circumstances in which the use of special machine methods are used, rates other than the above may be applicable provided such rates are approved by the State committee as equivalent to the piece rate for such work specified herein. See your field man.)

Final settlement, according to terms of contract, to be made as soon as practicable after all beets have been delivered and net weight per measured acre determined.

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT WITH BEET GROWERS

Fully understanding the grower's contract with field worker for the season of 1939, copy of which is printed above, we have subscribed our name below and do hereby faithfully promise to work for ____________________, growers of the Michigan Sugar Co., ____________ plant.

If accepted, we agree to take care of ______ acres of sugar beets, according to the terms of aforementioned contract, which we agree to sign with grower when placed.

Address: _____________________. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.
City: ____________. Date: ____________. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.
Worked for ____________ plant last year. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.
Signature: _____________. Age: ____. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.
Signature: _____________. Age: ____. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.
Signature: _____________. Age: ____. Signature: _____________. Age: ____.

(Vease el lado reverso del papel.)

(Reverse side of contract is in Spanish and same is omitted.)

BEET GROWERS AGREEMENT FOR HAND LABOR ON SUGAR BEETS, SEASON 1939

1. This agreement, made in duplicate and agreed to on date specified here below between party of the first part and party of the second part, who have signed this agreement in duplicate.

2. Party of the first part agrees to plant beets just as early in the spring as the ground will be in condition.

3. Beets are to be thinned by the second party as soon as all beets show six leaves, leaving only the largest beet in a place. Doubles must not be left when thinning is finished.

4. It is understood and agreed by party of the second part that all rows shall be worked the full length, soil conditions permitting, so as not to interfere with the cultivation, and that all work on the beets is to be done in the order of planting.

5. After beets are blocked and thinned and weeds start to grow in the row, hoeings must be started at once and beets are to be kept clean and free from weeds until August 1.

6. Weeds must be hoed out and the beets kept clean in a strip not more than 6 inches wide in the row, by said second party (to be known as the worker's row) and said hoeings shall be done at such time as is deemed best by the parties agreeing.

7. Party of the first part agrees to keep beets cultivated between the rows in a husbandlike manner, leaving a strip not more than 6 inches wide. It is understood that the cultivator must precede all hand work, cultivating once or twice before blocking and thinning, and immediately after thinning, as soon as the beets stand up. Weeds shall not be allowed to grow so big in the grower's row that the cultivator will shove them back in the worker's row, and thus the second party be held responsible for a dirty field. As much cultivating shall be done by the party of the first part as is necessary to keep the grower's row free from weeds, and as much hoeing shall be done by party of the second part as shall keep the worker's row clean and free from weeds.

8. When beets are ready to harvest and the American Crystal Sugar Co. has notified party of the first part to begin harvest, the beets are to be lifted by party of the first part and party of the second part agrees to pull and top every row of beets, striking them together to remove all the dirt possible.

9. All beets are to be well covered by second party with all the tops each day if not being hauled from the field that day so as to prevent freezing and shrinking and the beets becoming black and thus becoming unfit for making sugar. The surface of the ground where piles shall be made shall be leveled and prepared by first party and beets shall be piled free from tops and trash by second party.

10. No beets are to be pulled and left exposed over night on the field. If beets are pulled one day and are to be topped the next day, they must be piled by second party so as to protect them from freezing.

11. Party of the first part agrees to furnish a suitable dwelling place, clean, dry and warm, free from cracks, crevices and leaky roof, not adjacent to barnyards and feed lots, convenient to drinking water, a place suitable for a family to live in.

12. Party of the second part agrees to maintain at all times clean and wholesome conditions within and around his home. Failure to have house ready upon workers' arrival, party of the first part agrees to pay necessary board and lodging of the party of the second part until house is ready. Should party of the second part refuse to use dwelling after it is completed according to above agreement, then they shall pay for their own board and lodging.

13. Party of the first part agrees to transfer party of the second part and their belongings from the railroad station to their dwelling place, and return them again when their work is finished in the fall. And if the party of the first part fails to do this, he is willing to pay a reasonable amount for such moving expenses.

14. Second party shall have the right to occupy said dwelling only during the life of this contract, and when the work herein provided is completed, shall vacate said premises within a reasonable time; and if second party at any time for any reason, except sickness of himself or family, ceases or neglects to perform the work and in the manner as herein provided, he shall immediately vacate said premises, hereby waiving all notice and demand so to do; and first party may maintain action of ejecting without any preliminary notice or demand except notice of such action.

15. Party of the first part agrees to furnish sufficient hoes, files, and topping knives to party of the second part to do the work.

16. Should party of the second part at any time fail to perform the work at the proper time and in the manner as above agreed, party of the first part shall have the right to have such work performed and deduct the cost of doing it from the amount due said party of the second part.

17. It is further agreed that in case the party of the first part fails to secure a satisfactory stand of beets, this contract shall be considered void, and that if at any time during the growth of said crop of beets its condition shall be such as not to justify a continuance of the work on the crop, this agreement shall be considered null and void as to the unfilled portion of it, and the party of the second part shall receive pay for only what has been done.

18. In case of any dispute or any question arising as to the advisability of continuing the work on the crop, or as to the measurements of the field, said

dispute shall be decided by the American Crystal Sugar Co., or its field representative, having authority to so decide.

CULTURAL METHODS BRIEFLY DEFINED

19. Cross-cultivated fields shall be those fields which have been cultivated with the row and across the row at least once immediately before thinning and at least once with the row and across the row immediately before hoeing.

Blocked fields shall be those fields which have been cross cultivated only before thinning with no successive cross cultivation afterwards.

Old method or hill drop fields shall be those fields which are blocked out by hand, fields planted by a hill drop drill or where no cross cultivation has been done.

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS

20. Payments for hand labor for beets properly thinned and kept clean until August 1 will be made when grower has completed credit arrangement to do so, but in no case prior to August 1, 1939, at the following rates:

	Per acre
Cross-cultivated fields	$9.50
Blocked fields	10.50
Old method or hill drop fields	12.00

Payments for harvesting will be made at the following rates: 90 cents for each ton up to and including 7 tons per acre, plus 80 cents for each ton per acre above 7 tons, with a minimum of $5.40 per acre, said minimum to be advanced upon completion of topping, but in no case prior to October 25, 1939.

Any balance due above minimum harvest payment, to be paid on or about December 1, 1939, based on average yield of entire acreage harvested by grower signing this labor contract.

If the use of special machine methods of planting, cultivation, or harvesting reduce the amount of labor required as compared with the common method in use in the area, the wage rate and minimum wage rate is to be agreed upon by the producer and laborer. In both cases the rate must be approved by the A. A. A. State committee.

The above rates per acre for blocking, thinning, and harvesting, and for handling of cases where the use of special machinery in planting and harvesting are used are in conformity with determination made under date of March 30, 1939, by the Secretary of Agriculture, for district 2, which includes Iowa, Minnesota, and eastern North Dakota.

HOLDBACK

It is agreed that to insure the faithful performance of this contract a deduction of $1.50 per acre shall be made from the price for thinning and hoeing and this amount shall be paid when all the work for the season shall have been satisfactorily completed.

If labor contractor shall cease work before completion of this contract through no fault of his own, the grower agrees to pay the labor contractor in full for all labor actually performed without any deduction whatsoever.

21. Should party of the first part during the life of this contract arrange credit for the second party to obtain groceries and clothing necessary for their maintenance, the total cost of which shall not exceed $______, then the amount of such credit shall constitute a just debt due said first party, and second party agrees that any credit so arranged by first party up to the amount herein agreed upon, shall constitute a partial payment on any amounts due said second party under the terms of the contract, and may be deducted in whole or in part from any settlement with said second party.

22. Memorandum of special agreements, if any, between grower and labor contractor:____

Unless otherwise specified in Memorandum of Special Agreement above, the grower further agrees to pay the contractor for thinning, hoeing, and harvesting whether or not said work is performed, provided the contractor presents himself at the proper time and is ready and willing to do said labor, unless crop is partially or totally destroyed by causes beyond control of grower, or unless there is a crop failure.

23. Witnesseth, the party of the second part agrees and binds himself to care for during the year 1939, ______ acres of sugar beets, more or less, according to above agreement and a correct measurement to be taken by the parties of the first and second part.

24. Signature of grower or party of the first part ________________________ of ____________________.

Dated: ________________________

Witness: ________________________

25. Signature of worker or party of second part ________________________.

Dated: ________________________

Witness: ________________________

August 10, 1938.

Mr. Telesforo Mandujano.

To Great Lakes Sugar Co.

Terms: ____________ ________________________

Money loaned of Joe Rodriguez	$1.00	
Transportation	105.00	
Equipment	3.30	
May 28. Equipment	8.80	
14. Equipment	2.70	
Total	120.80	
		14.80
D. T. Richards grove	43.98	
H. R. Brown grove	17.87	
Rental for 2 cabins	36.00	
Total expenses	218.65	
Groceries at Findlay & Rawson	28.02	
Grand total expenses	246.67	
C. R. Royce		182.27
Vernon Royce		115.50
F. H. Ohls		77.00
9 Tns. thinned for Mr. Clark		72.00
Total earned		446.77
Less expense		246.67
Total		200.10
Checks enclosed		164.10
From Clark		36.00

15.15
61.47
87.48

164.10

This check will be mailed very soon.

Respt. yours,

A. S. Tennant.

Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc.,
Saginaw, Mich.

Dear Sir: In answer to your recent inquiry, we wish to advise that from acreage contracts already written, it appears that the growers will need considerable beet labor for the 1938 season.

We call your particular attention to the fact that for the 1938 season neither this organization nor the Michigan Sugar Co. will pay for the transportation of workers to or from Michigan.

However, in cases where it is necessary to assist workers financially to get to Michigan, we have made arrangements to advance to our growers a reasonable portion of such costs of workers employed by them. Each advance is made upon the arrival of the workers in Michigan and the amount of such advances will be deducted by the grower from wages earned by the workers and the grower will repay the amount of the advance to us.

All labor arrangements for this coming year will be handled through the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., instead of the Michigan Sugar Co. as in former years. I personally represent this committee for this area, and any further communications from you relative to arrangements for this coming year should be addressed to me.

All laborers are requested to bring with them whatever cooking utensils, blankets, and other small household equipment they may require.

For your information, we are enclosing an application for employment printed in English and Spanish which contains a specimen copy of the contract between grower and field worker, which contract you will sign upon your arrival. Please sign this application and return it and at the same time notify us as to the approximate date of your arrival.

Yours truly,

M. EASTMENT, *Assistant Secretary.*

(Same form letter being used 1939 season.)

ALGER, OHIO, *April 30, 1939.*

Mr. A. R. ALVAREZ.

DEAR FRIEND: I am writing you this letter to let you know that I arrived O. K. at Ohio, and also to tell you the following: That there were 48 of us all from Corpus in the truck, that is, including women and children, the headquarters of the company is at Findlay, Ohio, and that is where the sugar factory is also. All the people that arrive here from Texas, Indiana, and Illinois that most people come from are sent to Findlay, Ohio, and from there the company takes charge of them and sends them out to the surrounding small towns so I was sent to this little town called Alger, Ohio. I am also sending you a contract that is used here for the year 1939. I believe this is all for today. If you want to know more about how we are getting along, write to me and I'll let you know. This company treats us very nice so far.

Your friend,

BEN VARGAS.

The name of this company is Great Lakes Sugar Co., Findlay, Ohio.

[From the San Antonio Express, Thursday morning, May 4, 1939]

FOUR THOUSAND SAN ANTONIO FARM LABORERS SENT TO MICHIGAN BEET FIELDS—HEALTH EXAMS GIVEN BY STATE—CLINIC OPENED HERE TO SAFEGUARD AGAINST CONTAGIOUS DISEASES

Four thousand beet field workers are on their way to Michigan after being given physical examinations under auspices of the Michigan State Department of Health at a clinic operated on El Paso Street here for about 2 weeks.

Since Michigan law requires that the State must provide hospital or other care for all persons with tuberculosis, Michigan established the clinic here to prevent entry into the State of persons infected with tuberculosis or other contagious and infectious diseases.

In addition to the 4,000 workers, about 1,000 to 1,500 children accompanied their parents to Michigan, according to Frank Cortez, representing the Beet Growers Employment Committee, Inc., of Michigan.

Through the employment committee representative, the State of Michigan is protected against a surplus and destitute influx of beet-field workers, Cortez said. Only persons certified by the clinic and who have been guaranteed employment through the committee are permitted entry into Michigan, he said. Workers pay their own way to the beet fields but in case work is not available the employment committee must provide return transportation for the migratory laborers, he said.

Past experience with stranded and needy migratory agricultural laborers resulted in the new regulations, Cortez said. The beet-field workers will be paid $18 per acre, he said. Work will last 6 to 7 months, the workers also working on other crops, he said. Housing is provided but the workers provide their own food. Workers sent from here went to Saginaw and Mount Pleasant areas in Michigan.

TESTIMONY OF M. C. GONZALES, COUNSELOR TO THE CONSUL GENERAL OF MEXICO, SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Mr. Parsons. State your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Gonzales, and you may either stand or sit, whichever is your pleasure.

Mr. Gonzales. M. C. Gonzales, San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. Parsons. You are an American citizen?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Born in the State of Texas?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You are legal adviser or counselor to the Consul General of Mexico?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. But you are not speaking officially for the Government of Mexico, you are speaking for yourself because you know the conditions?

Mr. Gonzales. I am speaking with the knowledge and consent of the Consul General of Mexico but not officially.

Mr. Parsons. You have studied this problem for several years and I understand you were in the service during the World War?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Where were you stationed and what work did you do?

Mr. Gonzales. I was in the Diplomatic Service of the Government of the United States in Madrid, Spain, and in France during the World War.

Mr. Parsons. What were your duties?

Mr. Gonzales. I was in the Intelligence Service.

Mr. Parsons. Since the World War what have you been doing?

Mr. Gonzales. I came back and studied law at Texas University and St. Louis University and I have practiced law 16 years and 15 of those 16 years I have spent in the Mexican consular service in the State of Texas.

Mr. Parsons. You have a prepared statement; how long will it take you to read it?

Mr. Gonzales. It won't take long, 15 or 20 minutes. However, I would like to make some remarks before I do that.

Mr. Parsons. Proceed.

RACIAL PREJUDICE AFFECTING MEXICANS

Mr. GONZALES. I am deeply grieved by the statements made by the officials of the State of Texas awhile ago and I want to protest in the name of about 1,000,000 citizens of the United States of Latin-American extraction. I want to state that the Supreme Court of the United States has held, and I will be glad to state the case, that the so-called Mexican people belong to the United States; they go so far as to make the statement that the so-called Mexicans or Latin-Americans should be classified as belonging to the white race, and certainly it is embarrassing to me to appear before this committee and be placed in the light that I don't belong to the white race. That is one reason, and I would like to discuss it with you while I am here, why we have so much trouble with labor in Texas, purely racial prejudice. It is common knowledge that up to about 1924, the Mexican peons were virtually in a state of slavery, no question about it, and those people were coming into Texas looking for better living conditions that they were entitled to as human beings, not as cattle as they have been classified by another official of the State of Texas, but when they came here they lived in that same condition, and they lived in inferiority and humiliation and they came in here and struggled in the cotton fields of Texas and Texas prospered as the leading State in the Union in the production of cotton.

Mr. PARSONS. You are probably right there, but I don't think the officials of Texas meant any derogation.

Mr. GONZALES. I don't think they meant to say they were inferior to cattle either, but he complained of the fact that the railroads are made to stop to rest cattle and that these truck drivers didn't stop at all which indicates that they were worse than cattle.

The CHAIRMAN. But he didn't feel that way, Mr. Gonzales, he was indicating that they received worse treatment than cattle.

Mr. GONZALES. Oh, no; I didn't say that, but he says that our people make this trip and live worse than cattle because they like it and says that we are not of the white race and naturally I am embarrassed and I do not feel free to talk before you in that sort of light. I want to talk before you and bring before you some information as to these things so that you can compare it with what they have said and you will notice there is some disparity and a little difference. I immediately sent a circular letter to all the consuls in Texas when Mr. Wolf said he wanted me to help in this matter. I asked for specific information. I said, give the approximate number of Mexican citizens in each consular jurisdiction, the number, approximate number, of Mexicans born in each jurisdiction—in other words, we want to answer definitely the question you are asking, how many are citizens of the United States that are of Latin extraction or Mexican extraction. There is no such thing as a Mexican race. Mexicans are composed of Indians and Caucasians—Will Rogers was Indian and Caucasian—but we find that there is really no such thing as a Mexican race; therefore, we say Latin-Americans. I asked them to give the approximate number of Latin-Americans born in Texas, the number of Mexicans and Texas Mexicans that leave annually looking for temporary employment, the character of the work performed, the means of transportation, the length of time away from the place visited, the salaries received and the place where they worked, difficulties which they encounter in attempting to make the trip to look for work, and an opinion as to the best way to solve the various problems confronting Mexicans and Texas Mexicans in connection with migration from Texas to other States in search of work. Those are the specific points and here are the specific answers.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have the replies there which you received from them?

Mr. GONZALES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have a copy of them?

MEXICAN MIGRANT LABOR

Mr. GONZALES. I am going to give all these to him. The approximate number of Mexican citizens in each consular jurisdiction is 376,000; the approximate number of Mexicans born in each jurisdiction is 750,000; the number of Mexicans and Texas Mexicans that leave annually looking for temporary employment is 66,100. There are over a million and two hundred thousand Latin Americans, don't you see?

Mr. PARSONS. In the State of Texas?

Mr. GONZALES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population of the State of Texas, if you know?

Mr. GONZALES. Six million; so we have a little over one-sixth of the population of the State of Texas. Now, the number that leave annually looking for temporary employment is 66,100, and you are going to find that that varies a great deal with the figures of the labor department of the State of Texas, because they don't report any except the ones they know about.

Mr. CURTIS. That 66,000—do they cross the State line? Is that what you mean by leaving home?

Mr. GONZALES. Yes; by leaving the State to look for temporary employment outside. The next point is the character of work performed, which includes farming, grubbing, cotton picking, strawberries, watermelons, pecans, fruits, laborers, sheep herding, onion planting, chopping cactus, beet fields. The next question I asked was means of transportation, and we have three—automobiles, trucks, and the railroads—and pretty soon I will elucidate some on that. Length of time away from home and places visited: They leave in November and they go to Michigan, Wisconsin, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, California, Oregon, and Washington. Then, as to salaries received in places where they work, they work in the beet fields; laborers get from $18 to $24 per acre by contract. The work consists of thinning, cleaning, and blocking the beets. Cotton pickers get 50 cents per 100 pounds and the most they can pick a day is 300 pounds. However, California pays $1.25 per 100 pounds, and, due to the quality of the cotton, a laborer can pick 300 pounds. For that reason in Texas they employed married men in order that the group of pickers might earn sufficient to live on, and the work is done on a contract basis.

Next is the difficulties which they encounter in attempting to make the trip to look for work. Wages are so low that heads of families are unable to earn enough for even the bare necessities, which forces them to forego working for such inadequate wages and stay on relief. Even in the instances where they work for starvation wages the laborers have trouble in having their accounts adjusted satisfactorily. Migration is also rendered difficult for the reason that Mexican citizens who have lived here for a quarter of a century have had a number of children born on far-away farms where doctors are not available and the services of nonregistered midwives are used, and no record is kept of birth, so that it is difficult to establish the citizenship of those children whose parents are aliens, and because of the stringent immigration supervision they are forced to stay in Texas and forego the opportunity to earn a living wage in some other State.

PROBLEMS OF DESTITUTE MEXICAN MIGRANTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ALLEVIATION

Therefore, the most frequent problem concerning the migratory destitute person, whether Mexican or American of Latin extraction, is the immigration laws, the State laws requiring special license plates, chauffeur license, and payment of agency fees, bonds, occupation tax, and insurance; also, economic conditions, and last, but not least, racial prejudice and failure to secure written labor contracts. I asked their opinion as to the best way to solve the various problems concerning Mexicans and Texas Mexicans in connection with migrations from Texas to other States in search of work, and this is the answer I received on that. The creation of a Federal bureau of coordination to study and plan conveniently the activities and fixing a timely itinerary for the particular class of workers by contacting the large enterprises in the various places where Mexican laborers go to look for work. To see that written contracts are entered into before the laborer leaves and that the contracts in some way guarantee performance thereof. The enactment of a Federal law dealing with interstate migration of destitute persons in search of employment. Those are the questions I submitted and the answers I received. In addition to that I have a brief résumé I am going to give in a few words. Here is just my situation here; I don't want to impose on your time.

The Chairman. Take all the time you want.

EMIGRANT AGENCY LAW

Mr. Gonzales. It requires about $500 to operate an emigrant agency law each year and the agent can only send workers to a particular city or place outside of the State of Texas.

About $1,750 per year is required to pay license and tax expenses in order to maintain a general agency in Texas. The occupation tax costs about $1,000; county taxes about $200; employment agency license about $150; bond $50, and other similar expenses required by article 7047.

I will take just a minute to read you that particular part of that act.

> ART. 7047, R. C. S., Sec. 40. Occupation Tax on Emigrant Agents.—From every person, firm, corporation, or association of persons engaged in the business of an emigrant agent, an annual State tax of $1,000 and in addition thereto, in each county where said emigrant agent operates or maintains an office, an annual tax, on a population basis, according to the preceding Federal census as follows: In counties under 100,000 population the sum of $100; in counties having a population from 100,000 to 200,000 inclusive, the sum of $200; and in counties over 200,000 population, the sum of $300. The term "emigrant agent" as used herein means the business of hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers in the State to be employed beyond the limits of this State and is also meant to include every person, firm, partnership, corporation, or association of persons maintaining an office to hire, entice, or solicit laborers to be employed beyond the limits of this State; and is also meant to include every person who as an independent contractor or otherwise than as an agent of a duly licensed emigrant agent procures, or undertakes to procure, or assist in procuring laborers for an emigrant agent; and every emigrant agent shall be termed and held to be doing business as such in each and every county wherein he, in person, or through an agent, hires, entices, or solicits any laborer to be employed beyond the limits of the State. *Provided, however*, That the term "emigrant" agent as defined in this act does not mean any person, firm, association of persons, or corporations or maritime agent that hires, entices, or solicits laborers for his or its own use beyond the limit of this State where an office is not maintained therefor. It is further provided that the provisions of article 7048 authorizing the payment of an occupation tax quarterly shall not apply to emigrant agents as herein defined, but such agents shall pay in advance the tax for 1 entire year. Said tax shall be paid to the tax collector and upon production of a receipt showing the payment of the amount due the State, the tax collector is authorized to receive the amount due for each county (acts 1929, 41st Leg., 2d C. S., p. 16, ch. 11, sec. 1).

That is the law and an officer of the law is sworn to enforce it, and if it is there you have got to enforce it, but when that law or regulation is bad I think we ought to change it.

It is contended by some people that the cotton kings of Texas are responsible for the legislation in Texas, the effect of which is to force laborers to stay in Texas and pick cotton for 50 cents a hundred pounds instead of being permitted to leave the State freely at the request of large concerns in other States of the Union where they might earn three and four times more money.

They contend that the emigrant agency law of Texas is discriminatory and unconstitutional, in that it provides that it shall be inapplicable where the number to be employed shall not exceed 10 employees. In other words, if a family of 10 have an opportunity to work either in the State of Michigan or Mississippi, they can go, but if the family consists of 10 plus 1 child 14 years of age, then the law says that it will be necessary for some person to obtain a private emigrant agency license to operate in Texas for the purpose of representing the employing concern and pay $150 fee, file a $5,000 bond with the labor department, and an agency license fee of $10. That only for one particular place. If it were desired to send others to different places, then an occupation tax of about fifteen or seventeen hundred dollars. The fee charged by the agent is $1 per head and he receives that money if and when the laborer works, and after he has paid his transportation expenses, his groceries, living expenses, and so forth.

Under the present set-up, unsatisfactory as it is, 7,000 or 8,000 Mexicans—he said 10,000 and he is probably right—leave the latter part of

April of each year for the beet fields of Michigan; some by truck and some by train. Train fare is $15 per person, one way, and $10 per person by truck with no charge for children under 14. The laborers travel 25 in a truck, and the truck driver agrees to wait for his compensation until after the laborer has earned enough money to pay for his sustenance and transportation. The company assumes the obligation to pay for the return transportation from the moment that it employs the workers.

A family traveling by truck in search of work is stopped in the different States they cross and required to obtain chauffeur's license, plate for trucks, and so forth. Such a requirement does not apply to automobiles with trailers or passenger automobiles.

As a result of these rigid requirements of the law, there has developed in Texas the insidious practice of bootlegging transportation. Private emigrant agencies complain that there is no effective police protection, either local or State, to curb these activities, with the result that irresponsible persons operate outside the law, charging exorbitant fees for transportation, extra fees for contracting, with no insurance against accidents and no assurance that labor will be secured when the destination is reached.

The transportation of laborers, even when operating under the law, is wholly unsatisfactory because it is done under the "share expenses, paying from what you earn" basis. Traveling 25 in a truck with a large number of young children makes comfort and safety impossible, and in case of an accident or death there is no one responsible nor able to pay compensation to the dependent children or other relatives.

In regard to the question of citizenship, the ratio is about 20 percent Mexican citizens and is arrived at by figuring that in a family of six the father and mother were born in Mexico and the four children in Texas. However, with the repatriation program of the Mexican Government, the intense activity of the United States immigration inspectors in deportation matters, the effects of the alien registration law, and lastly the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, will cause a great reduction in the number of aliens who will remain in the United States. In addition, the obligatory military law of Mexico, plus the fact that no alien can be employed in any of the W. P. A. projects, has of late tripled the number of aliens seeking naturalization in the United States.

The official records of the labor department at Austin, Tex., do not appear to reflect the true conditions relative to migratory laborers. The figures furnished me by the bureau of labor statistics show that 4,315 laborers left Texas for the Beet Belt in 1939, and that 6,624 migrated this year.

Apparently there are no restrictions in other States controlling the exodus of laborers to Texas, because we perceive every year a large number of Anglo-American and Negro unemployeds who visit the cottonfields and the citrus-fruit regions in search of work, and that condition tends to congest the labor difficulties already existing.

Now, I want to cite a specific case if you will bear with me. Under date of September 9, 1940, I received a letter from McLemore, Montjoy

& Hobbs, planters, Greenwood, Miss., and they had previously been to our office and they said they wanted us to secure for them 100 laborers and would pay them good money.

Mr. PARSONS. That was the consular service?

Mr. GONZALES. Yes; and I said, "I will not do that unless you show me that you are a responsible concern," and he said, "I will do that," and here is the letter I received from him:

McLEMORE, MONTJOY & HOBBS,
Greenwood, Miss., September 9, 1940.

Mr. MANUEL C. GONZALES,
Attorney for Consul General of Mexico, San Antonio, Tex.

DEAR MR. GONZALES: Pursuant to our conversation when I was in San Antonio several days past, I am enclosing you herewith exchange for $400 payable to "Manuel C. Gonzales, Attorney for Consul General of Mexico, San Antonio, Texas." As you advised me, I am sending you this money with a view of you obtaining me some cotton pickers to be transported here on the following basis.

If you can get some Mexican who owns his own truck, I will be willing to pay him $4 per head for all pickers over the age of 12 years that he might bring here on a truck payable $2 per head when they arrive here nad $2 per head when they return to San Antonio, and, of course, I will notify you when they arrive here and also when they might leave here. I will let the owner of the truck weigh the cotton and haul it to the gin, which will not be over 2 or 3 miles, and give him $1 per bale for this service. In the event the owner of this truck should not be able to organize and get the pickers, then I will be willing to give him $3 per head instead of $4 and give $1 per head to someone you might employ to get up these pickers, and that would be payable when they arrive here. In other words, I want the cost to me to be not over $4 per head for those of 12 years old and older and delivered here.

The picking season here will last until after December 1 and they will not have to move any after their arrival here and I will furnish them with houses to live in and their wood while here. I would want them to stay until the season is over, but not later than December 15, 1940.

Our cotton crop will run around three-fourths to a bale per acre and is a Texas cotton, the Acola cotton planted and bred by Mr. Rogers, of Navasota, Tex.

You advised me to forward you this money and it would be spent in accordance with my instructions or returned. I am today having the bank of Greenwood write you in regard to me, also.

I would be glad to get one load of pickers but will appreciate up to 100 pickers, 2 or 3 truckloads. I have contracted several other sources but I don't know whether they will produce.

You can wire or call me at phone 418 after 7 p. m. at my expense if you find it necessary. In any event, I would be glad to hear from you at an early date as to what you think you may accomplish, as I want the pickers at once.

We are paying 50 cents per hundred here, and should the price be raised I would be glad to increase the price to the prevailing price here; and in no event will it be lower than 50 cents. I will pay them off each Saturday.

I would be glad if you would put out several feelers among your friends and communicate with me as soon as possible, as I would like to get these people up here as soon as I can.

My reason for wanting a man who owns his truck is that he can weigh and hold the crowd together, and also that they will feel safe in returning at the proper time. It is about 600 miles to Greenwood, no further than west Texas, and the trip can be made in about 18 hours by truck.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A. M. HOBBS.

On the same date I received this letter from the mayor of Greenwood, Miss.:

CITY OF GREENWOOD,
Greenwood, Miss., September 9, 1940.

MR. MANUEL C. GONZALES,
Attorney for Consul General of Mexico,
San Antonio, Tex.

DEAR MR. GONZALES: My friend Mr. A. M. Hobbs tells me that he is just back from your country and has solicited your help in getting some cotton pickers.

I am writing this to let you know that Mr. Hobbs is one of our most prosperous men, has quite a large farm, and is a man of affairs in this country. I have known him for many years. Anything that Mr. Hobbs tells you or says he will do you can depend upon it—a splendid gentleman—and you can assure any of your people that they will be in good hands should they make a deal with Mr. Hobbs.

Yours very truly,
S. R. KEESLER, *Mayor.*

Then I said that wasn't enough, that I wanted a bank, and I received this letter from the president of the Bank of Greenwood, Miss.:

THE BANK OF GREENWOOD,
Greenwood, Miss., September 9, 1940.

MR. MANUEL C. GONZALES,
Attorney for the Consul General of Mexico,
San Antonio, Tex.

DEAR SIR: Our customer Mr. A. M. Hobbs advises that he has made arrangements with you to secure laborers to pick cotton in this section and requests that we write you with reference to his financial responsibility and general standing.

Mr. Hobbs and his wife own large plantation interests in this county and are financially responsible for their obligations. We are sure they will live up to their contract made with you and satisfactorily look after the labor they employ.

Very truly yours,
FRANK R. MCGEOY, Jr., *President.*

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you to get these people?

Mr. GONZALES. In Texas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All aliens?

Mr. GONZALES. No, sir; I told him I wanted him to write me a letter and to send me references, and he sent the references, and he sent a letter with a cashier's check for $400, and said, "Get me some Mexicans"—that is what I am protesting, a Mexican is called a Mexican whether he is a citizen of the United States or Mexico—and he sent me this $400 not to pay me, I don't charge, but in the event they get stranded to pay their way back. I said, "We are not agents, we don't charge, but we want to help relieve the condition of these people here." I submitted all these letters to the bureau of labor statistics at Austin and they wrote me on September 12 this letter:

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, STATE OF TEXAS,
Austin, September 12, 1940.

MR. MANUEL C. GONZALES,
Attorney for Consul General of Mexico,
San Antonio, Tex.

DEAR MR. GONZALES: Mr. C. F. Stockburger has presented to us for consideration the letter that Mr. A. M. Hobbs, of Greenwood, Miss., wrote to you on September 9, 1940. This letter, together with a letter of the same date, addressed to you by the Bank of Greenwood, Greenwood, Miss., are being returned to you herewith.

We have carefully considered this matter, and it appears that the proposed plan of operations come within the provisions of the emigrant agency law of

Texas. We note that a copy of the laws of Texas relating to labor, 1939 edition, was given to you on July 2, 1940, and reference is made to the emigrant agency law of Texas which is set out on pages 38–44 of that publication.

You will note that section 7 of the emigrant agency law provides "that this section shall not apply to a person where the number to be employed by such person shall not exceed 10 employees."

Inasmuch as Mr. Hobbs desires to employ more than 10 persons in Texas, for employment beyond this State, it will be necessary that some person obtain a private emigrant agency license to operate in Texas for the purpose of representing Mr. Hobbs. It would be necessary for such person to obtain an employment agency license and pay a fee of $150, file a $5,000 bond with this department, and in addition obtain a private emigrant agency license and pay a fee of $10.

At present there are six licensed private emigrant agents in Texas, each of whom represents one specified out-of-State client, and none of these may represent any other out-of-State client under his present license. There is no general emigrant agent in Texas who is licensed to represent any and all persons in other States.

It is the special duty of this department to enforce the provisions of the emigrant agency law, and we desire to do this in a strict, yet fair and impartial manner. If some person in Texas should desire to obtain a license to represent Mr. Hobbs, we shall be glad to furnish such Texas citizen with application and bond forms and to give the matter of issuing a license our careful consideration.

Very truly yours,

T. Y. Collins,
Chief Deputy, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

P. S.—Section 40 of article 7047, R. C. S., comes under the jurisdiction of the State comptroller and the county tax assessor-collector, consequently the enforcement of this particular law, if and when applicable, comes under their jurisdiction.

T. Y. C.

Mr. Curtis. At that point I want to ask a few questions. You are a lawyer, are you not?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Now, would it have been lawful for you, not as an employment agent but merely as a friend to these people, to have passed this information to 400 able-bodied people using the $400 for food and transportation costs and taken those people there?

Mr. Gonzales. No; that would have violated the law. They told me hands off, and I had to drop the matter.

Mr. Curtis. Don't they define what constitutes an agency?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes; they define what constitutes an agency, and I told them, "We are not charging, we are representing a free foreign power that has aliens here and are sending not only aliens but American citizens that want to go; they want to go and want the work, and I want them to have it. Can I do it?" And they said no, not without a $150 license.

Mr. Curtis. What would have happened if, before you discovered that the State had some objections to this, that 400 people——

Mr. Gonzales. One hundred people, $400.

Mr. Curtis. All right, what would have happened if 100 people got this information and started out on their own; would they have been stopped?

Mr. Gonzales. They told me that in their letter that it was their duty to enforce this law.

Mr. Curtis. If those people had got the information and started out on their own, would the State of Texas have stopped them?

Mr. Gonzales. It is my opinion that they would if there was more than 10 traveling.

The Chairman. Why couldn't they break it down in groups of 10?

Mr. Gonzales. It is hard enough to get trucks enough to haul them in groups of 25 or 30.

The Chairman. You say that 10 people together can't get out of the State of Texas?

Mr. Gonzales. Ten can, but not more than 10. The law says—

> This section shall not apply to a person with a number to be employed by such person shall not exceed 10 employees.

Mr. Parsons. Was that regulation passed to stop out-of-State migration?

Mr. Gonzales. I think that is what this man said awhile ago; he said they wanted Texas labor to stay in Texas; he said, "We are being imposed on, we want to keep people out and we want ours to stay here," but we get a chance to go over here and get $3 a day, and do I have the right of locomotion or do I have to stay here?

Mr. Curtis. Suppose they reached the border of Texas and they don't know why they are going, maybe they are going to seek temporary employment and maybe they are going to stay forever; do they still stop them if they are going to stay forever?

Mr. Gonzales. I will say this, we are dealing with a type of people who are illiterate, and when they ask, "Where are you going," they say "so and so," they are afraid of the immigration law, and they will say, "We are looking for work, we are hungry, look at the children." I don't think that a group of a few that they are going to restrain them. A while ago he says that they make a Mexican laborer produce three times as much as anybody else in the Michigan beet fields and from 3,000 to 5,000 are wanted for work there every year, and now the way the thing is going they are going to be deprived of that. They don't go because they want to leave; they wouldn't if they had work here. It isn't true that they go for the lure of adventure, like he says; it is hard for them to travel like that, but they are going because they have no work here, they are hungry, their children are hungry, and they have to have work. Now, they are going to have to change that situation in order to send those people over there.

Mr. Parsons. Suppose you had called up a friend of yours and told him this man needed 100 laborers.

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And that this friend of yours, being one of those who was seeking employment, told a number of friends of his, and they got 40 or 50 of them together, or even the 100, and hired them a truck to take them, do you mean to say that the State of Texas wouldn't have permitted a man to haul them out of there to Mississippi?

Mr. Gonzales. I can't speak for the State of Texas; I simply laid the facts before them. I didn't want to be classed as an agent; we weren't charging anything, and they said, "No, sir."

The Chairman. In other words, you are giving us a specific case?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes; I am not speaking for them, but I am just going by what they said in this case and the letter is clear.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think a State has the right to regulate a special employment agency?

Mr. Gonzales. Within the State of Texas; yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And it is your contention that by doing that they are controlling outward migration?

Mr. Gonzales. Definitely, and this is a clear case, and I think it comes within your jurisdiction.

Mr. Curtis. This might be a serious question. The State in which a person enters sometimes raises a question of whether or not they can enter; there are certain matters of health, and so on; but this is the first time I have heard of a restriction on leaving a State, unless it is a convict or something like that.

Mr. Gonzales. This one does in certain numbers.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have anything further to add?

Mr. Gonzales. I don't think I have other matters of mistreatment of Mexicans in the State of Texas, except those that are due to racial prejudice. We have a good deal of trouble cashing the checks given by the Federal Government on the triple A proposition, which is one of so many other things that makes farming very, very difficult now for Mexican labor.

EFFECT OF ALIEN REGISTRATION AND DRAFT ON MEXICANS IN UNITED STATES

Mr. Parsons. You mentioned in the beginning that you were having some trouble because of aliens in registration and the draft, and one thing and another. Do you expect quite an exodus?

Mr. Gonzales. Of Mexican citizens; yes.

Mr. Parsons. Of the Latin Americans who are aliens in this country going back to Mexico?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes; I do.

Mr. Parsons. There will also be within the next few weeks a compulsory military law in Mexico, will there not?

Mr. Gonzales. That is right.

Mr. Parsons. Is that to be a kind of a selective draft law of some kind?

Mr. Gonzales. It is between certain ages.

Mr. Parsons. Will that complicate the situation in Texas for agricultural labor if any appreciable number go back; you say there are probably 350,000 in Texas who are still aliens?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And around 650 or 700 thousand Latin Americans who are American citizens?

Mr. Gonzales. That is right.

Mr. Parsons. If 10 percent of those who are aliens went back, that would be 30,000?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. That are laborers in the State of Texas?

Mr. Gonzales. Yes.

Mr. **Parsons**. If 20 percent went back, that would be 60,000; would that complicate the employment situation in the State of Texas?

Mr. **Gonzales**. I don't think so, because we are overstocked and we would still have lots left to go to Michigan.

Mr. **Parsons**. In Chicago we had some testimony on these Mexican workers that go to the beet fields in Michigan. They are giving them physical examinations and better care, are they not?

Mr. **Gonzales**. I understand that is due exclusively to the fact that the laws of Michigan have a fund of $1,000 set aside for the treatment of a tubercular person, and whenever somebody goes there and is found in that State they take this $1,000 and treat him, and the State of Michigan decided it was a lot cheaper to send a doctor down to Texas and pay him a quarter apiece to examine them.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many of these come back from these out-of-State migrations with any money?

Mr. **Gonzales**. I don't think they have much money; they are free spenders and they have large families; they don't bring any money back.

Mr. **Parsons**. You want to promote migration rather than having it closed down at the Texas line?

Mr. **Gonzales**. It is the principle; we want to cooperate with the State authorities and the Federal Government, but we don't think we ought to be encroached upon and not have the freedom that other people have.

Mr. **Parsons**. They ought to be paid more money, too, but the operators of these farms and canneries and so on can't pay more?

Mr. **Gonzales**. That is right.

Mr. **Parsons**. And still get the product to the consuming public at the price they do?

Mr. **Gonzales**. That is right.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you have any other suggestions to make to the committee?

RECOMMENDS FEDERAL CONTROL OF MIGRATION

Mr. **Gonzales**. None except those recommendations that we very respectfully make; that we think the control should be by Federal law and not left to the State.

The **Chairman**. You see, Mr. Gonzales, the proposition is simply this, Congress and the courts, particularly the Supreme Court, have spent millions of dollars on iron and gold and different commodities going through the States, but we haven't spent one dime yet to regulate human commerce, have we?

Mr. **Gonzales**. No, sir.

The **Chairman**. In South Dakota it is a felony to bring a destitute citizen into that State. In New York one of their appellate courts entered an order of deportation against a destitute citizen; an Ohio cobbler who came there became destitute and wanted to stay there and the appellate court said he was deportable. All the time, under the Constitution, you are not only a citizen of the State of Texas. but you are also a citizen of the other 47 States, so we have some work ahead of us.

Mr. **Gonzales**. Yes; we certainly have.

Mr. Bond (from the floor). I should like to say this. The Texas State Employment Service nor any other agency of the State of Texas discriminates by reason of race, creed, or color. If I have offended the gentleman it is because I didn't know when to use the words Latin American and Mexican. We certainly don't consider them illiterates. I have here a brief which goes into that law in pointing out certain facts about the hiring, and enticing and soliciting workers going across State lines. There is no law that prevents people from coming and going of their own volition, but it does prevent employers from enticing these people.

Mr. Parsons. Mr. Bond, you heard the case I predicated to Mr. Gonzales, if he had called some friend and he had called some friends and they got a group together and hired a truck and got transportation to take them over to Mississippi, would it have been illegal under the laws of the State of Texas?

Mr. Bond. There are health laws, motorbus laws, and I. C. C. laws; it would depend.

Mr. Parsons. If he had distributed the $400 and told these fellows and they told others and the 100 got together and hired a truck and a man to drive them over there would it have been illegal to take them?

Mr. Bond. No; I can hire a truck and take anybody anywhere in the United States.

Mr. Parsons. More than 10 people?

Mr. Bond. No.

Mr. Parsons. Who wrote this letter?

Mr. Bond. I think that letter is right; I am sticking up for something I don't have anything to do with, that is the Labor Department.

Mr. Parsons. That is all; I just wanted to ask you that question, Mr. Bond.

The Chairman. That is all, Mr. Gonzales; you have brought us some important information. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

The Chairman. Your brief on the Emigrant Agency Law, Mr. Bond, will be accepted and made a part of the record.

(The instrument so offered and received by the committee, being in words and figures as follows, to wit:)

Opinion of Attorney General Regarding Occupation Tax Required by Texas Emigrant Agency Law

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS

AUSTIN

Gerald C. Mann, *Attorney General*

Received by Comptroller: April 25, 1940.

Opinion No. 0–2120. Re: Liability of person, firm or corporation conducting business as an "emigrant agent," as defined in article 5221a–1. Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, and also as an "employment agent," as defined in article 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, to the occupation tax levied by article 7047, subdivision 40, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, and the license fees required respectively by articles 5221a–1 and 5210, Vernon't Annotated Civil Service Statutes, and related questions.

Hon. George H. Sheppard,
Comptroller of Public Accounts
Austin, Tex.

Dear Sir: By your letter of March 22, 1940, you submit for the opinion of this department the two following questions, which, together with factual statement and pertinent statutes, are quoted therefrom:

"Questions have been presented to this department relating to the operation of employment agencies for which the State is collecting or attempting to collect two license fees and one occupation tax from each operator.

"An explanation of the operation of such agencies, the definitions and the tax or fees imposed by the laws follows:

"EMIGRANT AGENTS, ARTICLE 7047

"Article 7047, subdivision 40, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, imposes a State tax of $1,000 on emigrant agents and in addition thereto, said article imposes a State tax in each county where such emigrant agent maintains an office based on population in the following amounts:

"Counties under 100,000 population	$100
100,000 to 200,000 population	$200
Counties over 200,000 population	$300

"Emigrant agent is defined as follows:

"'The term "Emigrant Agent" as used herein means the business of hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers in this State to be employed beyond the limits of this State and is also meant to include every person, firm, partnership, corportation, or association of persons maintaining an office to hire, entice, or solicit laborers to be employed beyond the limits of this State; and is also meant to include every person who, as an independent contractor or otherwise than as an agent of a duly licensed emigrant agent procures, or undertakes to procure, or assist in procuring laborers for an emigrant agent; and every emigrant agent shall be termed and held to be doing business as such in each and every country wherein he, in person, or through an agent, hires, entices, or solicits any laborer to be employed beyond the limits of the State.'

"The above tax is collected by the County Tax Assessor-Collectors of each County.

"EMIGRANT AGENT, ARTICLE 5221a–1

"Article 5221a–1, Vernon's annotated Civil Statutes, provides that each emigrant agent shall, before operating in Texas, secure a State license from the commissioner of labor, the fee of which is $10 annually. Emigrant agent in this act is defined as follows:

"'The term "emigrant agent" as used in this act means every person, firm, corporation, or association of persons engaged in the business of hiring, enticing, or soliciting laborers in this State to be employed beyond the limits of this State and is also meant to include every person, firm, partnership, corporation, or association of persons maintaining an office to hire, entice, or solicit laborers to be employed beyond the limits of this State; and is also meant to include every person who, as an independent contractor or otherwise than as an agent of a duly licensed emigrant agent procures, or undertakes to procure, or assist in procuring laborers for an emigrant agent; and every emigrant agent shall be termed and held to be doing business as such in each and every county wherein he, in person, or through an agent, hirest, entices, or solicits any laborer to be employed beyond the limits of the State.'

"EMPLOYMENT AGENT, ARTICLE 5208 TO 5221

"Article 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, provides that every employment agent shall procure a State license from the commissioner of labor for each county where an employment office is to be maintained by an employment agent, the annual fee of which is $150 per county. Employment agent is defined as follows:

"'The term "employment agent" means every person, firm, partnership, or association of persons engaged in the business of assisting employers to secure employees and persons to secure employment, or of collecting information regarding employers seeking employees, and persons seeking employment.'

"In certain areas of the State, principally San Antonio and other areas with a large Mexican population, employment agencies have been established whose principal business is that of an emigrant agent as defined in article 7047, subdivision 40, but who also engage in the business of assisting persons to secure employment in Texas which brings them within the provisions of article 5208, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, an employment agent.

"The State labor commissioner has issued licenses to such persons as employment agents and collected an annual State license fee of $150 for each county of operation under article 5210.

"In addition the labor commissioner has issued a license to the same persons or agenices as emigrant agents and collected an annual State license fee of $10 for each county of operation under article 5221a–1.

"Now the county tax assessor-collector of each county of operation has demanded payment of the tax in the amount of $1,000 (or the other graduated amounts imposed on suboffices) from the same persons or agencies for operating as emigrant agents under article 7047, subdivision 40, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes.

"The questions are therefore as follows:

"'1. When an agency operates in Texas as an emigrant agent hiring and soliciting laborers in this State for employment beyond the limits of the State and at the same time operates as an employment agent engaged in assisting persons to secure employment in the State or employers to secure employees in the State, will such agency be required to pay all three license and tax fees prescribed by articles 7047, 5221a–1, and 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes?

"If you answer negatively, please advise me which of the fees or taxes such agency will be required to pay.

"2. If an agency operates in Texas as an emigrant agent hiring and soliciting laborers in Texas for employment beyond the limits of the State, and does not assist employees in securing employment in Texas or assist employers in Texas in securing employees, will such agency be required to pay all three license or tax fees?

"If you answer negatively, which license and tax levies will he be required to pay?"

A distinction should be pointed between a license fee collected under the general police power of the State, and an occupational tax levied under the general powers of taxation and revenue residing in the legislature, except as prohibited by the Constitution of Texas or of the United States. At 27 Texas Jurisprudence, page 892, we find the following statement regarding the nature and attributes of license fees:

"Licensing measures quite generally provide for the payment of a sum by the licensee to defray the expense of issuing the license and examining the applicant or supervising the business to be conducted. Such charges are usually denominated 'fees.' A license fee is not a tax, but a price exacted for the exercise of a privilege. It is levied under the police and not the taxing power, and therefore differs essentially from both a property and an occupation tax. As a rule, payment of the license fee is made a prerequisite to the right to exercise the privilege sought, and in many cases pursuit of the activity without previous payment of the required fee is made a criminal offense."

In this classification falls the fees exacted from emigrant agents by article 5221a–1, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, and from employment agents, under article 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, hereinafter discussed.

On the other hand, although occupation taxes are sometimes levied under both the police and revenue powers of the State, the primary purpose of the levy is revenue in contradistinction to regulation, as in the case of a license fee. The legal attributes of an occupation tax are stated at 27 Texas Jurisprudence, pages 894–895, as follows:

"A tax imposed on the privilege of engaging in an occupation or calling licensed by law is denominated an occupation tax, or sometimes simply as a license tax. An occupation tax is a direct, specific tax upon the person pursuing the occupation, trade, or business; but the subject matter of the tax is the privilege evercised, not the person who exercises it nor yet the property used in the exercise of it. The tax is therefore neither a property tax nor a poll tax. Doubtless, an occupation tax must be levied before an obligation to pay arises. Such taxes are levied primarily for the purpose of raising revenue, but regulation may be a secondary object, and generally it seems that occupation taxes are imposed under both the police and the revenue powers."

In the latter category of an occupation tax, levied primarily for revenue rather than regulation, is the tax levied by subdivision 40, article 7047, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, hereinabove described.

The legislature was not content merely to realize revenue from the occupation or business of emigrant agent, but deemed such occupation or business to be sufficiently affected with a public interest to warrant its regulation and require, in the interests of the public welfare, certain conditions prerequisite to engaging in such business. Hence the enactment of article 5221a–1 by the legislature in 1929, bringing the conduct of this particular type of business under the control, supervision, and regulation of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics of the State of Texas, and providing, in section 2 thereof, for the following application and payment of license fee to pursue such business:

"SEC. 2. Each emigrant agent shall, before operating in Texas, secure a State license as such, on application therefor to the commissioner of labor statistics of the State of Texas. Such application shall be in writing on form prescribed by said commissioner and shall be verified by the applicant. Where the application is made by a firm, partnership, or association of persons it shall state the names of all the members of such firm, partnership, or association of persons and shall be verified by each of them; and where by a corporation it shall state the names of all officers and duly verified by authorized officer. The application shall state the post-office address and the residence and citizenship of each applicant named therein. The application shall state where the main office of the applicant is and/or is to be located. It shall also state the counties in which the applicant proposes to do business and the place in each county where such business is to be conducted, provided the application may be subsequently amended in this respect by supplemental application filed with said commissioner, duly verified, adding counties not named in the original application and stating where such business is to be conducted in each such added county. No person shall engage in the business of any emigrant agent in any county not named in such original or amended application. When an emigrant agent has filed such application *and has paid the occupation taxes as provided by law* and pays to the labor commissioner of Texas an annual license fee of $10, the said commissioner shall issue to him a State license as an emigrant agent, *which shall entitle him to do business as such in any county named in said license in which said county tax has been paid.* Such emigrant agent shall file with the tax collector of any county in which he proposes to do business a certified copy of his license." [Italics ours.]

The statutory definition of emigrant agent being identical in both the tax measure and the licensing measure, it is readily apparent from the italicized portions of the latter act above quoted that the legislature contemplated the collection of an annual license fee of $10 for each place of business in addition to occupational taxes levied by subdivision 40 of article 7047, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes. In fact, payment of the latter tax is a condition prerequisite to the issuance of the license by the commissioner of labor statistics under article 5221a–1, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes. But even abent such statutory expressions, our conclusion would still be that both the occupation tax and the license fee would be collectible, due to the fundamental distinction between the two levies, pointed out earier in this opinion.

If in addition to the business of emigrant agent, the same person, firm, or corporation was engaged in business as an employment agent, as indicated in your first question, then the license fee in the amount of $150 levied as a regulatory matter under the police power by article 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, would be required, cumulatively to the occupational tax and license fee herein-above discussed. By comparison of the statutory definitions of the terms "emigrant agent" and "employment agent," it is apparent that two distinct and dissimilar occupations or businesses were contemplated—the first term embracing the business of hiring persons to be worked or employed only outside the State of Texas, while the latter term includes purely internal or intrastate transactions in the bringing together of employers and employees into relations of employment.

Therefore, we say that any person, firm, corporation, or association of persons engaged in Texas in the dual business of emigrant agent and employment agent, each as defined by statute, would be required to pay the occupation tax levied by subdivision 40, article 7047, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, upon the business of emigrant agent, and would also be required to pay the license fees levied by articles 5221a–1 and 5210, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, respectively, upon the business of emigrant agent and employment agent. This being an affirmative answer to your first question, the necessity of answering the second portion thereof is dispensed with. In answer to your second question, it follows from the foregoing discussion that a person, firm, or corporation operating in Texas as an emigrant agent, as defined by statute, and not as employment agent, as defined by statute, would only be liable to the occupation tax levied by subdivision 40, article 7047, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes, and the license fee levied by section 2, article 5221a–1, Vernon's Annotated Civil Statutes.

Yours very truly,

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TEXAS,
By (signed) PAT M. NEFF, Jr., *Assistant.*
APPROVED,
OPINION,
Committee,
By B. W. B., *Chairman.*

Approved April 23, 1940.

(Signed) GERALD C. MANN, *Attorney General of Texas.*

The CHAIRMAN. We will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(At 12:45 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, SEPTEMBER 19, 1940

TESTIMONY OF C. H. RIVERA, MERCEDES, TEX.

Mr. PARSONS. The committee will come to order. The next witness will be Mr. C. H. Rivera. State your name and address to the reporter for the record, please.

Mr. RIVERA. C. H. Rivera, Mercedes, Tex.

Mr. PARSONS. Where is it you live, Mr. Rivera?

Mr. RIVERA. Mercedes, Tex.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that the correct pronunciation of your name, Rivera?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you a native-born citizen of Texas, Mr. Rivera?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Of Latin American descent?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How old are you?

Mr. RIVERA. Thirty-five.

Mr. PARSONS. Married?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you any children?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your occupation?

Mr. RIVERA. Well, I was on a crew there in Texas.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you mean by a crew?

Mr. RIVERA. Well, picking cotton with a crew of 15 or 20 or 25 men, picking cotton.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you kind of a foreman or boss of the crew or something?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Where is your home?

Mr. RIVERA. Mercedes, Tex.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you been living there all your life?

Mr. RIVERA. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you migrate from that town to other parts of Texas on this migrant-labor seasonal employment?

Mr. Rivera. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Explain to the committee just how this crew of men are got up and where you go to and where you work and what your wages are and so on; just give us a general picture.

Mr. Rivera. During the cotton-picking season we pick in the valley down to Robertson and Corpus Christi and then as far as Mississippi.

Mr. Parsons. As far as the State of Mississippi?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Are you planning to go there this year?

Mr. Rivera. No.

Mr. Parsons. Where are you going to work this year?

Mr. Rivera. We are already in the valley and we plan to pick fruit next month.

Mr. Parsons. Do you start with fruit picking or do you start on the cotton?

Mr. Rivera. No; we start on vegetables until about May, then we go into the tomato harvest and then into cotton again.

Mr. Parsons. How many men are there in this crew?

Mr. Rivera. Sometimes 25 or 30, sometimes more.

Mr. Parsons. You travel together, do you?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you take your families along?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How much of a family do you have?

Mr. Rivera. I have a wife and five kids.

Mr. Parsons. How old is the youngest and the oldest?

Mr. Rivera. Fourteen years is the oldest and 7 months is the youngest.

Mr. Parsons. You travel together, do you?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you carry those that are old enough to work along with you and do they work in the fields?

Mr. Rivera. Yes, sir.

WAGES

Mr. Parsons. They probably earn as much revenue for the family as you do yourself, some of the older ones?

Mr. Rivera. No.

Mr. Parsons. How much wages do you get?

Mr. Rivera. Sixty-five cents and we pay pickers 50 cents; we only make 15 cents weighing and hauling it to the gin.

Mr. Parsons. Per hundred pounds?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How many pounds per day can you and your family pick?

Mr. Rivera. About 500.

Mr. Parsons. You mean the entire family only makes 75 cents a day all together?

Mr. Rivera. No, no, no; they pay 65 cents to me and I pay 50 cents to the men for picking it and that leaves me 15 cents for weighing and hauling it.

Mr. Parsons. And you don't pick?

Mr. Rivera. No.

Mr. Parsons. But your family picks?

Mr. Rivera. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And you get 65 cents a hundred pounds for what they pick?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And you get 15 cents a hundred pounds for all that is picked and you haul and weigh?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you get up this group of men?

Mr. Rivera. We have been together for quite a while and we just travel together all the time.

Mr. Parsons. About how much do you and your wife earn in a year, what has been your past records?

Mr. Rivera. When I work on a shift I get a straight salary, $40 a week.

Mr. Parsons. Is that in addition to this 15 cents?

Mr. Rivera. No, no.

Mr. Parsons. That includes that, does it?

Mr. Rivera. No, no; that is different; that 15 cents is picking cotton, but when I work in a packing shed loading vegetables I am the foreman then.

Mr. Parsons. And that is what you are planning to do this year in the fruit season, picking and packing?

Mr. Rivera. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Can you tell the committee anything about the contract labor situation in Texas so far as intrastate and also out-of-State migration is concerned?

Mr. Rivera. Well, you mean about the situation of the labor there?

Mr. Parsons. About the contract system, do you have contractors?

Mr. Rivera. Well, all the packing sheds contract to harvest carrots and beets and cabbage and they pay the contractor 18 cents per crate delivered to the shed.

Mr. Parsons. And he gets up a crew?

Mr. Rivera. He gets his crew and he pays them 10 cents and that leaves him 8 cents.

Mr. Parsons. For transportation?

Mr. Rivera. Yes; but he has got to pay for the twine to tie it with and the man to help load it; there is a terrible expense.

Mr. Parsons. That is a system that has grown up over the years?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How long has that been going on in the State of Texas?

Mr. Rivera. That has been going on for years.

Mr. Parsons. What is your estimation of your earnings this year so far, since January 1, 1940, how much have you earned up to the present time, you and your family?

Mr. Rivera. Well, I worked January, February, March, and April and part of May in a packing shed and I was making $35 a week.

Mr. Parsons. That was some more fruits and things grown in Texas for the markets?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. And you got $40 a week?

Mr. Rivera. Well, $35.

Mr. Parsons. This season will open again at what time?

Mr. Rivera. About the middle of next month.

Mr. Parsons. And you expect to go back at $40?

Mr. Rivera. I don't know whether they will pay that much or not; every year they cut them down and down.

Mr. Parsons. You have earned as high as $40 a week?

Mr. Rivera. I got as high as $60 a week.

Mr. Parsons. You are just one of the very small percent, however, that earn that amount of money in this migrant labor. How far do you travel from home?

Mr. Rivera. In the packing business I go to Mississippi, Tennessee, packing cabbages and carrots.

Mr. Parsons. Have you your own car?

Mr. Rivera. No; the company furnishes trucks.

Mr. Parsons. They send down for you?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do they drive through seven or eight hundred or a thousand miles without stopping?

Mr. Rivera. No.

Mr. Parsons. You were here this morning and heard the employment officers of Texas describe some of these trips?

Mr. Rivera. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Does that frequently happen?

Mr. Rivera. I don't know.

Mr. Parsons. Driving men out of Texas to Mississippi twelve or fourteen hundred miles without stopping?

Mr. Rivera. I don't think so.

Mr. Parsons. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

(The following material relative to truck transportation of laborers from Texas to Michigan was received from the Interstate Commerce Commission and accepted for the record.)

Interstate Commerce Commission,
Washington, December 2, 1940.

Re Transportation of Mexican Laborers

Hon. John H. Tolan,
Chairman, Special Committee Investigating
the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Congressman: In your letter of November 19, 1940, addressed to Chairman Eastman, you state that your committee is deeply interested in the allegedly illegal truck transportation of migrants, that you understand the Interstate Commerce Commission is making an investigation of such truck transportation, that a preliminary report has been made for the States of Ohio and Michigan, and that you believe that this preliminary report would be helpful to your Committee.

I assume that the matter to which you refer is the transportation of Mexican laborers by truck from Texas to other States for work in the beet fields. Generally speaking, this has not involved migration for permanent settlement in the other States, but rather a seasonal two-way movement.

The problems presented have been more of an economic and social nature than of technical regulation of transportation. So far as I know, no authorized carrier has complained or has shown any interest in whether the transportation referred to was investigated. Much of it would no doubt be beyond the scope of the Commission's authority, because of the exemption provided by section 203 (b) (9) applicable to those engaged in "occasional" transportation in interstate commerce and "not engaged in transportation by motor vehicle as a regular occupation or business." Nevertheless, many violations of the Motor Carrier Act may have occurred. For a long time we have planned to assign an investigator to devote attention exclusively to investigation of that type of transportation for such period as may be necessary, but limited personnel and funds have prevented up to the present.

It is contemplated that investigation would center in Texas, where the laborers are procured. The States mentioned by you, Ohio and Michigan, would also be proper fields of action, and some investigations have been made there.

The most recent was one conducted by District Supervisor Hymans of our Bureau of Motor Carriers, reported by him under date of October 21, 1940. Attached hereto is a copy of that report, and of the accompanying statement of Angel M. Garcia. Also, I am forwarding a copy of a report by the same district supervisor, dated August 19, 1938, and of his memorandum to District Director Purse, dated August 8, 1939. Investigation of the specific complaint dealt with in the two communications last mentioned was closed on the ground recommended by Mr. Hymans.

Nothing is found in our files from Ohio that would be helpful.

Very truly yours,

CLYDE B. AITCHISON, *Acting Chairman.*

Re L & E 19311-12 OCTOBER 21, 1940.

MEMORANDUM TO SECTION CHIEF SCOTT

Subject: Evidence concerning unlawful interstate transportation of Mexican laborers.

Transmitted herewith is statement of Angel M. Garcia, requested in your memorandum of September 26, 1940, addressed to District Director Purse.

Attached also are photostats of certain papers which Mr. Garcia lent to me (showing he paid $60 for transportation).

The statement brings out what facts I could obtain from Mr. Garcia. He speaks very poor English; and I reduced the statements to writing as I understood them.

For further aid in the subject, see my reports of June 27, 1938, and August 19, 1938, *Francis Dillon* v. *Joe Rodriquez*, under Docket L & E 8953–8958, copy of one of which is attached. In that investigation I found that the Michigan Sugar Co., Saginaw, Mich., working through the Beet Growers Employment Committee, Inc., advanced funds to laborers; took their notes and assignments; and also advanced funds to truckmen for transporting laborers; as per the laborers' assignments. The papers herewith further support this, and also show that M. C. Henderson, of the employment committee, is known to Garcia.

In 1938 I found that some of the Mexicans operating the trucks often stayed in the north and worked in the fields during the summer, making a round trip for hire each year. They hauled their families and other laborers working with them. Others, however, only made trips in the migrating season and did no farm work.

If those leads are not sufficient, a person could go from farm to farm, quizzing any laborers who would cooperate, and they might identify other truckmen. In addition, the files of the Michigan State Department of Labor and Industry at Lansing, Mich., may reveal the names of other truckmen who have been questioned by State police.

The northward migration is in April and May, the southbound travel in November. If the State police of Texas and Michigan would list the names of migrant truck owners found on the roads, in these seasons, for several successive years, we should be able to identify those outside section 203 (b) (9).

The purpose of this investigation is very laudable, and the above ideas are suggested as additional approaches.

E. M. HYMANS, *District Supervisor.*

STATEMENT OF ANGEL M. GARCIA

This statement is made by Angel M. Garcia, presently working on the farms of Arthur Murray and Roland Tobin, near Valley Center, Mich.

In the winter I reside at 2513 North Harwood Street, Dallas, Tex.

In the early spring of 1940, I received an invitation from R. S. Wait, assistant secretary of the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., of Croswell, Mich., to work in the Michigan sugar-beet fields.

As there directed, I reported to the employment agency of Frank Cortez, 2110 Munger Avenue, Dallas, Tex.

In my party were six persons: Jesus Martinez, Anacleto Alanez, Anastacio Mendoza, Eutinio Gebara and his wife, and myself.

I was informed that transportation north by truck would cost $9 per person, plus $1 for office fee. This totalled $60 for my party, and is shown as an "Assignment-transportation B. G. E. C.", on my statement from the Michigan Sugar Co. dated August 5, 1940.

Our party of six were carried from Dallas, Tex., to Croswell, Mich., in a truck owned or operated by Cristobal Trebino and B. Roberto Trebino, of Magnolia Street, Dallas, Tex. I understand that the Trebinos received $9 per person for furnishing this transportation. There were about 20 persons riding in the truck, which left Texas about May 15, 1940.

Trebino did not stay in Michigan, but returned to Texas.

In the year 1939, I was carried north in the spring, and south in the fall, in the truck of the Trebinos, with one of them driving.

Likewise, in the year 1938, I was carried north in the spring and south in the fall in the truck of the Trebinos. The trips cost me $9 each way, in 1938 and 1939.

Cristobal and Roberto Trebino remained in Michigan in the summer of 1938, and in the summer of 1939, and worked in the sugar-beet fields near Brown City, Mich.

In the winter, I believe the Trebinos use their truck about Dallas, Tex., for transportation of wood, gravel, and onions.

It is my understanding that Trebinos' arrangements for transportation and for bringing our party north were made with M. C. Henderson, treasurer-assistant secretary, Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., Saginaw, Mich.

Above statement read to me and believed by me to be true and correct.

——— ———.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
BUREAU OF MOTOR CARRIERS,
Detroit, Mich., August 8, 1939.

L & E 8953-8
C-793

MEMORANDUM TO DISTRICT DIRECTOR FRANK PURSE

Re Joe Rodriquez, Blissfield, Mich. Illegal transportation of Mexican laborers.

Nothing further has been done on this matter since September 16, 1938, many other matters having occupied my attention. Since September 16, 1938, much of the affected territory has been assigned to Supervisor Moynihan and I have not visited it as frequently as before.

No State official, labor official, or passenger carrier has made any complaint concerning illegal truck transportation of Mexican laborers this year.

The newspaper carried an item about one sugar mill closing because the United States Department of Agriculture had restricted the Michigan acreage of sugar beets this year.

As Mr. Scott has pointed out, the case is not one of great concern to the passenger transportation industry, and was presented to us in the cause of social betterment. Since the bulk of the operations are by persons not in transportation as a business, I believe we can close the matter account "insufficient evidence."

E. M. HYAMS, *District Supervisor.*

Copy to District Supervisor E. A. Moynihan.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION,
BUREAU OF MOTOR CARRIERS,
Detroit, Mich., August 19, 1938.

SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION (TO DATE)

To: Frank L. Purse, district director.
From: E. M. Hymans, district supervisor.
Re Complaint—*Francis J. Dillon, 1805 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio,* v. *Joe Rodriquez, Blissfield, Mich.* Submitted account memo, Colonel English to District Director Purse, August 11, 1938.
L & E 8953–8
Dist. File C–793

Nature of Alleged Violation.—Section 206 (a3). Transportation of persons for hire without certificate or permit.

Section 222 (c). Evading and defeating regulation.

Summary.—As reported on June 27, 1938, a letter of warning was sent to all officers of sugar companies and growers' associations whose names were furnished by the State of Michigan, Department of Labor and Industry. The table attached, exhibit A, shows what replies were received to date and their nature.

Particular attention is directed to reply received from Mr. M. C. Henderson of the Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Inc., 507 Second National Bank Building, Saginaw, Mich.

I had been informed by the State officials that Mr. Maurice Eastment of this committee was most active in arranging transportation of labor. Mr. Henderson, in his reply, exhibit B, appeared to speak for this committee and on August 11, I visited their offices in Saginaw, Mich. Present at the interview were Mr. Henderson, who is now executive secretary of this committee, and J. K. Worley, an attorney and a member of the firm of Hill, Hamblen, Essery & Lewis. Mr. Worley actually represented the Michigan Sugar Co.

I learned that this committee represented farmers who grow sugar beets and sell them to the Michigan Sugar Co. of Saginaw, Mich. This committee did not represent growers who sold their beets to other sugar processors.

Mr. Henderson stated he had succeeded Mr. Eastment as executive secretary of the committee and that Mr. Eastment is now field manager for the Michigan Sugar Co. at Alma, Mich.

Our conversation brought out the fact that the Michigan Sugar Co. does not invite laborers into Michigan or introduce them to farmers or pay them. However, it does enter into contracts with the farmers and guarantees them certain sums for the crops they will grow. The committee acts as agent of the growers in hiring workers and sees that the workers are housed and paid. Mr. Henderson said that in the last few years there had been no need to solicit labor. Each spring, he admitted, the committee or the company would receive inquiries from Texas and soon truckloads of the laborers would arrive near the fields where they had worked previous years. To deal with the inquiries, the letter (exhibit C) was prepared and was used as a form answer.

Mr. Henderson did admit that the Michigan Sugar Co., through C. F. Hearn, auditor, kept books for the growers and their laborers, and kept record of the amounts due each.

He admitted that the company advanced funds to the farmers for seed, fertilizer, and other purposes. He also stated that funds were advanced to truckmen and to laborers, if they were reliable and were known to the field secretaries. The matter can be illustrated in this way:

Some of the Mexican families always reside in Michigan and are known to be field agents of the sugar company. If one of these men, having a truck, tells the field secretary that he has friends in Texas who would like to come north to work during the summer and the reputation of the truckman is good, the company will advance funds to the truckman for gasoline and expenses. The company will take a promissory note from the truckman in advance of the trip.

Similar arrangements exist in making advances to reputable laborers who need funds for groceries, bedding, or other purposes. If the truckman brings a group of laborers north and they are not able to pay their fare, the laborers may make an assignment of wages to the truckman. Such an assignment is made on the form attached as exhibit D. The company will honor this assignment and will see that the truckman is paid directly out of funds due the farmer who employs the laborer.

Mr. Henderson and his counsel denied that the honoring of such assignments constituted a device to evade or defeat regulations.

Naturally, neither the company nor the committee opened its books and permitted me to see the extent of such assignments.

Mr. Henderson did admit that once in 1937 the company needed labor in an emergency, and arranged with a Kansas City employment agency to ship them in, using railroad service to Jackson, Mich., and chartered bus to the various beet fields.

I directed the conversation to Frank Cortez, 508 El Paso Street, San Antonio, Tex., whose name appeared on the many rosters or lists carried by the truck drivers, and seized by the Michigan State police. See exhibit G, report of June 27, 1938. Mr. Cortez appears to run an employment bureau in San Antonio, Tex.

Mr. Henderson stated that Mr. Cortez pretended to have the only licensed employment bureau, authorized by the State of Texas to export laborers from the State. He stated that Mr. Cortez had approached the committee and had demanded that it deal solely through him in negotiating with Texans regarding employment in Michigan. This, he said, the company and committee refused to do.

Apparently, the committee would receive persons directed to Michigan by Mr. Cortez, but, according to Mr. Henderson, it did not place requisitions or orders for help with him.

The conversation was then directed to more constructive ways of transporting these persons. I stated that, whether or not the Michigan Sugar Co. was legally arranging the transportation, it was the source of funds and the employment it offered the reason for the transportation. I appealed to Mr. Henderson and Mr. Worley to consider lawful and improved means of transportation. The possibility of obtaining excursion rates on railroads or bus lines, and the possibility of chartering special busses was discussed. Then, I suggested that the committee or the company might even operate its own busses and transport the laborers in private carriage. All this, I explained, would be a wholesome improvement over truck transportation.

Naturally, the men promised to explore these possibilities, and our meeting ended.

Recommendations.—Thus far, we have this attitude on the part of the sugar companies:

1. General denial that they arrange or furnish transportation.
2. Admission by a committee secretary, and company representative, that the company does honor assignments of wages, made to a truckman for the laborer's transportation.

In proceeding against these sugar companies, it appears difficult to obtain evidence direct from them, unless we have access to their books. Papers and evidence furnished by disgruntled employees, or by outsiders, seems all that we can get at this time.

I believe it will be necessary for our agents and supervisors actually to contact employees and see what evidence they will furnish. What other evidence falls into the hands of the State department of labor and industry will not be different than that explained in report of June 27, 1938.

The movement of laborers is slow now, and will not resume until the southbound trek starts in October and November. Accordingly, there is no activity to report at this time.

I do suggest that a special agent contact Mr. Cortez in San Antonio, Tex., and learn from him what his arrangements are.

Will he testify as to who gives him orders and directions? Does any Michigan company or committee send requisitions to him? I would be glad to learn what explanation he gives of his Michigan connections.

Beyond this, then, I believe any case against the Michigan Sugar Co. and Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Saginaw, Mich., would have to be worked up from stories and testimony of the laborers themselves.

Any suggestions as to other ways to proceed will be appreciated. In the meantime, I shall make whatever other contacts with sugar companies that I can.

I shall also try to make contacts with the State Department of Labor and Industry, and through them meet some of the laborers. I shall thus try to obtain affidavits or evidence from the laborers, and will make further report later. Any assistance given by special agents will be appreciated.

E. M. HYMANS, *District Supervisor.*

TESTIMONY OF MRS. VAL. M. KEATING, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF UNEMPLOYMENT, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are Mrs. Val M. Keating, assistant administrator of the W. P. A. at San Antonio, Tex.?

Mrs. KEATING. Associate director of the division of employment, not administrator.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The very valuable statement that has been prepared by your organization will be inserted in the record at this point, after which we hope you will answer some questions that may be asked by members of the committee.

Mrs. Keating, I have looked over—naturally I haven't had time to read it carefully—but I have looked through this very fine report that you have made available to us as well as the statement you have prepared and it is very comprehensive; it gives us a fine picture of the background of migration in the State and we are glad to have it and make it a part of the record.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MRS. VAL M. KEATING, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT, WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION, SAN ANTONIO, TEX.[1]

W. P. A. REPORT ON MIGRATORY LABOR

OUTLINE

I. Introduction.
II. Some Aspects of the economic basis for migratory casual farm labor.
III. Social effects of the migratory casual farm labor problem in Texas.
IV. Conclusions.

INTRODUCTION

Today's gentleman farmer tills the soil from the completely enclosed cab of a stream-lined, rubber-tired tractor, equipped with radio, spittoon, and cigar lighter.

If, as his glittering machine chugs efficiently down the precise furrow, he squints across the field toward the highway, he may see a battered jaloppy struggling along with its load of men, women, and children clinging to the paintless sides of the venerable vehicle which bears them and all their posessions in an interminable hunt for sufficient work to keep them alive.

It is possible that the jaloppy's dejected occupants may be members of the three or four families whose livelihoods disappeared with the acquisition of that single piece of farm equipment.

Since 1930 the tractor has added more than 60,000 Texas farm families to the gray stream of migrants who wander over agricultural America in an endless search for jobs Mechanization is a major element in the economic upheaval which has uprooted farmers from the soil in such numbers that the 1937 Census of Unemployment was able to report that 130,000 Texas agricultural workers were jobless or underemployed.

Migration, according to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins' preliminary report to the Senate on this subject, falls characteristically into two main types. First is migration for permanent relocation in response to major economic changes such as industrialization, drought, and depression. Second is continual migration from job to job in response to season or irregular fluctuations in the demand for labor. Both of these causative elements are found in studies of migration in Texas.

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[1] Material assembled by members of the Work Projects Administration staff in Texas.

Although the path of the migrant worker may seem to the casual observer to be an aimless one, the bulk of the stream clearly follows seasonal agricultural needs, principally those of the cotton crop, from the lowest tip of South Texas to the upper reaches of the Panhandle.

The principal interchange of labor within Texas is between the cotton areas of the lower Rio Grande, Corpus Christi, Austin, Waco, and Lubbock and the winter garden area of the upper Rio Grande around Crystal City. The harvesting of all Texas cotton requires perhaps 40,000 nonresident workers. In the coastal bend area alone, 20,000 migrants are needed for cotton, and at least half of these go into the vegetable district for work during the winter. Onions are there transplanted by hand in November and December; spinach is picked from December to February and onions are harvested in April and May. From May to July the routes are less distinct, but about July 1 these migrants begin picking cotton in the lower Rio Grande area. They follow the ripening cotton, first northeastward along the coastal bend and then northwestward to the Lubbock Basin and the Texas Panhandle. Cotton picking in this northern portion of Texas lasts until November when work for migrants has begun again in the winter vegetable district.[1]

Several interstate routes also enter and leave Texas, depending largely on the harvest conditions of the particular year. Texas cotton pickers have often entered Oklahoma on their northward swing, but the recent droughts have reversed this flow. In extremely good years the Texas cotton pickers have been recruited to help local labor harvest bumper cotton crops to the east, as in 1925 when they went to the Mississippi Delta, and as in 1936 when they went to the Arkansas Delta. These migrations to the old plantation country, when a share tenant is available for every 15 or 20 acres, are exceptional. Also sporadic are the migrations of Texas cotton pickers to the strawberry fields of Arkansas and the similar movement of northern berry pickers to Texas cotton fields after the season in Arkansas. Some migrants also probably combine seasonal work in Texas, Arizona, and California. Finally, workers have been recruited in Texas for work on sugar beets in Colorado, Montana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Iowa in years when the beet harvests required more labor than was available locally. It is possible to combine the sugar beet season from May to November with the winter vegetable season of Texas. In the past, even the canneries of Alaska have drawn workers from Texas.[2]

Symbolized by the rickety automobile piled high with paltry possessions, the tattered nomads of Texas are accustomed to low wages and long workless periods. Rarely are they above the stage of acute need and few families possess means to cope with illness or other emergencies. Most of them are American-born. Although their children are numerous, few are able to attend school, none for adequate periods. Their seasonal migrations touch most of Texas and their social difficulties become part of the heritage of the communities through which they are forced to pass. If they cross State lines, they jeopardize the last bulwark of the needy, a chance at public aid. Even remaining in Texas, they are denied relief if they have lived for less than 1 year in the State or for less than 6 months in the county where application is made. Thus, surplus commodities or W. P. A.-made clothing, the only forms of direct relief dispensed in the State, are seldom in the reach of transient families.

Social security legislation largely overlooks the interstate migrant. Agricultural workers have been excluded from the unemployment compensation laws so far enacted and from Federal old-age annuities. Nonresident workers are inadequately covered in most State social-security laws. Many workers now stand to lose whatever compensation they may have accumulated if they migrate from one State to another, unless special arrangements to cover such cases are successfully established by future interstate agreements.

Most of their migrant lives are spent in ditch-side camps and rural slums. Privacy, hygiene, and sanitation are qualities seldom associated with these dwellings. It is obvious that such conditions create more than the normal amount of illness among those who must bear them; yet, medical attention usually is not available for those without funds or without status as local relief charges.

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[1] Excerpt from preliminary report of Secretary of Labor to Senate committee, 1st sess., 75th Cong., Migration of Workers, vol. I, pp. 91–93.

[2] Ibid.

Welcomed when needed, migrants are shunned when no more work is available in the community. Newspaper advertisements, newspaper articles, out-of-State grapevine (an agent may be employed to drive along the highway, stopping at poolrooms, filling stations, and other public places spreading the word that plenty of work is available in a certain locality), cooperation from relief agencies and chambers of commerce, utilization of farm labor services, all prove to be effective means of recruiting workers to areas with a need for temporary farm aid. Arizona growers, who spent $300,000 advertising for workers in 1920, with the result that 20,000 applicants were secured, were able to attract 30,000 workers in 1937 with a campaign which included $900 for newspaper want ads as its greatest single expenditure. Independent growers in Arizona have paid for radio time in El Paso, San Antonio, and Fort Worth to bring Texas workers to their fields.

Lewis T. Nordyke, Amarillo newspaperman, who made the migratory-labor circuit to study the work of the Texas State employment service in charting the way for Texas workers, reported encouraging news in the resultant article, which appeared in the March 1940 issue of Survey Graphic:

"Today there is a new order, thanks to a modern sort of round-up in Texas. The farm placement division of the employment service keeps at its fingertips definite information on crop conditions and labor needs in every important agricultural community in the State. And it keeps tabs on its army of migrants, even though there are 600,000 of them. When a cotton, vegetable, or fruit section needs workers the service knows it, and it routes only enough laborers to handle the work in an orderly manner. Other workers who ordinarily would rush to any area with a rumored labor shortage are routed elsewhere.

"This is not to say all phases of the social, economic, and health problem created by the crop-following workers have been solved in Texas or any other State, but there is definite proof of a workable plan that has a good chance to become national in scope through Federal-State cooperation. In routing the migrants during the past 2 years in a manner surprising but satisfactory to the workers and the farmers, and in making 403,039 farm placements in 1938 and close to 500,000 in 1939, the service demonstrated that the needed workers could be handled without serious confusion. (A placement means a man, woman, or child has been placed in a job.)"

Nordyke referred in his article also to south Texas housing units constructed at Raymondville, Robstown, Sinton, and Weslaco, in which the Farm Security Administration provides accommodations for approximately 5,500 persons. Previously camping grounds had been provided by various communities where large forces of migratory labor congregate.

Although such improvements have been effected, there is still a monumental problem which taxes the minds of those who must cope with the troubles of the migrant thousands. Speaking before the farm tenancy committee of the Texas Agriculture Workers Association at Austin on February 15, 1940, John H. Caufield, of the Farm Security Administration, declared that the four Farm Security Administration camps for migrants are admittedly a palliative.

"They provide temporary anchorage for these drifters, where they can have a minimum of comfort and essential sanitation—at least enough to safeguard against the outbreak of those epidemics which have bred previously in the disordered and destitute camps which the migrants occupied perforce. The graph of typhoid fever through Texas has in the past few years followed true to the graph of the migrants' march, pointing with disconcerting certainty to the fact that this problem of the migrants is also a problem for the remainder of us."

Daily some angle of the many-faceted problem of the migrant is brought to the attention of those who represent the Work Projects Administration in the field. On the following pages is material taken from various reports and studies prepared or reviewed by Work Projects Administration officials.

II. SOME ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC BASIS FOR MIGRATORY CASUAL FARM LABOR

The basic economic factors of supply and demand seem to operate to form the basis for migratory casual farm labor. A large group of unemployed, low-income persons, unable to obtain full-time, year-round employment in any one locality provides the supply. An agricultural economy so organized that a uniform amount of labor cannot be efficiently used throughout the year provides the demand.

Since other developments affecting migratory casual farm labor, such as mechanization, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, etc., appear to be factors affecting one or the other of these two basic factors, they will be discussed with supply and demand.

1. *Supply of migratory casual farm labor.*—The presence of a large number of skilled agricultural workers unable to obtain continuous employment on farms of their own, provides the potential supply of migratory casual farm laborers. Two large groups appear to comprise the potential supply.

(*a*) Displaced farm tenants: This group, consisting primarily of "other" white and Negro tenants but including some Mexicans, has become available largely because of the decrease in the number of farms, particularly cotton farms. The displacement of tenants has resulted from a number of factors, two of the more important appearing to be the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program and mechanization. The Work Projects Administration social workers state that the displacement of farmers because of the crop control programs varies over the State from negligible in the east Texas pine woods country to "an average of two out of five sharecroppers and tenants will be displaced" in west Texas. In central Texas they estimate that "25 percent of the tenants and sharecroppers will be forced to leave the farm if cotton acreage is not increased." Another from the same section of the State says that of the total referrals (persons sent by the department of public welfare as eligible for Work Projects Administration employment) 38 percent from Collin County, 43 percent from Cooke County, and 30 percent from Denton County resulted from the crop-control program.

While the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program probably directly resulted in the displacement of some tenants, it is believed that the most important influence was in accelerating the rate of mechanization which in turn displaced the tenants. In partially mechanized areas where mechanization is generally profitable, the advantages to be gained through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program by displacing the tenant was merely one more factor placed in the balances in favor of mechanization. A survey of opinions of landowners and tenants in 14 Texas counties was made by the farm tenancy committee of the Texas Agricultural Workers Association. The results showed that out of a total of 645 farmers replying, 420 or 65.1 percent considered both Agricultural Adjustment Administration and mechanization as contributing to displacement in their areas. An additional 70 or 10.9 percent considered mechanization as the cause and an additional 46 or 7.1 percent reported the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program as the cause.[1]

The extent of tenant displacement, the importance of mechanization in such displacement and the result of displacement are described by Hamilton as follows:

"That actual population displacement in Texas cotton growing areas has reached serious proportions is demonstrated by the 1937 Texas population changes survey which indicated a decrease of over 20,000 farms in the State between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938. Since many displaced families from cotton farms likely migrate to noncotton farms, the displacement from cotton farms has likely been greater than 20,000 families. In connection with the annual population surveys for the past 2 years scores of letters have been received from correspondents giving illustrations of the displacement of farm tenants and laborers by tractors. The displacement of from 3 to 5 families by 1 tractor is not uncommon. One case was reported where 9 families were displaced by 1 tractor. Assuming that 1 tractor will displace 1 family only, more than 60,000 farm families have probably been displaced from Texas farms since 1930. Also, since the number of tractors on Texas farms increased about 50,000 in a 3-year period before April 1, 1938, it may be estimated that more than 10,000 families have been displaced annually from Texas farms since 1935."

"'Where do these displaced farm families go?' is a question which is frequently asked. Many of them, as I have already indicated, move to poor farms unsuited to cotton production with farm tractors.

"A larger number migrate to towns and cities and become common laborers, alternating between agriculture and the town. Many displaced tenants and croppers remain in the open country as partially employed farm or common laborers. At the time of this writing the Works Progress Administration is trying to take care of 76,000 farm families. A late report is that some of these people are to be shifted to the care of the Farm Security Administration which was already assisting nearly 30,000 Texas farm families. Welfare and employment service offices in the State for the past 2 years have been reporting unusually heavy requests for aid from these displaced farm families. The 1937 census of unemployment showed approximately 130,000 unemployed and partially unemployed agricultural workers in the State. This is almost identical with the number of agricultural wage workers reported as employed by the 1935 agricultural census.

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[1] C. Horace Hamilton, "A Survey of Public Opinion on Farm Ownership and Tenancy in Fourteen Representative Counties," 1939, mimeo.

"The displaced family faces the prospect of a lower income. The typical farm tenant in the high plains or in the blackland may be expected to earn a net farm income of from $800 to $1,000 annually, even with cotton prices as they are today. As either a common or an agricultural laborer the same tenant cannot expect to earn more than from $250 to $300. A survey just completed in Texas shows the farm-laborer family median income to have been only $220 in 1937—when opportunities were excellent for cotton picking.

"The surplus of farm tenants available has created considerable competition among tenants for places to rent; and, as a result, rental rates are rising. In areas that once followed the straight third-and-fourth share rent systems, cash rents, and privilege rents of various types are being used. Pasture land, which tenants formerly received free of rent, now rents frequently for $1 per acre. In some areas tenants are being charged cash rent for their dwellings. In many areas from $3 to $6 per acre is being charged for land planted in feed crops. On many of these farms the cash rent on the feed land amounts to more than the income from cotton." [2]

William C. Holley testifies further to the surplus of agricultural labor and to its cause in Collin, Fisher, and Upshur Counties when he states, in an unpublished report, that farm conditions contributing to relief include mechanization in Collin and Fisher Counties (but not in Upshur) and overpopulation for the present type of agriculture in all three counties.[3]

Since few of the displaced tenants are Mexican and since approximately 85 percent of the migratory workers in Texas are Mexican,[4] it appears that the displacement of tenants has been a factor of relatively little importance in intrastate migration. Nevertheless, this displacement provides a potential migratory labor supply.

No accurate data are available to explain why displaced "other" white and Negro tenants have not assumed a more important place in the migratory casual-labor market, but certain factors seem to have some place in the picture. White and Negro labor is unable to compete successfully with Mexican labor on a price basis; [5] they are less tractable than Mexican laborers; [6] they seem less nomadic; and they do not operate in large groups with a single leader with which a farmer may deal, as do the Mexicans. These and other factors have resulted in minimizing the entrance of displaced tenants into the migratory casual-labor market.

(*b*) Mexican farm laborers: As pointed out above, Mexicans form the major part of the migratory casual farm labor in Texas. Most of those workers have never been farm operators on other than a very small scale, if at all. They are accustomed to extremely low standards of living and are organized into definite groups that regularly make the migratory casual farm labor circuit.

Hamilton described the procedure followed in providing and managing migratory casual cotton laborers as follows:

"Already there has developed a widespread labor system—a system which has in it great possibilities of labor exploitation. The labor contractor furnishes a large open truck, recruits a group of laborers, and transports them, presumably free of charge, across the State as the cotton picking and the truck and fruit harvesting seasons progress. The contractor, usually a Mexican with a truck, is a contact man and business agent for the laborers. He takes the responsibility for contacting farmers, weighing and hauling cotton (or truck crops), and of collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmer. For these services and for transporting the laborers, the contractor receives from the laborer from 5 to 10 cents for each hundred pounds of cotton picked, and from the farmer about $1.50 per bale.

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[2] C. Horace Hamilton, "The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture," Progress Rept. No. 579, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, mimeo., December 1938, pp. 8–9.

[3] William C. Holley, "Survey of Changes in Types of Relief Needs in Selected Rural Areas, June to December 1938," unpublished.

[4] Farm Placement Service, Survey of Farm Placements in Texas, 1936 and 1937, Texas State employment service, 1938, p. 82.

[5] Ibid., p. 38, States "It is significant that local labor does not protest the influx (of Mexican labor), as they cannot live on the low wages paid to transient Mexicans."

[6] Quotations from hearings before the Senate Committee on Immigration, reported in ibid., pp. 44–45.

"The rapid increase in the transient labor population has complicated health, sanitation, and housing problems in towns where labor concentrates. The farm population of some larger cotton counties is virtually doubled during the busy part of the picking season. There is a movement on foot now to provide both temporary and permanent camps for transient laborers at strategic centers in the State. Already a number of small towns in cotton centers have cooperated with the Texas employment service in setting up temporary camps equipped with shower baths and sanitary toilets. These camps serve as points of contact for laborers and employers. On any Sunday, during the cotton picking season, these camps are greately congested with trucks, old cars, and people—farmers, cotton pickers, men, women, and children. During the mornings there will be seen much informal dickering between farmers, labor contractors, and heads of families. A farmer will approach a group of pickers, contact the contractor and perhaps two or three of the family heads. Information as to the number of pickers, amount of cotton, camping or housing facilities, and wage rates are quickly exchanged. If the preliminary information is suitable to both pickers and farmers, a quick trip is then made to inspect the field of cotton. Large groups or truckloads of pickers prefer, of course, the larger fields, and the thicker cotton. If the field is too small, the cotton yield too low, or very difficult to pick, the leaders go back to camp and make another contact—unless perchance they are stopped en route by a farmer looking for pickers. If the cotton is satisfactory, the truck returns to the camp and brings the entire group of pickers out to the farm where they usually stay until the crop is picked over once. Due to the fact that most of the transient pickers move in large groups, small farmers quite frequently have difficulty in locating pickers. Labor is also difficult to get for second pickings." [7]

The Farm Placement Service reports that the labor market in the west Texas cotton fields, was "organized to a hitherto unconceived point" in 1937 so that the speed of picking was in excess of the capacity of the gins.[8] Since this was an extremely large crop and since the area was the most distant from the main point of supply, it appears that there is an adequate supply of migratory casual farm labor already organized in addition to the potential supply represented by displaced tenants.

2. *Demand for migratory casual farm labor.*—The demand for migratory casual farm labor is dependent upon a farm organization resulting in short peak periods of high employment with relatively longer periods of low employment. Such farm organization is frequently accompanied by a partial mechanization of production.

A description of three types of farm organization will clarify the above statement: viz, small, nonmechanized farms represented by the east Texas cotton farms; large, fully mechanized farms such as the western wheat farms; and large, partially mechanized farms, represented in the most marked form by the semiarid cotton farms of the south plains and by the coastal bend area around Corpus Christi (mechanized except for chopping and picking), and to a less marked extent in the central Texas black belt.

(*a*) Small nonmechanized farms: East Texas cotton farm. The outstanding characteristics of this type of farm are that it is not mechanized (resulting in part from topography, poor soil, and the inertia of an established farming pattern) and that it is operated on a family unit basis. An analysis of data compiled by Holley and Arnold shows that per acre cotton labor requirements in this area are divided as follows: Preplanting 16.2 percent, planting 2.1 percent, cultivating 46.3 percent, and harvesting 35.4 percent.[9] This means that the need for labor on such a farm is relatively constant, so that, even though one individual owned a large number of such farms, it would pay him to keep permanently employed laborers rather than to use migratory casual labor.

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[7] Hamilton, Op. Cit., pp. 9–10.

[8] Farm Placement Service, Op. Cit., p. 74.

[9] Extracted from William C. Holley and Lloyd E. Arnold, Works Progress Administration, National Research Project, Cotton, Philadelphia. 1938, tables 6–18, inclusive, pp. 23–50, inclusive.

The insignificance of migratory casual labor is further indicated by the fact that the maximum farm placements made by the employment service in the two east Texas districts in any month in 1937 were 860 in October and 95 in September, respectively, in district 10, Longview, and district 11, Beaumont.[10] No extensive use of migratory casual workers may be expected in this area unless there is a change in type of farming so that other crops with peak labor demands are developed or unless means, such as mechanization, are developed to decrease the time required for some, but not all, phases of cotton production.

(*b*) Large, fully mechanized farms—semiarid Panhandle wheat farms: At the present time very little outside labor is required for the operation of the Panhandle wheat farms. (Table I, Labor used per acre in producing winter wheat in the western hard winter wheat section, 1909–36, gives the labor requirements for wheat in this region.) This is true notwithstanding the fact that 1.2 hours per acre, or more than 50 percent of the labor required per acre for a wheat crop is required for harvesting which is completed in a period of from 1 to 2 months. This concentration of working time does not result in the use of migratory-casual farm labor because of the small amount of time required; thus a three-man crew (combine man, tractor man, and trucker) can harvest 1,000 acres of wheat over a 6-week period of 12-hour days. If the labor is not available in the family group, it can usually be obtained from resident neighbor families. The explanation of a high concentration of total time required without the use of a migratory-casual labor lies in the fact that the family group is not fully employed much of the time. On specialized wheat farms little work is done from October 1 or November 1 to June 1. Such labor as is required must be more skilled in the use of machinery than is the usual migratory-casual worker.

It is interesting to note that the first farm placement office in Texas was established to care for the wheat harvest in this area.[11] At this time it will be noted from table I, 3.4 hours per acre were required to harvest the wheat. Moreover, unskilled labor could be used. It is estimated that from 100,000 to 200,000 migratory-casual laborers were employed during 1919, whereas the number today is negligible.[12] This change resulted from the mechanization of the wheat harvest, thus making it possible to handle large acreage with little or no outside help.

Based on employment-service data, there were approximately 2,850,000 acres of wheat in this region in 1937.[13] On the basis of the 1919 labor requirements, this would have required some 9,700,000 hours of labor for harvest but only approximately 3,420,000 hours in 1936. Most of the additional 6,300,000 hours would have been done by migratory-casual workers.

The experience in the Panhandle wheat area indicates that employment of migratory-casual labor is dependent upon peak seasons in which adequate labor cannot be obtained locally to handle as many acres of crops as can otherwise be raised, and that the mechanization of such phases of production may result in complete displacement of the migratory-casual workers.

(*c*) Large-scale partially mechanized cotton farm: The large-scale partially mechanized cotton production of the south plains and Corpus Christi region and to a lesser extent of the black belt, illustrates this type of agriculture which requires most migratory-casual labor. These areas employ the greater portion of the migratory-casual farm labor of the State.

Table II, Labor requirements per acre for cotton production, shows the time required for each phase of cotton culture in the major regions, and the percentage that the major operating phases represent of the whole.

It will be seen from table II that the western semiarid region, including the south plains area, requires only slightly more than half of the time required for its nearest competitor, the Texas black waxy area, which is turn requires less than half the time of any area except the western hill (including the east Texas area). Moreover, over 58 percent of the total time required for the western semiarid area is used in harvesting.

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[10] Farm Placement Service, op. cit., fig. 8J and 8K.

[11] Farm Placement Service, op. cit., p. 18.

[12] Robert B. Elwood, Lloyd E. Arnold, D. Clarence Schmutz, and Eugene G. McKibben, W. P. A. National Research Project, Wheat and Oats, Philadelphia, 1939, p. 94.

[13] Farm Placement Service, op. cit., pp. 5–6.

The above situation results from numerous factors, foremost among them being the use of large-scale equipment, frequently tractor-drawn, and the natural geographic characteristics of the area, both making possible the use of large-scale equipment and decreasing the amount of cultivation needed; e. g., whereas, hoeing and chopping required 34 hours per acre in the Mississippi Delta, they required only 6.1 hours in the semiarid south plains region.

TABLE I.—*Labor used per acre in producing winter wheat in the western and winter wheat section 1909–36*

[Western, including Texas Panhandle]

	Total hours per acre			
	1909	1919	1929	1936
Total hours of labor	6.1	5.6	2.6	2.2
Pre harvest	2.5	2.2	1.3	1.2
Harvest	3.6	3.4	1.3	1.2

94 percent of farms were using tractors in 1936.
Extracted from Work Projects Administration, National Research Project, Wheat and Oats, Philadelphia, 1939, table 4, p. 37.

TABLE II.—*Labor requirements per acre for cotton production*

Operation	Coastal plain		Pied-mont		Eastern hilly		Western hilly		Mississippi delta		Texas black waxy		Western semiarid	
	Hr.	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*	*Hr.*	*Pct.*
Preplanting	16.7	14.1	18.7	16.8	17.1	14.3	12.1	16.2	11.0	8.4	3.3	7.0	1.6	6.3
Cutting sprouts and cleaning terraces	1.4	-----	1.6	-----	1.1	-----	2.5	-----	2.0	-----	.1	-----	0	-----
Cutting stalks	1.7	-----	2.0	-----	1.0	-----	.8	-----	1.0	-----	.6	-----	.3	-----
Flatbreaking or plowing	3.8	-----	3.2	-----	5.0	-----	2.6	-----	1.6	-----	.4	-----	.5	-----
Disking	.6	-----	.1	-----	.2	-----	.5	-----	.5	-----	.1	-----	.1	-----
Harrowing	1.0	-----	1.3	-----	.8	-----	.8	-----	1.0	-----	.4	-----	.1	-----
Bedding	4.1	-----	6.4	-----	1.9	-----	2.8	-----	2.6	-----	1.7	-----	.6	-----
Laying off rows	.8	-----	.8	-----	.7	-----	.2	-----	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Applying commercial fertilizer	3.3	-----	3.3	-----	6.4	-----	1.9	-----	2.3	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Planting	1.6	1.35	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.6	2.1	1.2	0.9	1.1	2.3	.6	2.3
Cultivating	46.7	39.4	45.0	40.4	44.6	37.3	34.7	46.3	49.9	38.2	20.2	43.1	8.4	33.0
Plowing	18.7	-----	20.8	-----	17.6	-----	13.2	-----	15.2	-----	5.6	-----	2.3	-----
Hoeing and chopping	27.6	-----	23.4	-----	26.3	-----	21.2	-----	34.0	-----	14.3	-----	6.1	-----
Dusting and spraying	.4	-----	.8	-----	.7	-----	.3	-----	.7	-----	.3	-----	-----	-----
Harvesting	53.5	45.15	45.7	41.0	56.3	47.1	26.5	35.4	68.7	52.5	22.3	47.6	14.9	58.4
Total	118.5	100.0	111.4	100.0	119.5	100.0	74.9	100.0	130.8	100.0	46.9	100.0	25.5	100.0

Extracted from William C. Holley and Lloyd E. Arnold Work Projects Administration National Research Project, Cotton, Philadelphia, 1938, tables 6–18, inclusive, pp. 23–50, inclusive.

Hamilton states that:

"The most rapid mechanization of cotton farming has occurred in the western cotton areas of Texas and Oklahoma. Several large areas in Texas are almost completely mechanized; e. g., the high and low plain and the Corpus Christi area. Bonnen and Magee found that of 141 representative farms in the high plains in 1937, 79 percent were depending on tractor power and multirow equipment. In many communities practically 100 percent of the farms depend upon tractor power. In Lubbock County in the heart of the high plains, a sample of 43 farmers interviewed during the summer of 1938 while they were in town for their agricultural conservation checks, included only two farmers who did not use tractor power. Twenty-seven of the 43 farmers were using four-row tractor-drawn cultivating and planting equipment. On these 27 farms were found 28 tractors pulling four-row equipment; 5 tractors pulling two-row equipment; one other tractor; 52 farm families; 445 crop acres per operator or farm; 343 acres per tractor; and 224 acres per farm family—operators and laborers. On farms having only one set of four-row equipment, the mean acres in crops was 398.

"Fourteen of the 43 farms used two-row cultivating and planting equipment, but no four-row equipment. On these 14 farms were found: 26 two-row tractors; 34 farm families; 503 crop acres per farm; 271 crop acres per tractor; and 207 crop acres per family. Nineteen of the 43 farms surveyed had no workstock whatever; and the other tractor farmers had very few workstock in active use. These situations are considered typical of the plains area." [14]

Holley points out that conditions in the Mississippi Delta and Texas black waxy are also conducive to the use of large scale labor-saving machinery and that many units (the entire plantation, not cropper units within a plantation) are large enough to use equipment economically.[15]

The movement to mechanize the Texas black waxy is apparently under way, Hamilton reports:

"The farms in the black lands of Texas are also being mechanized at a rapid rate. Reconnaissance surveys indicate that at least 30 percent of the black-land farmers use tractors and that possibly 50 percent of the crop land is cultivated with tractors." [16]

The data given above for the south plains area indicates that efficient specialized cotton farming in that area is dependent upon migratory casual labor or upon the development of a mechanized method of harvesting cotton. It should be pointed out that at the present time harvesting cotton in the semiarid south plains region consists of "snapping" or "pulling bolls" instead of picking. This has greatly increased the productivity of labor. Although the snapped cotton is of a lower grade, improved gin equipment has reduced the lowering of the grade.[17] Moreover, the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station has developed a stripper type mechanical harvester for use in this area that has shown promising results.[18] Further improvements in this machine and in ginning may materially affect the use of migratory casual labor in this area.

Holley points out that mechanization in the Texas black waxy and the Mississippi Delta has been retarded because of the problem of getting pickers. The development of a satisfactory mechanical cotton picker would then not only displace migratory casual workers in the Texas black waxy but "no doubt would facilitate a concerted rush toward the use of large-scale machinery for the pre-harvest operation and would thus result in considerable displacement of agricultural workers. That such a development lies within the not-too-distant future seems probable." [19]

Since Holley gathered his data the trend toward mechanization in the Texas black waxy has been accelerated possibly partly because of the more efficient organization of the migratory casual workers by the employment service and partly because of such factors as Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments.

The above discussion indicates that in the production of certain crops migratory casual labor takes the place of machinery in the peak labor phases of production. Employment will be given to migratory casual labor as long as it is the cheapest method of harvesting the crop. If a satisfactory picking machine can be developed that will pick cotton at a lower cost than can the migratory casual laborers, they will be displaced. It appears that such a machine is "just around the corner" and probably awaits only a shortage of men or an increased labor cost to come to the front. Slight increases in cost and improvements in ginning might result in substituting "sledding" in the south plains area for picking. A successful cotton picker for use in the Mississippi Delta and Texas black waxy also appears likely to be developed if the supply of migratory casual labor is limited or if the price is materially increased. It has been pointed out above that the mechanization of other phases of production has been made possible only by the supply of migratory casual labor to handle the harvesting and, in some areas, chopping. It should be pointed out here that once the other phases have been mechanized, there is little possibility of demechanizing them because of a shortage of available migratory casual labor—the full impetus of both progress and inertia will be pushing toward mechanization of the last steps in cotton production.

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[14] Hamilton, op. cit., p. 5.
[15] Holley and Arnold, op. cit., p. 58.
[16] Hamilton, op. cit., p. 5.
[17] Holley and Arnold, op. cit., p. 51.
[18] Ibid., p. 63.
[19] Ibid., p. 61.

If labor costs should increase and the price of cotton remain low, there would probably be a tendency toward greater diversification with crops that are susceptible to mechanized handling throughout substituted for cotton. There would be little possibility of a return to small specialized cotton units susceptible to being handled completely by a single family group.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The need for migratory casual labor results from short peaks of labor needs with longer periods in which it is not needed.
2. The displacement of full-time tenants by the mechanization of the major preharvest operation in peaks of employment in cotton production. The mechanization with its accompanying displacement, was made possible only because of the presence of migratory casual labor. In some areas, such as the Mississippi Delta, the problem of obtaining an adequate supply of such labor is retarding preharvest mechanization.
3. The development of satisfactory mechanized equipment for caring for the peak needs that can be made available at a cost below that of migratory casual labor will displace such labor. A shortage of migratory workers in areas now "geared" to their use or a material increase in cost would probably result in the use of mechanical equipment and the permanent displacement of the migratory casual worker.

III. SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATORY CASUAL FARM LABOR PROBLEM IN TEXAS

Material based on observation of Work Projects Administration social workers in the various sections of Texas.

South Texas

J. H. Breeding, district employment officer for Work Projects Administration in the Laredo territory, writes as follows:

"A very peculiar circumstance exists in Eagle Pass, Maverick County, especially during the spinach harvest. Information has come to me from a reliable source that at least from 250 to 300 workers cross the Rio Grande River from Piedras Negras every morning during the spinach harvest, rent trucks on this side of the river to take them to the fields. They earn approximately 75 cents to $1 per day, but, on returning each night to Piedras Negras, they exchange their money into Mexican money and at the present rate of exchange they will have approximately 4½ to 6½ pesos each for the day's work. This amount of Mexican money in Mexico will go much further than the 75 cents or $1 in our money on this side of the river. This situation has been thoroughly checked and it was found that 70 percent of these people are American citizens but live on the Mexican side—when this was found out there was nothing to be done. What I want to bring out in this case is that those people coming from the Mexican side of the river are, of course, helped to the fullest extent due to the money exchange, but those who live on the American side are deprived of the opportunity to work to hold their body and soul together. Work Projects Administration could never assign all of them. The Mexican merchants are benefited whereas our own are not.

In the cotton-producing sections of our district migratory workers are handled much differently from what they were. Crops are not so good this year; consequently, I'll say not over 400 or 500 have come into the district. Heretofore the farmer would hire his own cotton pickers, he would provide shelter and other conveniences for them, and would see that they received medical attention if needed. They were privileged to go to town on Saturday and remain until Sunday night. By doing this they had an opportunity to attend church, prepare their clothing for cleanliness and health. The time usually needed for crop gathering was approximately 2 months. Nowadays, this method has been done away with and the farmer deals with only one person, who hires a crew, and wants the cotton picked in 1 day if possible. The farmer knows nothing of the welfare of the pickers, as they come today and leave tomorrow. Chances are that if a mother or child should need medical or other attention they got it the best way they could, and since they, of course, could not leave for the fields that day they were replaced by someone else by their boss and that was probably the last of them. It has been brought to my attention that under this method of picking cotton, farmers request 8 or 10 times as many pickers as are needed and as a result no one makes a day's wages and they are on the go most of the time.

In Willacy County the competition between gins is so keen that each has a solicitor working among the farmers promising cotton pickers provided they bring their cotton to a certain gin for ginning. This very often works a hardship on the pickers in this way: If a gin solicitor promises to have pickers at a certain farm at a given hour of the day and is an hour or two late and in the meantime a different gin solicitor should appear the farmer will agree to let his crew pick the cotton if they get there first. The first crew, with women and children, arrives later. Their jobs have been taken so they, of course, must go on their way with maybe only a cup of coffee for breakfast and no time to prepare lunch as they must find another field before they can stop—children do not understand going hungry.

The naval base project at Corpus Christi is causing many people to rush there. A large percentage of these have not, as yet, obtained employment; consequently, many are on the streets. How long they can hold out without employment and what may happen if they do not obtain it remains to be seen. This project is supposed to employ about 15,000 workers when in full swing.

Texas Coastal Plains

John W. Myers, Work Projects Administration social worker, writing from the Coastal Plains area of Texas where cotton picking and rice harvesting annually attract large groups of migrant workers, reports:

"In the last 3 years we have seen no cessation of migration of workers even in the face of increasing Federal aid and an attempt to more completely stabilize the individual. We would not say that transiency has increased but rather it has become an epidemic lasting for only a few months out of the year with the persons engaged returning to their homes at the end of the crop seasons, rather than continuing a wandering throughout the year."

These seasonal workers are predominantly of Latin-American descent with a smattering of Negro and white families. It has interested us to note that the Latin-American never goes to the cotton field without taking his family with him. The Negro almost always leaves his family at home and goes with a group of other Negro males while the white laborer may vary, depending on the type of harvest to be gathered. We believe that the white workers' motive in taking his family is that it may assist him in his labors, to his greater profit.

It is impossible to estimate the numbers of transient workers who come into the Coastal Plains cotton-producing area each year in July and August. They come from urban districts and small communities all over Texas, congregating in the Rio Grande Valley for the beginning of the cotton season, working through Kleberg, Nueces, San Patricio, Refugio, Calhoun, and Jackson Counties by the last of August or the 1st of September. We have seen as many as a thousand families entering some large cotton plantations in San Patricio County at one time. We know of many instances where the employment service has requisitioned from their urban headquarters as many as 500 families. We have seen both employment-service men and individual farmers on the highways early in the mornings and late at night stopping these migrants to persuade them to pick their fields.

During these past 3 years we have seen many camps used by these laborers and have had occasion to inspect the camps and to talk with the occupants. For the most part the landlord furnishes only a space for camping, the worker must furnish his own tent or shelter of some sort as well as his household furniture. A few farmers provide shacks consisting of one or two rooms for the workers but I have never seen a camp of this sort with any household equipment nor any kitchen or sanitary facilities. Water is usually provided free but wood is seldom given and the worker is expressly forbidden to cut down trees. He depends upon waste cotton stalks and other heat-giving materials which his children can pick up for fuel. Occasionally, a family has an oil stove and buys its own fuel oil. These shacks are in such a state of disrepair as to defy description. Families are encouraged to share these places together and it is no uncommon occurrence to see four or five families with an average of five people per family occupying one small house, ill-ventilated, ill-lit, and offering but scant protection from the elements.

At a plantation in Calhoun County last year I entered a camp house of this sort which was occupied by 26 people, adults and children. One family had brought its bed which was set up in the best room of the house and which was occupied by four small children, all of them ill with pneumonia. It had been raining and the father of one of the children, who incidentally were from different families, had hung by wires and string half a dozen tin containers from the rafters over the bed to catch the rain water. I asked him if there was no better way of stopping the water and he said that that was the driest part of the house and the roof was in such condition that it could not be repaired. There had been no medical attention given these children until the time of my visit when I asked a doctor from Port Lavaca to call on the family. One of the children later died.

Very rarely can these people afford medical attention. In my experience and from the stories I have heard from the workers, free county-health service is not available. This morning a man came into the office to tell me he was leaving W. P. A. to go cotton picking. I asked him what they did when a member of the family became ill. He stated if they had the money they went to town to find a doctor to visit them. If not, he said, "We suffer." He added that this kind of work was a very hard life. I have never known of any instances where transient children attended school. Most of the people depend on returning to their homes in October or November, and usually put their children in school at that time. On the road these privileges are denied them and are made impossible because of the very reason of their transiency. Pneumonia, colds, coughs, malturition, and rickets seem to be common diseases in transient camps. I expect that if it were possible to obtain accurate statistics on deaths among the migrants, we would find them to be alarming. The medical profession has rarely evidenced sympathy for their plight and attend them only in a spirit of grumbling. I know of one instance of a doctor in Snyder, Tex. Scurry County, who refused to let a man take his child to the (doctor's) office. After some persuasion he finally drove his car to the farm and asked them to bring the child to his car where he diagnosed the case. This child who was also suffering from pneumonia, died, too. There is a very definite solidarity among these people, very strongly exemplified by the death of one of its members. Each family contributes what it can spare to help with the funeral expenses. I have been told that in many instances, particularly among the Mexican families, the bodies are not embalmed but are buried in a local cemetery.

The predominant religion among the Latin-Americans is Catholic but there are many of the Baptist faith. I mention the two groups by name as it would appear that each carries the impact of its religious beliefs with it. I have seen, however, many of the families cotton picking on Sunday and as far as I know, giving the day no unusual implication. Some of the workers have told me that they go to church when they are near town where one is available which will admit them. They say that this is rare. One of our local W. P. A. workers who picks cotton each year told me of an experience he had in Brownfield, Tex., Terry County, when he attempted to enter a Baptist church. He had sat down when the ushers told him he must leave.

The work of the women is incredible and extremely difficult. The custom is to arise at about 4 a. m. to cook breakfast and enough food to take to the field for the noon meal. They usually begin cotton picking by daylight and work through to dark, spending only a few moments at rest on the cotton sacks during the noon hour. When the pickers return to the camp, the women then must attend to their camp duties, preparing supper, nursing any sick children, washing clothes and dishes, mending, etc., until it is often 10 o'clock before they are able to get to bed. Then, too, there is no medical attention for them during childbirth; midwifery is the common practice. It is not easy to tell how these people suffer and yet retain a rather happy philosophy. It is easier to understand how with an average wage of 50 or 60 cents per hundred pounds of cotton a family cannot make more than $2 or $3 a working day, and when one considers the transportation expenses, the time lost going from one farm to another, we realize that about 3 or 4 days' work a week is the best they can average during the season. I have never been able to understand to my own satisfaction the motivating factors in transiency. I believe that they engage in this work in an effort to increase their income, but long experience in talking with these people has led me to believe in many cases they are less secure in the field than at home. I am quite certain that no moralistic implication should be given to transiency. It must be understood as a struggle for life and should only be approached with that in mind. Each year when the pickers return they tell us at intake of their experiences and that they would rather starve than to go the following year. And yet we see the same families leaving again.

Southeast Texas

Leslie E. This, social worker with headquarters at Beaumont in the Works Projects Administration, Houston district, reports as follows:

"Orange County

"No assistance whatever is tendered migrants by the local county agency nor are any health services available whatever. Approximately two applicants a month who are migrant workers come to the relief office. The county worker feels that about five of her cases a month leave the State, usually for Louisiana, seeking work. Almost always they return stating that they have found no employment. The Salvation Army tells us of pitiable families coming to their attention; usually they are in an old car and have either run out of gas near town or have not enough gasoline to move on; children are neglected looking, ragged, and half nourished. Recently a young unmarried mother traveling with her family was confined at the Salvation Army shelter—complications arose and she was taken to the hospital, the baby was born and the mother immediately returned to the Salvation Army. We were told that it was unusual to get medical care even for this type of emergency. What medical care is extended migrants is given by the Salvation Army worker in charge who knows little or nothing of caring for the sick. Children who travel with families are out of school and often covered with large sores and impetigo.

"Families and single men receive care overnight and one meal. About 1 in 10 applicants is a family group. Some petty thievery exists, such as stealing clothes from lines. Usually the families have been on the road for a long time and seemingly have no destination in mind. They know only that they are looking for employment and there was none at their last destination.

"Jefferson County

"There seems to be but little migration of agricultural workers into Jefferson County. The rice harvest in the fall is mostly taken care of by common labor from Port Arthur and Beaumont. However, some migration from the outside is absorbed as is evidenced by the fact that the Port Arthur Salvation Army has an employment service and at the present time had referred about 30 workers to the rice fields. These workers are housed if single in a large bunkhouse and if married in rough cottages supplied with outside running water. The families furnish their own bedding. Pay is $2 per day. The bulk of workers coming into Jefferson County appears to be from the skilled and semiskilled workers with a fairly large number of common laborers seeking work at the shipyards and refineries. It is impossible to secure even an estimate of the total number of these workers.

"*Port Arthur.*—The relief agency does not help migrants and has not done so for 2 years. They state that 2 years ago they were swamped with applicants, 15 to 20 per week, while at present not over 5 families of transients a month apply. Families endeavoring to find employment in Port Arthur usually stay at a well-known large, rambling frame house that has no cooking facilities whatever and a common toilet; for this lodging a family pays 25 cents per night. In one locale east of town some 25 families are living in trailer camps existing on odd jobs while hoping for regular employment. Lack of clothing, adequate shelter, and medical attention is evident. No medical care is available except in case of extreme emergency. Few workers leave Port Arthur seeking private employment—a few colored workers go to the rice fields in the fall. About 2 years ago, shortly after the Federal Government withdrew from the transient program, Port Arthur was swamped with migrants and transients. We are told that the police department 'ran all of them out of town.' Even at the present comment exists on strong-arm methods used to rid the town of migrants. During 1938 as many as 75 migrants and transients marched on the city hall for assistance. Last winter some 35 to 50 transients and migrants were cared for by the Salvation Army; of this number from 5 to 8 were family groups; care is given them overnight only. Health of migrants is bad. During the winter time colds abound. No medical care is given if migrant or transient is able to travel at all. About one-half of the children show evidence of malnutrition. Lack of clothing is the cause of many of the colds. The major of the Salvation Army estimates there is 35 percent less transiency now than 2 years ago. Children seem to secure an average of about 3 months education per year. Some petty thievery exists but only two hold-ups in the last 5 years have been attributed to migrants.

"*Beaumont.*—The city-north county relief agency offers no help to migrants. The Salvation Army has noted a decrease in transiency of about 30 percent as compared with transiency 2 years ago. The need for medical care is acute; no services whatever are available even for emergencies. When an emergency arises services of a willing physician must be secured and then persons are 'shot out of town as soon as possible.' Families are ragged, the need of shoes and warm clothing is very apparent. We are told that about 50 percent of the transients and migrants are undernourished. The usual diet for single workers while on the road seems to be bread and coffee. A decrease in the number of juveniles on the road as compared with 2 years ago is marked. Few of the workers coming to the Salvation Army have any skill and of these the majority are truck drivers. The major in charge feels that about 15 percent are liquor addicts. The average number of migrants and transients cared for is 250 per month; of these about 15 are families.

"The Labor Hall informs us that about 5 percent of union men are continuously on the road seeking employment. About one-half of these men take their families with them. Not many industrial migrants are at present in the city but a year ago the city was flooded, caused by comment in eastern papers regarding the boom along the Gulf Coast. At present skilled workers are migrating to Nashville, Tenn., where another defense unit is being built. Of the workers flocking to the local shipyards—which has reached as high as 300 a day but now does not average over 50 to 60—it was felt that possibly 75 percent were migrants.

"*Some additional observations.*—In making this report the outstanding observation has been that no one knows the extent of migration nor will anyone try to estimate it. Few are deeply interested in the problem. No one visited really knew how the families live. The health of the families must be guessed at as no diagnosis or examination of the migrant is made. It appears that no agency recently has visited in the homes or camps of any of these workers and so information as to education of the children, church attendance, etc., is sketchy.

"Most of the existing agencies now concerned with transients and migration portray an attitude of distrust toward the migrants and transients. Estimates of alcoholism vary from 15 to 85 percent. As regards willingness to work it is generally agreed that about 50 percent are 'worthy.' One is astounded at the lack of understanding of the migrant problem on the part of the workers now dealing with the situation. The only concern is to get them back to their legal settlement or at least to get them out of the city. As one worker put it when they tell him that they need gasoline for their car, he tells them, "What are you complaining about, I don't even own a car.'

"As regards the problem seen in our Work Projects Administration office we would estimate that about 2 percent of our workers are at a given time out of the city seeking employment. Usually the family is left at home to shift as best they can. Marital trouble often results from the prolonged leave of the head of the family. In at least one instance, 2 months ago, a worker awaiting assignment was killed while riding a freight train looking for employment. Seldom does the worker secure employment of a permanent nature—usually he obtains a few odd jobs at most.

"It is the consensus of opinion among the agencies visited that the migration of unskilled workers is largely between Texas and Louisiana. Usually it is found that the resident in Jefferson County formerly lived in Louisiana and goes back to his old home looking for employment and much the same appears to be true on the part of those common laborers coming to Jefferson County, though not to the extent of the Jefferson County workers leaving for Louisiana. Migration from other States appears to be far heavier among the skilled and semiskilled workers."

Central Texas

Robert S. Via, district supervisor of intake and certification for Work Projects Administration in the Austin area, reports the following:

"In past crop seasons we have had a large number of migratory workers visit this district and we have had residents of this district migrate to other agricultural centers. The extent of migratory labor is limited to agricultural industries. There is only a very small number of industrial migrant workers and this group of workers would normally represent a class of workers from the skilled and semiskilled group, who, under normal conditions, would not be applicants for public assistance of any kind.

"Those migrating from the district migrate for cotton picking, onion picking, and to the beet fields. Those migrating to the district are for cotton picking and a limited number for onion harvesting. We have some migration within the district for cedar cutting. During last year's harvest season for cotton and sugar beets we had a large number of workers leave this district for south Texas and west Texas for cotton picking and to Michigan, Colorado, and Minnesota for the beet fields. The cotton crop for this year is late and we will be unable to tell at the present time whether there will be migration to north and west Texas. We have noticed a very distinct decline in the number of Mexican migratory workers who are coming into the district for cotton picking. It seems that the alien registration law and the fact that some of the aliens' return to Mexico is a factor that is preventing migration of some of the Mexican families. I think that there is a definite fear among the alien Mexican workers regarding moving their residence to follow employment.

"As you know, we are in the center of a very good cotton belt and it is my estimation that we have had as many as 9,000 migratory workers visit the district within a single harvest year. I estimate that 5,000 residents of this district leave the district to follow the cotton crop during normal crop times. If we have a good cotton crop in north and west Texas, migration is increased in this district because the workers try to stay employed and work on to west Texas, which part of the State other than the lower valley has good cotton to pick. If the cotton crop is short in west Texas migration within the district and without the district is curtailed. I estimate that we have approximately 1,500 workers who migrate to the beet fields. We have approximately 300 Mexican workers who come into this district for the onion harvest near Taylor.

"The cedar cutters usually travel within a radius of 3 counties and the estimated number of workers moving is approximately 1,000. Mode of transportation for the Mexican workers coming into the district consists of a large truck which is in fair mechanical condition. This truck is often loaded with as many as 20 to 25 workers consisting of family groups. In 1938 and 1939 this type of transportation was quite prevalent. This year it seems to be on a definite decline. Workers seem to prefer an old car and to seek out employment for themselves thus eliminating the transportation payment and fees for a truck foreman. We have a very few trucks that make a practice of hauling workers while following the harvest. The white and Negro workers use the car or pick-up truck almost exclusively. If at all possible, the traveler secures an old abandoned house where he is permitted to stay while harvesting crops. These abandoned houses could not meet even the lowest standard of decency. They are slums of the worst sort. In addition to this, they are crowded with three and four families.

"The workers camp beside the road in tents, sleep on the ground, under bridges, or on the trucks. When they leave the highway, they go to the field. Workers often carry their small children and incapacitated workers with them because there is no place that they might leave them while they work. These workers also often camp on streams and small tributaries in smaller towns. The sanitary conditions that they are forced to endure are a menace to their health and to the health of the local citizens. Water is often drawn from abandoned wells and streams and in some cases it is hauled quite some distance. Most of the well water, to my knowledge, has not been tested for drinking purposes.

"Medical attention is available for acute emergencies because the other pickers and migratory workers are more than likely paid once a week and they can secure emergency aid by small payments. At times workers hear that crop conditions are better on up the line and they very often get ahead of the crop. Some of this is caused by false information and some workers are forced to move on because of the numerous available workers where they are now employed. These workers often find themselves without food for several days. If their old car happens to break down, if it cannot be wired together again, the expenses for repair often absorb the whole season's income.

"The prevailing wage for cotton picking is between 50 and 60 cents a hundred. The span of employment for a day's work covers between 10 and 14 hours a day. Workers who travel to the beet fields and to north and west Texas and to the onion fields usually return with less than $30 cash after a season of employment. Total employment usually amounts to a subsistence wage. A good worker in some of our cotton can pick 250 pounds. I talked to a 10-year-old boy today who has been picking 100 pounds a day. Children 8, 9, and 10 years old often pick with their families. As the father states, it is the only time that the family has to earn a little money.

"Negro rural schools are usually operated for six months out of each year. Most of the Mexican schools are operated for 7 months and majority of the white schools 9 months. Rural schools in this part of the State do not begin until after the cotton crop is gathered. School attendance in the white, colored, and Mexican schools, does not reach its peak until around the 1st of January. Some of the migratory workers attend church, but this factor again is determined by the local facilities available for these workers, the distance to be traveled, the health condition, and the amount of clothing.

"I have recently visited in the homes of several average tenant farmers. Their houses, furniture, bedding, clothing, and household necessities are deplorable in a great many cases. The migratory worker's conditions are often not any better in his between-seasonal location than they are while he is on the road.

"It is my observation that the crime conditions, especially petty thievery, are always on the decrease while employment is available. The county probation officer of Travis County states that to his knowledge there has not been a single case brought to his attention where migratory workers were involved. County attorneys in several counties state that the migratory workers are well behaved law-abiding workers.

"In the past the 'cotton pick' has been looked forward to by the colored population as an economic and a social experience and an opportunity to leave their destitute surroundings while following the harvest.

"One of the workers interviewed stated, 'I do not intend to follow the cotton crop this year.' He related that last year he traveled in an old truck and secured a dilapidated house to live in while picking cotton. There were several families in this house. He had no one at the house to leave the 1-year-old baby with because the mother also found it necessary to pick cotton. The baby got sick. He stated that the doctor said 'the baby has fever.' The baby died on this trip. This year they have another baby. Under normal conditions he places his children in school in November. His plans are to secure employment in and near his residence. He stated that his family of six, which consisted of three large children, could earn approximately $20 a week in good cotton, but traveling from place to place and running the risk of having his family get sick and live under trees is an experience that he does not care to go through again.

"The average cedar cutter usually lives in the edge of small towns in crude huts constructed from boxes, tin, and scrap lumber. The workers often have a small tent, which will not house the family. All of the cooking is done in the open. The prevailing wage for cedar cutting would average approximately 75 cents a day for 5 months of the year. The majority of the cedar cutters are of the white race. On the average they remain longer in one place than the other types of migratory labor in this district."

North Central Texas

Observations of Agnes A. Wright, supervisor of intake and certification for Work Projects Administration in the Waco area, are quoted as follows:

"The 22 counties comprising district 8 represent an agricultural rather than an industrial area. There are, however, a number of plants, such as cotton mills, twine factories, oil mills, gins, compresses, etc., that employ industrial workers. The scope of such employment is not such that unemployed industrial workers from other States or sections would ordinarily be drawn to this region in the hope of obtaining the type of work to which they had been accustomed.

"With respect to unemployed industrial workers the district office and the Texas State Employment Service at Waco gives interesting figures. Since July 1, 1940, there have been approximately 10 applications per day from what they term 'transient industrial workers.' Not since 1930 or 1934, it is stated, have applications approaching this number been received. Approximately 50 percent of the applicants are highly skilled people—30 percent are semiskilled and 20 percent are qualified for unskilled labor only. It is assumed that publicity regarding the defense program has led these people to a metropolitan center where they hope to find industrial activity. It was stated by the Texas State Employment Service representative that the skilled workers were for the most part men, who, having lost their place in the industrial world in 1930, or after, had maintained themselves since with employment of any type they could secure, but now hoped to reenter the specialized line in which they are skilled.

"Although in certain of the counties comprising district 8 diversity of agriculture is practiced and cattle raising is increasing in importance, this portion of Texas is still predominantly a cotton-producing area. Cotton remains the commodity from which people hope to secure 'cash money,' and its harvesting is the event of the year that promises to the unemployed person an opportunity to earn.

"For an interval—becoming yearly more brief—there is a demand for workers—men, women, and children—anyone who can pick cotton. It is known that there are not available in McLennan County enough local workers to harvest the cotton crop even in years of scant production.

"The greater number, therefore, of the migratory workers of district 8 are the men and women who, with their families, follow the harvesting of cotton. Within recent years cotton harvesting that was formerly a lengthy and somewhat desultory undertaking has become a well-organized and businesslike activity. Under the management of the Texas State Employment Service, which agency serves as the liaison between the producer and means of harvesting, cotton is picked and taken to the gin. The producer states to the Texas State Employment Service representative that he has so many acres to be ready for picking at a certain time. He may state his preference with respect to white, Mexican, or Negro pickers, and Texas State Employment Service does the rest. The producer has but to accept his gin receipts and pay the bill.

"The harvesting of the McLennan County cotton crop is now accomplished in approximately 1 month. Migrant workers who began in the valley in May have gradually come north, reaching McLennan County the last of August and first part of September. By October 1 they will be moving north, their number augmented by local people. As the cotton opens they move across the plains and to the Panhandle. By Christmas they will have again come south—some to their homes in McLennan County and a hoped-for assignment to Work Projects Administration and others to the Rio Grande Valley, where they will work among the winter vegetables until time to begin again next year on opening cotton.

"The Texas State Employment Service office states that in July the unemployed agricultural people of McLennan County began their migration in search of work. It is estimated that 400 individuals left the county that month. Many who went south at that time to pick cotton joined the northward-moving crews and are now picking in McLennan County. The agency states that since the beginning of cotton harvest, approximately August 15 in this county, they have directed 2,750 individuals to producers in need of hands. Of this number, approximately 100 are transient people from other States. In the 14 counties comprising the Texas State Employment Service district 8,743 individuals have been directed to employers.

"Not far from the suspension bridge on the east side of the Brazos River in a grove of pecan trees is the Texas State Employment Service camp for migratory workers. Toilet facilities and running water have been provided. Signs, 'Cotton pickers,' mark the road for those in search of work and those with cotton to harvest.

"Two pleasant young men, Texas State Employment Service representatives, have a temporary office under a roof of willow boughs supported by four posts. The office furnishings are a table and camp chairs; the telephone is in a box on the trunk of a great elm tree, overhanging all. When I called no one was in the camp except the two young men, for so urgent is the demand for cotton pickers that those wanting work do not need to wait. The Texas State Employment Service representatives stated that if 1,000 people came in they could be placed the next day.

"These men drew a distinction between migratory workers and transients. To the latter they gave the rather general classification of Grapes of Wrath people. Most of them, they asserted, did not want to work. These Grapes of Wrath people, they maintained, 'mooched' for a living, and when offered cotton to pick refused on the grounds that they had not planted the cotton. Farther down the river some of these people are camped, with the making of willow furniture their visible means of support.

"On the table under the elm tree lay the daily ledger of the Texas State Employment Service interviewers. How neat and orderly the whole procedure with respect to migrant workers appeared on the white page * * *

" 'September 2: Crew leader, Jose Gonzales; address, Alice; number in crew, 31; families, 4; adults, 12; juniors, 14 * * * Referred to E. R. Willis, Route 4, Mount Calm; approximate days to pick, 3. Crew leader, Jim Turner; address, Elmo, Mo.; number in crew, 23; families, 4; adults, 9; juniors, 12 * * * etc.'

"Juniors are children big enough to pick cotton. One wonders about school. They attend, we understand, between Christmas and time to start work again.

"If there is illness when the workers are camped near Waco they may go to the city clinic. When on Route 4, Mount Calm, for example, the worker makes what arrangements he is able with the local physician. The Waco city clinic, we learn, is reluctant to receive any except emergency cases. Should treatment be given for other than extreme cases, migratory workers might be tempted to become residents of Waco. Recently a woman was admitted to the city hospital for the birth of her child. In certain instances where there is protracted illness in the family of a migrant worker that forces him to leave the crew, the Salvation Army assists.

"That agency stated that during the month of July they gave assistance to approximately 30 families on the road searching for work. These families were unattached to a Texas State Employment Service or other work unit and had no definite objective other than the hope of finding employment. Some stated they had heard that there was work at a certain place. The fact that during the month of August fewer transient families asked assistance of the Salvation Army was attributed by that agency to the fact that many had joined themselves to Texas State Employment Service units or others and were following the cotton harvest.

"It was stated by the Texas State Employment Service representative that approximately 70 percent of the people whom they term 'migratory laborers' and whom they direct to work in various parts of the State are Mexican, 10 percent are Negroes, and 20 percent are white. There are independent units, it was stated, whose crew leaders do not register with Texas State Employment Service but make their own arrangement with the cotton producers.

"Today I visited some of these people and I wish I were able to present them clearly. They are camped on the outskirts of Dawson, a town of 2,000 population in Navarro County near the Hill County line in the very best of the black land sector. The fact that these families are not under the aegis of Texas State Employment Service, but work with their own crew leaders could not, I believe, cause an appreciable difference in their mode of life and that of the people directed by Texas State Employment Service.

"There are, I should say, between 25 and 30 families camped under the scattered trees on a small debris-littered tract adjoining the gin on the highway. In two crudely built trailer houses with unscreened doors live the crew leaders or bosses with their families in what is, by comparison, a condition approaching comfort.

"Mrs. Tucker, a boss' wife, talked with me as she completed with an inadequate amount of water the washing of the utensils used for breakfast. She is a frail little woman, very tired and ill-appearing, with her face swollen from an abscessed tooth. It was caused, she said, from 'pyorrhea of the gums' and she treated the condition with kerosene. Her daughter, a girl of 18 perhaps, in soiled slacks, sat on the sheetless, unmade bunk and worked at a small piece of embroidery. The daughter's baby, crying, so the mother said, because of its 'sore eyes' crawled on the floor. Flies were everywhere.

"Mr. Tucker had brought the crew to Dawson in June to harvest the onion crop and they stayed on to pick cotton. The cotton crop, above average at Dawson, is not good anywhere. The bolls are small and it is said to be hard to get 200 pounds a day. The pay is 50 cents per hundred. The bosses or crew leaders own the trucks that haul the cotton to the gin.

"Across the small ravine and just beyond the railroad track is the camp of Mrs. Brewer. It has been set up on the concrete floor remaining from some former building and consists of two torn wagon sheets placed tentwise and covering inadequately two mattresses spread on the ground and several boxes filled with clothing. A few feet away is another small improvised shelter of tarpaulin.

"Mrs. Brewer gave to the visitor the only seat, the lard can, on which she herself had been seated while she peeled potatoes. There are 13 in her party—her own family of 7 and her sons with their wives, as well as her nephew. Two battered cars, a small makeshift trailer, the mattresses, cooking utensils, and the torn wagon sheets are all they own.

"The family had started out from somewhere in Oklahoma when the twins, now 10, were 15 days old, and have been on the road ever since. They were farmers but could never get a start again to farm, and so each year they follow what work they can find. Sometimes winter overtakes them in New Mexico, Arizona, or the valley. They 'try' to get into a house for the bad weather but sometimes can't find one. The twins, Virgil and Virgie, have never seen the inside of a school, but the next child, a boy of 14, almost finished the first reader. The older children can all read and write because they got some schooling before the family started out.

"Virgil and Virgie, attractive children with bright, intelligent faces, were called in to see the visitor as they were not picking that morning. Their mother said they were puny. With their brother's wife, a girl of 15, they were playing a game with Betty Joe, 12, whose family had the next tent.

"Betty Joe's family came from Missouri 3 years ago. Her father, mother, and four brothers picked while she remained to prepare dinner. She has finished the third grade, for last year she went to school in Weslaco from Christmas until 2 weeks before school was out, and she learned how to do long division. Betty is an attractive child, surprisingly clean in that home that is a piece of tarpaulin suspended over a mattress. The cooking is done on a camp fire and water is brought from a distance.

"Of the four children, the 15-year-old sister-in-law—for I consider her a child, too—was the only one who appeared unhappy. She had reached the seventh grade in school, she said. She stated also that she would 'like to stay in one place.' I thought the faces of Virgil and Virgie clouded when Betty talked of school and long division.

"Mrs. Brewer was glad they could attend church now. Right in the camp is a preacher. He talks to them about the Bible, she said.

"The Richards family are camped on the extreme corner near the highway. There are nine in the party, for Ethel, the oldest child, is married—she's nearly 18—and her husband is with them. The youngest child is 3½. All were picking cotton except Mr. and Mrs. Richards, Ethel, and the baby. Mrs. Richards was cutting wood with which to cook the dinner on the improvised stove made from a bent piece of automobile fender. A wagon sheet made a scant shelter over a battered bedstead on which was a mattress and some soiled bed covers.

"Ethel is expecting her baby by September 10. She is worried, although they have made arrangements to get a doctor. Her mother pointed out that even if it does rain they can keep the bed dry. Other members of the family sleep on the ground on quilts.

"Last winter they were in McKinney, but the children couldn't get much schooling because they didn't have clothes. They asked at the relief office but were turned down every time. There wasn't a chance, she said, to get any money ahead to buy clothes with cotton at 50 cents and what it took to get something to eat.

"Mr. Richards, unshaven, unhappy, and unfriendly, appeared. He said that the people in the offices wouldn't do anything for anybody. He had never been on Work Projects Administration but worked for a short time during Civil Works Administration. Mrs. Richards expressed concern because it was so hot down in the bottom where the children were picking. She must once have been a very pretty woman for her eyes are beautiful.

"With the exception of Mrs. Tucker, no woman I saw in the camp wore either shoes or stockings. A number of families had no shelter of any kind other than that afforded by their battered cars.

"Before leaving Dawson I made yet another call at a comfortable looking house with a well-kept yard. I stopped to make an inquiry regarding an address. Across the road from the house is an enclosed grove with a conspicuous sign 'No Camping.' The owner of the house, middle-aged, complacent, comfortable, and withal as prosperous in appearance as her home, came to the door. Because she had the glint of humor in her face I hardly expected the extent of feeling to which she gave expression when she spoke of the migratory workers.

"The outrage of all that 'trash' being still in Dawson was more than she could stand. 'And do you know,' she said, 'they were camped right across the road there, 32 families of them, those nasty, thieving people, that I had to look at every time I came out my front door. Every morning they made their fires and the smoke came right over here. They even got typhoid fever! Well, I did everything I could here and then I started phoning. I phoned to Corsicana, to Dallas, to Austin, and finally got some action. I got them cleared out and made the city put up that fence. And then, if they didn't go up the road a piece and squat right down again! And they have babies! You can drive along that highway anytime and see those women as big as barrels. The law ought to do something about it. They could at least be moved far enough off in the country that they wouldn't be near any dwelling. It makes me sick to think about them.' "

Northwest Texas

Findings of social workers employed in the 21 northwest Texas counties comprising the Work Projects Administration district headquartered at Fort Worth were reported by Anne Houle, district supervisor of intake and certification, as follows:

"The communities at large feel little or no responsibility for aiding the migrant as they have sufficient problems on hand in trying to meet the needs of residents. They are fearful that if help is extended, other migrants will be attracted and the burden will become excessive.

"Those who follow seasonal labor undergo a great amount of hardship, poverty, and ill health. Employers feel little or no responsibility for helping them find decent housing or providing them with places to stay. Some move in with friends or relatives. Some live in jungles, under the bridges, sleep by roadsides, or in low-priced tourist camps.

"The greatest amount of assistance given the person who comes to the attention of the community is in the majority of cases only overnight shelter, one or two meals, and sufficient gasoline to get to the next community. Those in need of medical attention are given emergency assistance or temporary medical care in a few communities.

"Migrant children have little or no opportunity for education, and lack clothing to attend school even if facilities are available.

"The following information was received from county workers of the local relief offices and city and county officials in Clay and Montague Counties:

" 'These counties do not attract migrants because there is no demand for extra farm labor. There are 2 through highways and the 250 families and units receiving assistance each year are usually stranded for short periods because of economic and health reasons. A few stop with relatives and stay a longer period. They travel by automobiles, wagons, and on foot. There has been an increase in the number for the past few years because of the lack of employment opportunities.

" 'In Clay County emergency food orders are issued and limited amounts of gasoline furnished. No provisions are made for shelter. Medical attention is not available. In cases of childbirth the county doctor delivers the patient, but it is usually on the side of the road or in a car. Tuberculosis, pellagra, and malnutrition are some of the dietary diseases which present health problems.

" 'There are about 20 professional beggars among the number annually coming to the attention of county workers of the local relief office and other officials in Clay County. These travel in car trailers and automobiles; a few walk. They send their children from house to house begging. Some of them feign blindness and lameness. Petty thieving is frequent and the offenders are apprehended. County workers state that the children of migrant families never attend school and church. These families were not beggars until the economic situation became so bad, according to our informants.

" 'Montague County furnishes food and shelter when it is necessary for short periods of time. Hospitalization is paid for by county funds in dire emergencies. Appendicitis, pneumonia, and maternity cases are the more frequent emergencies. A number of the families have established their residences in the county and are good citizens. There are few thefts among the migrants and no crime on record. The children do not have school and church advantages.'

"The following reports are from Haskell, Knox, Young, Wise, Archer, Wichita, Parker, Palo Pinto, Jack, Baylor, Eastland, Callahan, Stephens, Shackelford, Throckmorton, Wilbarger, Foard, Hardeman, and Tarrant Counties:

" 'A few Mexicans migrate to Haskell and Knox Counties, however, they are transported by the employer; the cost of transportation being deducted from their salary which is $1.25 a day.

" 'In Young County oil field workers who came to town during the oil boom 5 years ago remained, supporting themselves with irregular work in the oil fields. Now, due to the shut-down in this work, they are making application to Work Projects Administration.

" 'In Wise County very few transients apply for public aid. The county judge said that the few who do are professional beggars. No help is given them. They are never given meals or gasoline. When someone becomes ill, the judge sends that person to the county farm where he can be cared for by the county doctor. The judge thinks that to help such people encourages other transients.

" 'According to the superintendent of Wise County schools the school census showed an occasional farm family moving into the county and then out before the next census. The secretary of the chamber of commerce and the county worker of the local relief office also reported that a few farm families moved into the county, and then became dependent on the county for aid. Most of these people make application for Work Projects Administration, according to the county worker.

" 'The Mexican families who work in the Bridgeport mines are self-supporting and never ask for public aid. They have legal residence in Bridgeport, but go to Wisconsin during the season to work in the beet fields.

" 'In Wichita County the one agency that assists transients is the Salvation Army. All other agencies refer transients asking assistance to this source. Only in emergency cases does the county welfare office give any help, even in emergencies the only assistance given is grocery stamps.

" 'The Salvation Army provides maintenance for 24 hours, longer in some cases. There a bed and two meals are given to the transient. They have a cot house for the men located near the Salvation Army headquarters. The women's quarters are in the same building with the kitchen and other offices. When necessary the army arranges for medical care through the city health department. When a transient family with a car is stranded, gas and groceries are given to the family. The largest number of people are serviced during the fall and winter months. Many of these are "bums constantly on the go." However, there are some earnestly seeking employment, having become jobless in their native locale. The Salvation Army worker who has charge of the women's quarters and the kitchen stated that in all her contact with these migrating families, she has never heard them mention schooling for their children. They usually attend religious services provided by the Salvation Army while they are being given assistance. The Salvation Army is financially assisted in this work by the local community chest.

" 'The county case worker in charge at the local relief office stated that few referrals for Work Projects Administration are taken on these families. Every effort is made to return the families to their legal residences. "They must have a good reason for being here" to be referred for Work Projects Administration or given any kind of county assistance. This is done in accordance with instructions from the commissioners court.

" 'According to the city-county health office, transients presenting health problems in Wichita Falls are usually referred to health officials by the Salvation Army, and are given necessary emergency or medical treatments at the office or at the general hospital. The most common ailments for which they request medical treatment are cuts, bruises, blistered heels, and overexposure. The health department states that most transients treated there are suffering from malnutrition. The venereal clinic treats all transients who are in need of and who request treatments.

" 'According o the local Texas State Employment Office, there were 2,161 initial and continuing out-of-State claims filed for unemployment compensation from January until August 1939. During the same period in 1940 there were 3,280 claims filed, showing that there have been more unemployed out-of-State workers in this area in 1940 than in 1939. The Texas State Employment Service representative states that most of the claimants are unemployed oil-field workers.

" 'Although this is not an outstanding cotton area, the Texas State Employment Service estimates that 4,000 to 5,000 cotton pickers pass through each fall en route to fields in the Panhandle or in south Texas. Only 400 to 500 remain long enough to do any work here. The wage scale last fall was 50 cents per 100 pounds; most of the families "camped out" in their cars and tents. The cotton-picking season in this county usually lasts from the first part of September until the latter part of October. At that time the pickers usually migrate to the Panhandle section.

" 'The city police department reports that thefts are much more severe in the fall and winter than in the other seasons. This is attributed to the increased need of local low-income families during cold weather and to the increased number of transients during those seasons. The officials state that most thefts among transients consist of pilfering, stealing articles from unlocked cars, and occasional housebreakings.

" 'During the fall in Wilbarger County there is always more migration among agricultural workers than at any other time of the year. In this vicinity there is a great amount of cotton grown yearly and seasonal farm laborers begin to migrate here in order to secure this employment, which lasts, as a rule, until the end of December. While this employment is available the individual families are able to sustain themselves adequately; each member picking cotton averages $1.25 per day, and there are always four or five persons in every family capable of doing this type of work.

" 'After this work is over, there is no other employment available. It is at this time of the year that these migrating families are compelled to seek public aid. They can secure only one grocery order in Wilbarger County, and the county will furnish them with sufficient gasoline to return to their legal residence. If these persons refuse to return to their locales, there is the county welfare farm in this county, which provides one-room houses for families unable to pay rent. According to the county worker of the county welfare office, persons do not remain on this farm long, as the living conditions are extremely crowded.

" 'This locality also has a community welfare association, which is sponsored by the citizens and merchants. These persons contribute to this organization and the funds are used to assist migrating and destitute families by furnishing groceries temporarily during the time they are stranded here.

" 'During cotton picking the living conditions are usually crowded. Some landowners have tenant houses in which employees may live. Others have no facilities whatsoever; thus the workers and their families are forced to live in tents or out in the open with no shelter at all. It is when this type of living conditions prevail that there is always poor sanitation and possibility of diseases spreading rapidly. The county physician and nurse's services are available to transients when medical attention is needed.

" 'There is not a Travelers' Aid nor Salvation Army in Wilbarger County. The county welfare worker and county judge issue all assistance of this type. According to the county welfare worker, the problem of migration is not a great one in this section of the State. According to the statistics the county welfare worker has on record, an average of about six transient families a month seek assistance. There is such a large percent of persons living in this immediate section who depend on seasonal farm work, and do obtain it yearly, that there is generally a comparatively small number of migrating families who come to this locality.

" 'According to a representative of the Texas State Employment Service in Tarrant County, this agency does not register migrants; therefore, they have no record of the number that ask them for information and service each month. However, migrant farm laborers, especially cotton pickers, often come to the office and ask about the best place in Texas to go to pick cotton.

" 'According to a representative of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce there are approximately 200 families living in tents, tin shacks, and trailers. Most of these people are dispossessed tenant farmers who have quit the road. They live in squalor. If their medical and food needs become acute, they apply for help at city welfare or the Salvation Army. However, at times they seem to lack the energy to ask for help. Petty thieving exists only to a small degree. The children usually do not attend school nor does the family go to church.

" 'The city welfare department in Fort Worth does not give direct assistance to migrant workers and very little emergency aid in issuing grocery orders. The city welfare helps with Government commodities and works out plans with the Salvation Army for their care until their legal residence is established and verified. City welfare attempts to verify their legal residence and makes plans for their return. City welfare may return them by bus or train, with charity rates. If they have a car, city welfare will buy oil and gasoline. If they have household furnishings, they are sent by truck.

" 'According to the social worker of the Salvation Army in Tarrant County, 10 percent of the people who come to her attention are migrating farmers who usually originate from Louisiana, Mississippi, and some from Arkansas. Very few find employment, as Mexicans and Negroes are used almost exclusively in this section. The majority of the people are single men, or, if married, have left their families at home while they look for work. Some have heard that Texas is rich in oil and come hoping to get rich in the oil fields.

" 'About 40 percent suffer from malnutrition. They have had to beg for food; have lived in "jungles" and eaten "pot luck." Many are tubercular, coming here in search of better climatic conditions. They are health hazards as they usually crowd in with relatives, if they have any here, or friends made on the road. Many have impetigo and social diseases and cause these diseases to spread because of their manner of living. When those suffering with social diseases come to the attention of the Salvation Army, they are given room and board so that they can take treatment until they are past the infectious stage. The Salvation Army also arranges for medical attention in emergency cases at the City-County Hospital.

" 'The majority of transients who linger in Fort Worth live in the "jungle" or under the two large bridges in the city. Under the bridge the flat concrete serves as the floor and the concrete supports of the bridge make the walls. Tin and wood from old boxes serve to fill in the remaining spaces. Usually bedding and an old stove are the only furnishings, the bedding consisting of old rags. There are no sanitary facilities. Old and young sleep on the same pallets.

" 'Recently a family of nine came to the attention of the Salvation Army. The father came to ask for help. Since the Salvation Army has a regulation that the entire family must be present when help is requested, the father apologized for having to ask the social worker to walk with him to his old, battered car to interview the other members of the family. She did so and found the reason they were unable to come in person was that they did not have sufficient clothing to cover them.

" 'The majority of those coming to the attention of the social worker of the Salvation Army are illiterate. Some have third- and fourth-grade educations.

" 'It is the opinion of the Fort Worth Chief of Police that crime increases where transients are concentrated. He stated there were 57 convicted transients during the year of 1935 (when transient bureaus were in existence) with charges varying from robbery to murder. They had more petty thefts and general crime during that time than at any previous or present period. There has been a steady decrease in the number of migrants brought to the attention of the police department since the transient bureaus were abandoned.

" 'His experience during the last 3 or 4 years has indicated that those transients above 17 years of age who have come to the attention of the police department are definitely "bums." The majority have criminal records behind them and have no plan except to wander and "avoid the law." The majority are arrested on petty theft charges and are held only temporarily in jail. They do not desire work and refuse a job if one is offered them. The general direction of transients in Fort Worth is from east to west and west to east since it is a gateway city on the principal highways. There are very few family transients at the present time.

" 'It was estimated that the individuals in the police department contribute about $15 per month for meals and gasoline for transients.

" 'Those under 17 years of age are cared for by the juvenile department. This department handled 128 run-away boys and 40 run-away girls during the year of 1939, 20 percent of whom were Negroes and 5 percent Mexicans. These boys and girls are picked up by the police department, usually at night while loitering on the streets, and are confined in the juvenile ward. Attempts are made to contact parents through the juvenile officers in the city from which the children have migrated. There are no transportation funds available locally except in an emergency where the child is small and the parents cannot come for him. Occasionally the commissioners' court will appropriate transportation and occasionally the city welfare will assist. The older boys are merely taken to the edge of town and told to leave. The Travelers' Aid assists with the solution of problems occurring in connection with girls. In the majority of cases, however, the parents or the juvenile authorities in the city from which the children migrated provide transportation home. In very few instances do the juvenile boys wish to continue transiency. They are usually anxious to return home after a few days on the road. There was no estimate available on the number of juveniles who leave home two or three times. They believe the second and third offenders to be a small proportion of the load, however. The majority of the boys are of the poor class and leave because of financial difficulty at home, lack of congeniality, and lack of parental supervision. They come from nearby States in search of jobs. Very few have high-school education, and the majority have completed about the fifth or sixth grade. No provision is made for school attendance while in Fort Worth. Only occasionally does the juvenile officer have contact with a child in poor health. The only problem related to health seems to be a question of cleanliness. Some leave home to keep from attending school but this is not a major problem. As a general rule there are more transient juveniles in the spring and fall. The officer had no explanation of this increase except that weather conditions are better at those times. If no provision can be made for transportation of run-aways to their homes they are "turned loose" to provide for themselves the best way possible. None of these boys have had work experiences. They usually are traveling in groups of two or three. They have no definite plans as to their future and are usually glad to return home. A very few have been sent to the training school for boys due to a lack of better facilities for their care. The only crime prevalent among this group is petty theft for food. The majority have been without food for a day or two when taken into custody. Negro boys are referred to the Negro Young Men's Christian Association. There are very few foreigners among this group. The majority are from urban centers where boys from poor homes take this alternative to remedy their living conditions. The boys who migrate from Fort Worth usually return in a few days.

" 'Most of the transient girls who come to the attention of the juvenile officer are girls who have quit school in the fifth or sixth grades due to heavy school fees in the higher grades and a lack of proper clothing. No training school or detention home is available for Negro girls under 18 in the State of Texas. A bill has been passed but no appropriation has been made to provide these facilities. In an emergency the Negro Young Men's Christian Association will secure temporary private care for a Negro girl. Pregnant girls are referred to the Volunteers of America for service. Girls who have a venereal disease are not accepted in any local public agency. They have to provide their own room and board and are referred to the United States Public Health Service Clinic for treatment. If they become noninfectious the Volunteers of America or the Girls

Service League will accept destitute girls for temporary care. A large number of girls migrate to Fort Worth purposely to secure treatment at the United States Public Health Service Clinic. They are usually returned to their homes and arrangements are made with the clinic to send by mail the necessary supplies for treatment. The average age of girls brought to the attention of the juvenile department is 13 to 16.

" 'The transients cared for by the Girls Service League are given overnight care and are encouraged to stabilize themselves. This agency attempts to limit their applicants to destitute girls about 30 years of age, referring the older women and families to the Salvation Army and the pregnant girls to the Volunteers of America. The older women, if employable, are accepted on a temporary basis. Many of the nonresident girls have paid bus fares or railway fares in order to come to Fort Worth in search of work and only need help until they can find a job. They usually find employment within a short time. There are no provisions for Negro girls. The Girls Service League also maintains a permanent residence for girls of the low-income group, after a transient girl has become stable but is not entirely self supporting. The Girls Service League cooperates with the Travelers Aid Society and the City Welfare in making plans to return the girls to their homes. All public agencies refer girls to this organization. Some are bordering on delinquency and a few have been convicted on petty theft charges, but it appears that this organization comes in contact with a much higher type of migrant than most agencies. Most of the girls have had work experience in cafes or housework, and they have had numerous persons with college education, a few undergraduate nurses, a few school teachers, and a few stenographers. While some consider their transiency an adventure there are just as many who have a horror of being stranded away from home. This organization does not accept a girl who is known to have a venereal disease. She is required to take enough treatments to become noninfectious before they will accept her. This organization considers their best work is done when they are able to help a girl reenter school. Any plan that is made with a girl under 18 is made through cooperation with the parents of the girl in another city. Many of the girls accepted for help are nearly prostrated from hunger and many are suffering from bad colds. Medical aid is available in an emergency through the City-County Hospital and a private clinic. This organization maintains its own placement agency. The majority of the girls who have family ties are glad to return home. Those who have no human ties are encouraged to consider this as their home.

" 'The head of the Mexican Presbyterian Mission reports that some Mexican families in Tarrant County leave this locality to go to the beet fields and the onion fields. Fifteen years ago Fort Worth was considered the employment center for such workers. Trucks from many States came here to pick up scores of workers who were transported to such States as Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan, When these families arrived at their destination about the beginning of May they found a house with some furniture and a stove provided by their employer. Work was assigned to families by the acre, and they received pay by the acre for clearing the field and harvesting the crop. In between planting and harvesting workers could seek other employment, and each member earned from $25 to $30 per season. At that time medical care was frequently provided by the employer. The children of such workers practically never attended school. Gradually, however, the wage scale has been depressed until an entire family may spend from May until December working the fields and average only $175 per season. No longer do they receive medical treatment or have stoves furnished. Employers discourage sick or injured employees from remaining on the place since only able-bodied workers are wanted. Instances of injustice have been reported, such as the appropriation of the cars of migrant workers who were unable to pay a reputed tax or license fee of $30 to $50 for using the roads of one Oklahoma county. The technical grounds claimed in this case were that private cars were being used as public carriers, whereas in every instance the group in the car consisted of relatives. Employers have also instituted the practice of paying lower wages with the promise of a bonus if the yield justifies one. In nearly every case the bonus was never paid.

" 'A study made of the workers who habitually migrate to the beet and onion fields revealed that not a single child of the entire group had graduated from high school. Since this is the situation and in view of the increasingly less favorable working conditions, leaders of the Anglo-American group have greatly discouraged the practice of migrant agricultural labor. At the present time it is estimated that not over 30 families in Tarrant County continue to migrate each spring.

" 'Eastland and Callahan Counties have no industries which boast of large pay rolls, and the farm labor is so limited that there is no incentive for migratory families to settle or even stop here. Transient families who are on the road looking for work usually pass through without stopping unless they are in need of food or gasoline.

" 'In Eastland County the city manager or the chamber of commerce usually gives enough gasoline to stranded families to get them out of the county. This is done in only the most needy cases, and the orders are recommended by the county worker.

" 'In Callahan County this same practice is followed except that the county worker has the full responsibility of issuing.

" 'In Eastland County the average number a month assisted is 3, and in Callahan County the average is 12.

" 'Migration is not a great problem in either Palo Alto or Jack County. According to the county workers there are never more than 12 or 15 transients each year who find their way into the relief office in either county. The county offers no assistance to these people other than occasionally furnishing them transportation home.

" 'In Parker County the problem of handling transients and migrant workers is principally in the hands of the chief of police of Weatherford. City officers arrest a number of them for vagrancy. According to the chief of police, the reason for the presence of the migrants is that Weatherford is on the direct highway and railroad to California.

" 'When questioned regarding the type of people he contacted, he said that they were mostly a very low type of white families. He has seen few Mexicans and very few Negroes. Most of these families pass through during the fall and winter. They work in the groves of California, or are following the cotton harvest westward. The few people who remain in Weatherford do so only during the time when produce is abundant. Some steal or beg vegetables from the farmers and merchants. Most transients do not remain in Parker County to look for work. They stop for food and temporary shelter, and the main object of the city officials is to get them out as soon as possible. The chief of police gives them 3 gallons of gasoline, a few groceries, which consist of lunch meat and bread, and when there are children, milk and cake. Three gallons of gas, they figure, will carry these people well out of the county. The city does not finance this aid. It is furnished by an organization called the United Charities. Contributions to this organization come from the principal business people and merchants of the town. Dispensation of the organization funds is left entirely to the discretion of the city chief of police.

" 'There is not a great deal of vagrancy, but the few people who get into trouble are put in jail if they are unable to pay the fine required for their offense. However, if a single person refuses to leave the town when he is requested to do so, he also is put in jail.

" 'When a person comes through town who is very much diseased, the city does not attempt to give such a person medical aid. Instead, he is driven 6 or 8 miles out of town and left on the highway.

" 'All transients who give trouble are registered, searched, and sent to the county jail to be fingerprinted. One evening 600 transients were searched and in all only $6 was found. Several years ago they cared for 52 men in 1 night but now, the chief of police states, conditions are much better since by providing work the Work Projects Administration has helped to keep people in their own communities. No medical aid is given transients, except in emergency. No provision is made for hospitalization or care in case of illness or childbirth. Relief is given only where it is absolutely necessary.

" 'On the first Monday in every month they have trade day in Parker County. People come from all over the county and from outside the county. They start gathering on Saturday before this first Monday and at that time the county has its worst trouble with transients and vagrants. A certain class of transients comes into town Saturday before the trade day and beg and sell pencils on the streets. They are the only transients that the chief of police knows who attend church. They usually attend a Methodist or Baptist service and then do a very profitable business of begging after church is over.

" 'The county superintendent of schools reported that some provision is made in the rural schools for the children who have to miss school because their parents take them to the cotton patch. When Parker County children return from the cotton patch they are given every consideration. They are put in the grade in which they belong, and they are given extra help if they are unable to keep up with their class. They can either make this work up in school or at home. The teachers use their own discretion in cases of this sort and such consideration is generally given only to children of "responsible" people. These children, they feel, miss school because of necessity and the manner in which their families make a living. The child who misses 3 or 4 months of schooling because his family moves about indiscriminately is not given this consideration and must take his chance of passing. The superintendent said that families who are "responsible" are allowed to check books out for their children while they are in the cotton patch and in the last week many books had been checked out for this reason.

" 'The county sheriff said that the county had no funds for transients or migrant workers. The funds available in the county are used for indigents within the limits of the county. Crimes of theft, petty larceny, and burglary go through the county court. Offenders are warranted a fine or jail sentence. If given a jail sentence, they are placed in the county jail, but are not given labor to do. Each transient is fingerprinted and prints are sent both to the State office in Austin and Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington. The few migrants who have courage enough to remain in town stay in a camp under a viaduct which is located on the east side of town. This camp is known as the "Jungle" there. As long as visitors don't disturb the peace, they are a law unto themselves. It is said that many of these people eat discarded produce and garbage from the nearby public market.

" 'The secretary of the chamber of commerce said that migrant labor does not represent a problem in Parker County. Local labor is sufficient to plant and harvest crops. The only people who come in to help with the harvest are young students who help during vacation with the peach harvest. They are financially able to look after themselves. The county agent gives very much the same report as the secretary of the chamber of commerce; however, he said that in the near future it might represent a labor problem since the peach harvest was growing so much. Most farmers, he said, made their harvest by hiring local people, or "swap" labor. There had been instances of truckers coming into the community and helping with a fruit harvest. They carry their families on the truck with them. They are, however, financially able to care for themselves while they stay inthe community and do not ask for public aid.

" 'The county case worker reports that the county has no funds for transients. On the few occasions that transients have applied at the local relief office for assistance, they have been referred to the sheriff's office. It would not be practical for them to administer relief since all cases requesting food or commodities must be endorsed by the department of public-welfare supervisor who contacts the local office only periodically. In the fall quite a few Parker County people leave the county to pick cotton in west Texas. The county workers say that very few of these people have to be returned at the expense of the county where they are stranded. In the last 4 or 5 months Parker County has sent for only three families, all stranded in California.

" 'The Red Cross is the only agency or organization responding to requests for assistance of migrants in Stephens County. However, the chamber of commerce and county cooperate when the need of a migrant family is in excess of the amount that can be granted by that agency. An average of eight applications come to the attention of the Red Cross worker each month with an average monthly expenditure of $16. Food and lodging are provided for 1 night, and travelers must pass on the following day. Four doctors cooperate by giving medical attention. Medicine is purchased with Red Cross funds. No plan is made for hospitalization.

" 'Most of the migrant workers are traveling to Arizona or California. When they pass through on their return trip they tell of their delusion concerning employment. Others are on their way to El Paso with the expectation the climate will be beneficial to their tubercular condition. Persons who leave this locale usually go to west or south Texas to obtain seasonal employment. On their return they tell of "roughing it" while away and by this mode of living were able to save enough money to buy a supply of groceries and shoes for the children of school age. They have no plans other than to apply for Work Projects Administration reassignment upon their return.

" 'We have information that the extent of migration in Shackelford County is small. An average of three migratory workers apply for assistance each month. All applications are referred to the county social worker, and with the approval of the county judge or commissioners, food and gasoline are provided in order to "get them out of the county as quickly as possible." Medical aid and medicine are provided for those who are ill. No hospitalization is available.

" 'Throckmorton County has an average of five migratory applications for assistance each month with an average monthly expenditure of $10 for this purpose. Food, gasoline, medical care, and repairs on cars are included in requests and grants. It is reported that the children of these families are undernourished, as they do not have milk or an adequate diet. The county judge interviews those in need and makes necessary investigations in practically all cases. The county worker cooperates if her services are requested. The expense of the grants are paid by the county.' "

South Plains

Mary M. Bowers, district supervisor of intake and certification for Work Projects Administration in the Lubbock area, reports on migrant workers as follows:

"The cotton center in the South Plains area is Lubbock. Consequently during the cotton season large numbers of migratory agricultural workers come to this section. No data are available on the number of workers who come here. However, there is little variation in the influx from year to year. The majority of these workers come from south Texas where they have been following this type of seasonal work in the various localities as it is available; others come from Oklahoma.

"In the fall of 1939 there was a period of 10 days to 2 weeks between the closing of the cotton season around Waco, Dallas, and Fort Worth, and the opening of the season in and around Lubbock. However, an unprecedented grain crop of 'row feed' provided employment for many of these migratory workers until the cotton season opened.

"Cotton-picking season begins about October 10 and the last scattered part of the crop is pulled by the end of December. This season, of course, is dependent on the extent of the crop.

"Migrant workers begin their influx around the middle of September. By the middle of October on the roads are all makes of rickety cars filled with families and workers on their way to pull cotton. Those workers who travel in family groups usually provide themselves with supplies and equipment. Some live in cotton pickers' shacks on the land of the farmer in whose field they obtain work; some camp on the free lots provided by the various towns; some camp beside the highway; some live with friends.

"The conditions under which these workers live vary. Those who live in cotton pickers' shacks have only bare shelter. Frequently, the house itself is in a state of dilapidation. Few sanitation facilities are present. Free lots are provided by the different cities throughout this area. In Lubbock the parking space at the fair grounds is available to these migrant workers. Water is accessible. There are two pit-type toilets available for the entire group; no bathing facilities are provided. The Texas State Employment Service stations a routing office at this lot and the workers are sent to farmers who have fields of cotton to pull.

"It has been apparent in the last few years that there are fewer migrant white families than previously. Approximately 60 percent of the migrant workers who come to this area are Mexican laborers who travel with labor contractors. El Capitan, the labor contractor, brings a large number of workers here by truck. He is the contact man who handles all the business arrangements for the group. He provides the farmer with labor, weighs the cotton, keeps a record of the amount of each worker's picking, and hauls the cotton to the gin. The laborer receives from 40 to 50 cents per 100 pounds; El Capitan receives 10 cents per 100 pounds for his work.

"The food eaten by these workers depends largely on weather conditions. If the weather is good and a day's work available, the workers eat well. However, if the weather is bad, many times they apply to city and county officials for food and surplus commodities.

"Health, particularly among the Mexican group, is bad. A great percentage of the Mexican cotton pickers have tuberculosis or venereal disease. There are two Mexican families in Lubbock now who came here in the fall of 1939 to pull cotton. In both families active tuberculosis prevented the families from moving on. Now the county is providing food.

"Most of the children in these families do not attend school during this season because they are needed in the field to work. They do not attend church because of inadequate clothing.

"The sheriff's office reports that during cotton season petty thieving increases 100 percent and is particularly prevalent on Saturday night.

"Although the primary agricultural work available in this area is cotton pulling, there is also grain harvesting in September, October, and November. From June 10 to July 10 the wheat harvest is in full swing on the north plains. Many farm laborers from this section go to the north plains for the duration of the harvest. The men go singly, leaving their families in residence.

"When cotton season is over, the workers, presumably, return to their homes. However, there are some who remain stranded in the various counties. The county then must assist these families with food. Some remain and apply for certification to Work Projects Administration; others are given transportation to get out of the county."

Northeast Texas (A)

Work Projects Administration's Marshall District includes 24 Texas counties in the northeastern section of the State. Reporting on conditions in the southern portion of this block of counties, social worker Louis A. Townsend writes:

"During the last 3 years the problem of the migrant worker has become of less and less importance in the part of deep east Texas that makes up the southern half of Work Projects Administration, District No. 1.

"The county case worker of Shelby County reports that her agency, this year, authorized return of 25 families from other States, chiefly California. Most of these families have been away from Shelby County for some 4 or 5 years, but have been unable to meet residence requirements in other States when forced to request relief. The number of returns authorized in all counties of the area is materially smaller this year than it has been in the last 3 years.

"Not only is the number of persons leaving east Texas to find seasonal work smaller than it has been since the depression period began, but the number of itinerant workers coming into or passing through the section has dropped to almost nothing.

"Almost all of the counties in the section from Panola County on the north and from the Louisiana line on the east to Jasper and Newton Counties on the south and Nacogdoches and Cherokee Counties on the west, have largely the same type of soil and the same basic economic and agricultural problems. Chief among the characteristics of the farms in these counties is their never varying smallness. The country is peopled with stranded sawmill workers turned farmer on a small scale. There is a great number of these small units and each unit can be worked with only a part of each man's time. For this reason there is a surplus of labor that causes the migrant farm laborer to avoid the section.

"Another reason there is almost no migration among the population of east Texas is the changing aspects of the lumber industry. As previously stated, the entire section was originally populated by sawmill workers. Now, almost every farm can furnish an experienced sawmill worker should the demand for such workers increase. Occasionally, as happened this year in Tyler County, a mill will cut out a section of timber and move, often to another county. When that happens, many of the workers will move with the mill, but they will move to a full time job and a home in a company house.

"Road builders often move all or part of their workers into the section when working on east Texas contracts. These workers, as with the sawmill workers, can hardly be called migratory laborers as they have a degree of security and may be expected to move on to another job with the same contractor.

"The section under discussion sent large numbers of workers into the oil fields of east Texas not many years ago. Many have returned; others have made their homes there. There is now almost no traffic between the oil fields of Texas and the farms of east Texas. The few people still going to the oil fields are young persons strong enough to take the hard work required, and they usually have no family.

"Although there is almost no problem in this part of east Texas as regards migrant labor, the fact that the problem is so unimportant, generally, does not affect the suffering of the few families from each county who do join the annual pilgrimage to the cotton fields of south and west Texas and of Mississippi.

"The average family which goes to the cotton fields is over large. The transportation is always uncertain, dangerous, and expensive. A large part of all earnings must go into oil, gasoline, tires, and repairs as the family must move with the crop. One family which went west to pick cotton told of hardships common to most such groups. Almost all of the family bedding went along; very little else of the household furniture could be carried. Everything was loaded into or on an old Chevrolet touring car, and on top of that went the family of eight. The children were from 3 to 15 years of age. Four of them should have been in school.

"The trip was one of a long series of car troubles and ended some 75 miles short of their original destination when the tires refused to go farther. For six weeks the family found work on the farm in front of which their car had died and in the neighboring fields. The cotton in that central Texas section was not good and though it reduced the family earnings, it kept other migrant families out of the section.

"When the family first pulled in to the farm that was to be their home for 6 weeks, there was no food for another meal and no money to buy any with. The farmer took a chance and advanced a few days' pay in the form of flour, lard, and bacon.

"The family was allowed to sleep in a smokehouse, but lived and cooked around a fire by their car in a small grove of woods. The menu was simple. Mostly it consisted of dried beans, flour gravy, hoe-cake bread, and occasional bits of salt bacon.

"All members went to the field. The two younger children played near the wagon but the others worked.

"At the end of 6 weeks this family had made enough to put tires on the car, buy food and gas to return home. The fall rains set in the last week of work and the family started east.

"They did get home but three of the children were ill; most of their bedding was ruined by hard wear and rain. None of the children went to school the first half of the year. Neither the youngest nor the oldest child returned at all that year. The youngest was ill, the oldest found a small job.

"This family will not go again to the uncertainties of life on the road. The man prefers the prospects of Work Projects Administration work, odd days of farm labor, and perhaps direct relief to the sorrows, the exposure, and the suffering he saw his wife and children undergo."

Northeast Texas (B)

The northern half of the Marshall Work Projects Administration district is covered in the following report from Thelma Watson, senior social worker:

"The report on migration submitted to you by Mr. Louis Townsend fairly pictures the story for the southern half of District No. 1, but this picture changes somewhat for the northern half, which contains the oil fields, the larger towns, and the more important agricultural areas. With the assistance of Mr. George Samuels and Mr. Gill Barnett, an attempt has been made to outline the picture for this part of the district.

"There is comparatively little migration, either into or out of the area, with the exception of Gregg County (and, to a lesser extent, Rusk County) at this time. Since the first of the year approximately 600 families have moved out of Gregg County and gone to Illinois oil fields. These people were regular oil-field workers who always "follow the fields." Most of them had been in east Texas since the early days of the oil boom here, but moving on to the next boom is a normal way of life for them. About half of those who moved had definite jobs waiting for them but the other half were only hopeful of finding something when they got there and, having been out of employment overlong in the east Texas field, were willing to take a chance of securing work. In most of these cases the whole family was moved by car, as finances were very limited and it was too expensive to leave a household behind to be supported. The trip itself was usually not too uncomfortable, as the cars on the whole were better than those used by the average migrant, but housing at the end of the journey was an acute problem. The scarcity and outrageously high cost of shelter, characteristic of the early days of any oil field, forced these people to camp out in tents, shacks, or whatever flimsy shelter they could provide for themselves, with no running water and no sanitary facilities in most cases. Food costs were excessive and jobs made doubly difficult to secure, due to the fact that the Illinois field is strongly unionized by Congress of Industrial Organizations, and many of the workers were unable to pay the $50 membership fee required. If they did secure work, wages were good—$4.50 to $6 a day—but regularity of work was not assured.

"These families have returned in large numbers—a few voluntarily, but many more were returned by agencies, public and private. Some of them are reluctant to come back. They miss the excitement of the boom, and feel sure they would eventually have found work, had they been allowed to stay. Others, especially the ones who have the larger families, seem willing to join again the stranded population of a county which at least provides adequate medical services, where costs are lower and housing available, and where they can look forward to Work Projects Administration employment, if nothing else.

"Migration of agricultural laborers out of the district has materially decreased in the last several years, but it has not stopped. Each fall an appreciable number of people leave for cotton picking, most of them going west and following the harvest as far as New Mexico. The most common procedure is to move out by families, traveling in impossible looking jalopies hung with bedding, cook vessels, and miscellaneous bundles. In a good year a large family can make a fair profit on a 'cotton pick' if they use good judgment in selecting their destinations. They report they are paid from 50 to 80 cents per 100 pounds for pulling bolls, and 300 pounds a day is about average for an adult.

"Housing is very uncertain. On many of the farms the pickers live in sheds or barracks, but not infrequently they have to camp out by the roadside en route, and in the fields or woods when they arrive. Even if they live in barracks they usually have to cook outside. Their diet is about the same as a home meal—side meat, peas, corn meal—except that they are less apt to get fresh vegetables, and more likely to have treats such as store bread, sardines, and cheese.

"A 'pick' is considered a success if the family supports itself until the return home, and has been able to buy clothing for the winter. Some families earn enough to support themselves through the winter, but they appear to be a marked minority. The average picker, on his return, is usually very little better or worse off than before he migrated. If the weather wasn't too bad and if there was no sickness, the families seem to enjoy the adventure and excitement of their trip. However, very bad weather causes them acute discomfort and frequent illness because of the inadequacy of shelter and sanitation. None of those who have spoken of illness that has developed during their trips have been able to secure medical attention except in the most acute emergencies. However, it must be noted that this would have been true had they remained at home, in most of the counties of this district.

"These families normally plan to remain in the community from which they left, working on Work Projects Administration or doing odd jobs and farm labor, until the next fall, when many of them will go west again.

"Trucks from the west come into these counties in the fall, also, and pick up men who are either single or plan to leave their families at home. The truck owner makes his profit from the charge he makes for transportation, and his tour through the cotton fields is apt to be well organized, as he knows where to take the men, and usually has contracts to furnish pickers; 50 cents a day is his usual charge, and the men have to get themselves home. They are fortunate to be able to do this with enough money in their pockets to buy school clothes for their children.

"There is a small, third class of migrants familiar to us in our relatively prosperous counties: the families who are perpetually on the move, remaining for a few months here, on their way from no place in particular to no place in particular—camping along the sides of the roads, living in decrepit trailers, or jerry-built shacks of tarpaper, old boards and tin. They go about in groups, or send the children out alone, peddling paper flowers, plaster dogs, baskets or similar indispensible articles. They are usually dirty and anemic looking, inadequately clothed, and frequently scabious. If they become known to the relief agencies it is never possible to make any kind of plan with them, as they are sure to move on again, sooner or later.

"Of each migrant group these things may be said: school attendance is irregular and infrequent; health hazards are great and sanitation poor, and they develop no ties with any social institutions, churches, schools, or community groups, while they are on the road."

Texas Panhandle

A. A. Meredith, Work Projects Administration district manager for the Amarillo territory embracing 26 counties in the Texas Panhandle, describes the situation of migrant workers in that area as follows:

"The situation in our district is somewhat different from that in many other sections of the State. We have two harvests in this section that furnish temporary seasonable employment. The wheat harvest in the latter part of June and the first part of July, and the cotton harvest which starts usually around the middle of September and may continue until around Christmas or until shortly after.

"In the wheat harvest in this section of the country there is very little call for outside labor. This harvest is largely handled with Panhandle people moving from one county to another, but they are not truly a migratory group. Usually we have a small percentage of workers from Kansas and Oklahoma who make the wheat harvest in this section. Due to the fact that our wheat harvest in this section calls for semiskilled types of labor, since it is mechanized by the use of combines and tractors, it does not attract and make employment for the usual migratory workers.

"Our cotton harvest is of the type of work which attracts migratory workers. The large part of our cotton in this district is grown in 8 of our counties; namely, Hall, Childress, Collingsworth, Wheeler, Donley, Parmer, Briscoe, and Gray. During the 1939 cotton harvest season the Texas State Employment Service made placements of approximately 5,000 cotton pickers in that territory. This, of course, does not mean there were 5,000 individuals placed, as many individuals and groups were given placements as high as 5 or 6 times, and it does not represent a migratory group of this number, as in all probability the larger percentage of those placements were either local residents or those who came from an adjoining county to make this harvest. The Texas State Employment Service records do not disclose what percentage of their placements were local or what were outside labor.

"We do not have in this district the large congregation of migratory labor during the cotton season that is prevalent in many other sections of the State even adjacent district 17 (Lubboch) to the south of us. The problems that other sections are confronted with in regard to the health, crime and living condition of large groups of migratory labor are not so prevalent in this district. We have cases where the workers in our cotton fields are camping out-of-doors, in tents, or even in the open during the picking season. We have seen families or groups of these workers living in this condition or camping out in shacks that were wholly unsuited for human habitation. Windows and cracks had been closed with pieces of cardboard. Roofs leaked in event of rain so that protection was wholly inadequate for human beings. In most of these instances conditions were so crowded that it was wholly unsanitary even if the buildings had been suitable for human habitation. While we are unable to furnish any accurate information as to the number of people that have lived under these conditions in this section during the harvest season or as to the number of children accompanying them and the births that may have occurred, we do know that such conditions have existed.

"This group of people do not have adequate medical attention, since under the rules governing the operation of county and city health officials in most counties, local health services are not readily made available to them. Facilities for the preparation and serving of food is inadequate and their diets are far from balanced.

"Because of the conditions under which these people are living and the lack of their feeling of responsibility to the locality in which they are working due to the very temporary residence they have in the community, many of them are guilty of committing petty thievery and many use a portion of their week's wages on Saturday night for a spree in town with the resultant filling of local jails over the week-end with men and women both charged with intoxication and other small crimes.

"Due to the life that is led by this group of people and the fact that their residence in one locality is of such short duration, the children of these families do not have an opportunity to attend school or church, with the natural result that they are developing another generation of migratory workers.

"The necessary gasoline for transportation in their broken-down cars or trucks is generally furnished them by the political subdivisions in which they last worked, without regard to what employment they may have during their stay in a community. They are generally broke at the end of their employment and it becomes necessary for the local political subdivisions to furnish them transportation out of the community. In discussing this problem with county judges in this section, we have been informed that a large percent of this type of labor do not even have a registration on their cars or trucks, but the local authorities have never attempted to enforce the law requiring this with this group of people, because the individuals do not have the money to pay for the license and the court costs of enforcing the law. Due to the financial condition of our counties, they feel that they are obliged to use all funds available in sponsoring Work Projects Administration projects for the care of their local unemployed and direct relief cases."

IV. CONCLUSION

From various reports in the foregoing sections, a number of facts are obvious:

1. The total lack of general relief in most Texas counties forces some workers who have exhausted all possibilities for employment at home to go on the road, particularly when they are encouraged to do so by handbills and other media promising decent wages in other localities and by the promises of labor contractors.
2. Most migrants do not choose the type of existence which they lead, but are forced to accept it by changes in agricultural and industrial methods over which they have no control.
3. Correction of the causes of migration and its resultant problems are too complex to be left to the migrants themselves but must be solved by science, industry, and government.
4. Prompt action is necessary to assure even the right to live for a not inconsiderable section of the citizenry represented by the agricultural migrant and his family.

Pending the developments necessary to provide normal employment opportunities near the point of residence for migrants who now have no opportunity to earn a decent livelihood on the road, and in lieu of a better and sounder way of meeting the problems, the recommendations recently made in the general report adopted by the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy should be considered:

1. Financial responsibility for interstate migrants should lie with the Federal Government, since local public opinion and existing settlement laws and other statutes deny assistance or community services to many migrant families. In the actual provision of such facilities and services the Federal Government should operate through State and local authorities wherever practicable, but should take direct responsibility for their operation whenever necessary.
2. State and local governments should take financial and administrative responsibility for families that migrate within State boundaries. Actually groups of migrant families often include both interstate and intrastate migrants. In the provision of services, therefore, Federal, State, and local Governments should work out cooperative plans which will assure the provision of services to families when needed, regardless of where ultimate financial responsibility may lie.
3. Government employment services should take responsibility for the orderly guidance of migrant labor in seasonal employment in agriculture and other occupations.

4. Plans for the employment of migrant families should take into account the desire for resettlement of those families for which seasonal labor is only a makeshift and whose primary desire is to carry on independent farming operations.

5. To deal with the more immediate and also the continuing problems of agricultural workers and their families, which constitute at present the majority of migrant families, it is desirable that measures relating to wages and hours, collective bargaining, and social security be extended as soon as practicable to all agricultural labor, with such adaptations as may be necessary to meet their needs.

6. Housing and sanitary regulations should be made applicable to the shelter of migratory and seasonal labor, and adequate appropriations and personnel should be made available to the appropriate agencies to enforce these regulations.

7. Long-range measures that may prevent families from becoming migrants should be introduced both in agriculture and in industry—in agriculture, by such means as preventing soil erosion and soil exhaustion, and helping farmers to meet technological changes and difficulties of financing operations; in industry, by measures to offset technical and economic changes that result in communities being stranded because of permanent discontinuance of local industries.

Certain recommendations made in July 1940, in A Report to the President on Migratory Labor by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities also merit serious thought. Several which do not duplicate in general those in the above-mentioned report are quoted:

"*Education and welfare.*—Communities with large migrant groups should be aided in extending educational, recreational, and welfare services to migrants on the same basis as those provided for residents. Federal aid for such welfare services should be contingent upon the maintenance of equitable service to both groups.

"*Living conditions and housing.*—The Farm Security Administration's camps for migratory agricultural workers should be continued and multiplied. Permanent labor homes in greater numbers should be provided, and garden homesteads should be made available by the Federal Government, looking to the settlement of migratory farm workers on the land.

"*Health and medical care.*—In addition to the health and medical services furnished by the Farm Security Administration as a part of its program listed under, 'Living conditions and housing' above, Federal funds should be made available to the States to be used, together with State funds, in providing health and medical services—both preventive and therapeutic—for migrants. Federal aid should be conditioned upon provision for administration by a State agency and upon States meeting within 3 years specified Federal requirements covering length of residence within the State.

"*Employment and working conditions.*—"A. Legislation should be passed empowering the Federal Government to regulate interstate labor contractors.

"B. Interstate transportation of workers by truck should be regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and a cooperative enforcement program should be worked out among the Commission and other Government agencies concerned.

"C. The farm placement service should be extended and strengthened as rapidly as possible in the interest of both seasonal employers and migratory workers. Federal funds for this purpose should be made available.

"D. Migratory workers should continue to have the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act wherever it is now applicable to them. If any changes in this law are considered, they should be in the direction of extending—rather than contracting—its coverage.

"E. Children of migratory workers should be protected from employment too young, and after they reach working years they should have the same safeguards as youthful workers in full-time industrial employment. The full support of public opinion and community services is necessary to make these protections effective.

"F. The protection of the social-security programs should be extended to migratory workers—in public assistance, by uniform and less restrictive standards of State residence; in the insurance programs (old-age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation), by extension of coverage to agricultural wage earners.

"*Relief for migrants and their families.*—To meet immediate emergency situations, appropriate Federal programs, such as the Work Projects Administration and Farm Security Administration, should be financed and directed toward furnishing more effective aid to migratory workers. To provide for a continuing program of aid for this and other groups, a general relief program should be established on a Federal-State basis, Federal funds being made on a 'variable grants' basis under administrative provisions similar to those provided in the public-assistance programs under the Social Security Act and with added safeguards to prevent discrimination against migratory workers."

Much of the actual starvation, serious illness, danger of epidemic, and collapse of family life now occurring among migrants could be obviated by the measures recommended. Such measures, however, should in no way supplant efforts to eliminate the causes of the problem. Pending complete solution, decency and humanity demand that victims of the migratory-labor situation be allowed opportunity to live on a level compatible with the dignity of a human being in a democracy.

Dangers in the migratory-labor problem as it affects rural youth are pointed out in the concluding chapter of Rural Youth on Relief, a study prepared by the Division of Social Research of the Work Projects Administration:

" 'Masses of idle and poverty-stricken rural youth can augur no good for rural America,' the Work Projects Administration researchers warn. 'Idleness, poverty, and ignorance form a vicious circle—and the persons within the circle may easily become the prey of demagogic and irresponsible leaders. But in this situation is a greater danger—an increasing development of a lethargic, unambitious, and listless class, a class that is willing to accept a living standard below that of peasantry. The longer the vicious circle has been in operation the more imminent may be the danger of either of these developments. But it is well to recognize that during the depression many youth in good as well as poor land areas have unavoidably acquired habits of idleness and have lost visions of accomplishment. A defeatist attitude may become permanent, even though opportunities later increase.'

"Poverty and want in agricultural areas may indicate not only a lack of opportunity for work; they may also result from the exhaustion of natural resources by forces outside of agricultural society. National recovery, as reflected by city prosperity, does not necessarily augur economic recovery for rural territory. A job may no longer guarantee farm youth a future, since it may lead to no advancement on the agricultural ladder."

Although particularly significant when applied to youth, the conclusions are no less appropriate for the entire mass of struggling migrants who interminably follow the fugitive promise of jobs across the Nation's farm sections.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. VAL M. KEATING—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. We would like for you to answer a few questions and also give us any additional suggestions or go over any of the high points in the statement that you care to. I wonder if I might ask you this—what do you believe are the main causes of migration so far as Texas is concerned?

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Mrs. KEATING. I feel qualified to speak only as an observer; I am not an agricultural economist and in the presence of people from the Farm Security Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration I would certainly be quite out of place in saying I knew anything about the causes, from my own knowledge. My belief is that in Texas the chief causes of migration are soil erosion and depletion, displacement because of the increased, greatly increased, use of machinery in agriculture; likewise the very fact that a great deal of machinery is used demands migration because it demands short-time peak employment rather than well-regulated, all-year-round employment. I think also there is some migration in Texas because of general industrial and manufacturing unemployment as well as agricultural employment. For example, very recently there was a large influx into a relatively small east Texas county where a paper mill was announced as about to open. Likewise, in the Corpus Christi area where a large defense program was announced, it is my understanding that thousands of nonresidents have poured into Corpus Christi. However, I think the greatest number of migrants in Texas have taken up their mode of life because of agricultural rather than industrial necessity.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Texas, while a great part of it is industrial, is primarily agricultural, isn't it?

Mrs. KEATING. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We have listened to many people in these various hearings discuss these obstacles and the difficulties among the various States with reference to the settlement laws. I wonder if you have any comment to make along that line?

SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mrs. KEATING. In Texas the law states that a person is not eligible to assistance who has not been in the State for a year and in the particular county in which he is seeking assistance for at least 6 months. We find in some other States the length of time required for the establishment of residence is even longer. I think that, from a national point of view, I would say that the difference in settlement requirements does cause a problem. So far as Texas is concerned, since we do practically nothing to take care of residents, I can't say that our settlement laws cause any discrimination against the migrants.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In some States we have found the period of settlement is required to be as long as 5 years. In Texas it is 1 year?

Mrs. KEATING. One year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But you are protected in the short time by the fact that you are not able to do anything in the way of direct relief, is that it?

Mrs. KEATING. I am quite confident that the amount we spend for migrants is utterly negligible, since the amount we spend through the various Federal programs in the State is extremely limited. In other words, we have no State-wide general relief program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let me ask you this question, how long must a resident of Texas be gone from the State before he loses his settlement?

Mrs. KEATING. He loses it after 1 year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does he lose it immediately if his intention is to go away permanently and not to return?

Mrs. KEATING. I believe he immediately loses it. Likewise, there is a clause which indicates he can immediately regain it if his intention is to remain in Texas, but any administration of that law, that I have heard anything about, indicates that relief agencies hold very closely to the year's residence requirement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it would be the year that would be the guide rather than the intention which, of course, is always hard to prove?

Mrs. KEATING. Yes.

STATE-WIDE RELIEF PROGRAM UNCONSTITUTIONAL IN TEXAS

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the relief policy in Texas, you started to say something about that?

Mrs. KEATING. Texas is one of the few States that does not have a State-wide general relief program.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the reason for it?

Mrs. KEATING. Well, first of all it is unconstitutional. Of course, we could amend the constitution, but we haven't seen fit to do so. The constitution prohibits the State from appropriating money for the benefit of an individual; likewise it places upon the county commissioners' courts the care of destitute citizens. However, the limitation on the funds which the county commissioners' courts may use for this purpose makes it practically impossible for them to carry out the mandate of the law. They are permitted to use only a limited portion of the general funds of the county and are not allowed to levy any special taxes for relief purposes. Therefore, until the constitution is amended to permit the State to appropriate general relief funds or the laws limiting the amount that the counties can spend for relief are amended, we will go on not having any relief except that which is provided by the Federal Government through its several programs which operate in Texas.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mrs. Keating, we have found in my own State, and I am sure it is true in a great many other States, that those States where they are not bound by the same constitutional inhibitions you mentioned here, where the State is not able to match all the available funds, that the greatest benefit can be had by using whatever money the State can afford to match Federal funds and therefore make what money they have go further than it would without the participation in those programs and they naturally resorted to that, rather than spend it on direct relief. Direct relief is a local concern and the Federal Government doesn't participate in that?

Mrs. KEATING. No.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if constitutional inhibitions were removed in Texas would that condition prevail.

Mrs. KEATING. The State constitution has been amended to provide that the State may participate in social-security benefits, for instance, aid to dependent children, aid to the blind, and aid to the aged. However, although the constitution has been amended to provide for those benefits, the legislature has so far appropriated funds only for the aged, not for dependents or for the blind.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am curious to know what the aid for the aged is, what do those payments average?

Mrs. KEATING. As I understand it the average grant was about $14 for the past year; it has been between $9 and $10, I believe, per month for the last several months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does that include the local and State with Federal participation?

Mrs. KEATING. It is State and Federal only; no local.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder what ideas you might give us, from your own thinking, on this problem of interstate migration of destitute citizens—whether you think it is a Federal problem and how it might be met by the Federal Government insofar as you have thought it through?

CARE OF DESTITUTE IS FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mrs. KEATING. Of course, I think the causes are so much deeper and so much broader than my field has allowed me to delve into, that I feel quite incompetent to speak except from the point of view of what actually happens to the people that migrate within the State and across State lines. I think that pending economic and social adjustments, which I think will have to take place, such as the increase in the possibility of people owning their own homes and farms on a scale and of such size as to support a single family, that until measures of conservation and prevention of depletion of the soil are attained; that until new employment and possibly an entirely different type of economy than agricultural is found for those whose services are no longer needed on the farm because of the displacement of them by machinery; that pending that time the Government, and I am not prepared to say whether that should be Federal, State, or local, but I say the Government, does have at least the responsibility of seeing to it that those citizens have an opportunity to feed, clothe, and house themselves, send their children to school, and have medical attention when in need of it. I see at this time both interstate and intrastate migrants living in circumstances which certainly are not a credit to any level of Government. I know of my own observation over a period of 7 years in Texas, in a capacity in which it was my business to be observant of such matters, that there are thousands of persons who, through no fault of their own, but because of a changing economy, are not able to send their children to school, some of them not at all, many others through only the first, second, or third grades; that women are delivering babies under wagons and in cars without the benefit of any attention; that persons afflicted with tuberculosis and venereal diseases are given no attention at all; that people suffering from pneumonia because of exposure, and from the dietary deficiency diseases because of lack of food, are wandering the roads in and out of Texas by the thousands; that much I can say.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I appreciate very much the statement you have made, that you believed it was a governmental problem but that you couldn't distinguish as between Federal, State, and local governmental responsibility. Of course, our concern is naturally the extent to which the Federal Government should participate. I wonder if you have any ideas as to whether, if there is a duty on the part of the Federal Government, whether that could best be applied after the condition of migration has developed or by further extending the various benefit programs it has started, such as Social Security, Farm

Security, W. P. A., and possibly helping us in direct relief and things like that.

Mrs. Keating. I think that if the Federal Government is justified in providing for some of its needy citizens it is justified in providing for all of its needy citizens. I see no difference in need in a person 65 years of age and need in a person 63 years of age. I see no difference in caring for a person who is blind, which the Federal Government assumes as part of its responsibility, than for a person who is crippled by some other handicap. I do believe that the extension of some of the other services you have mentioned might result in less ineffective migration. When I say ineffective migration I mean that I don't think that any human being should be prevented from going to any other place, in fact, he should be encouraged to do so if he benefits himself by doing so, but in this footloose wandering I do not think he should be encouraged, and I think he should be discouraged in many instances, provided there is legitimate employment at home or some of the assistance that you have mentioned is available.

Mr. Sparkman. Mrs. Keating, for myself I want to express my appreciation and that of the committee for the very fine contribution you have made. Mr. Curtis or the chairman may have some questions.

The Chairman. Mrs. Keating, the more I think of this problem—and I have lived with it for a year, and I don't know anything about it yet—in my mind all the time keeps occurring the question, "What is the best thing to do about it?" Of course, the papers carry the story about the refugees in Europe, which is a tragic thing, we all agree on that, but we have thousands upon thousands of refugees right in our own United States on the roadsides today, and I think you will agree with me that the family's first duty is to take care of its own family. Is that right?

Mrs. Keating. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. I think also you will agree with me on my theory that there are two possible solutions. I am talking about immediate help—that is, short-term help—what we are going to do about these people now who can't get into States and get relief. Are we going to let them starve or what are we going to do about them? That is short-term assistance; and, speaking for myself only, I think they are in a class by themselves. And if the States won't help them the Federal Government ought to step in and say no American citizen is going to starve while he is trying to establish a residence, but we have let them go for 150 years. Now, the long term would be along the lines of low-cost housing projects, as advocated by President Hoover and Mrs. Roosevelt—strangely enough, that is one time they got together—but I can't get it into my head how these countless thousands, Stateless, jobless, and homeless, are going to get through it. What do you think about it? Should the Federal Government, in grants-in-aid to States, allow so much money to various States and take in these interstate migrants? Do you think that is the proper thing?

Mrs. Keating. Congressman Tolan, from the national point of view, I think that many of the people about whom we are talking would be assisted by the plan which you have outlined. However, speaking for the group in my own State, since we have no funds appropriated to take care of our own citizens, and since we haven't appropriated sums to take care of dependent children and dependent blind, for whom the Federal Government has offered to give a part of the help, I am not at all hopeful that transients coming into Texas could be given any assistance, because I doubt if we would do that when we don't even appropriate funds for our own local people. However, I know that condition does not prevail in a large number of the States. I do believe that grants-in-aid to the States that are willing to carry a portion of the cost would equalize that cost.

The CHAIRMAN. A peculiar thing that this investigation has disclosed is that some States say they have no migrant problem. When we were through New Jersey they showed us the best farms, with no problem at all, but when we got into the proposition it was disclosed in the testimony that there were thousands of people living in shacks waiting for the oyster season in the great State of New Jersey. And here is Congressman Sparkman from Alabama; he was named on this committee and he had not worried about migrants leaving his State, but lo and behold the first thing he ran into was many thousands of persons leaving the State! So it isn't Oklahoma or any other single State. The idea is that they are outcasts when they cross State lines, although they are still citizens of the 48 States. We are going to try to fix a status for them. I think your testimony has been very, very valuable. Think this thing out and see if you could give us some help.

Mr. CURTIS. How does the State of Texas rank with the other 47 States in per capita wealth?

Mrs. KEATING. I don't know its exact position, but it is not one of the poor Southern States; it is a wealthy State in natural resources. However, if its income is average over the entire population we have a very large group who, according to the figures compiled by other agencies, have an average of about $250 per year.

Mr. PARSONS. Thank you very much, Mrs. Keating.

(Witness excused.)

Dr. LAMB. Mr. Chairman, may I introduce these for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Dr. LAMB. These are two studies prepared by members of the staff of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas and the Texas Technological College at the request of Hon. W. Lee O'Daniel, the Governor of Texas, and I would like to have them entered for the record at this point. They are on the subject of migratory farm labor.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to enter them in our record.

(The studies mentioned are as follows:)

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE OF TEXAS,
College Station, Tex., September 16, 1940.

MR. JOHN H. TOLAN,
Chairman, Special Committee Investigating the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAR MR. TOLAN: At the request of the Honorable W. Lee O'Daniel, Governor of the State of Texas, I am enclosing a study made by some members of our staff with reference to migratory farm labor in Texas agriculture.

I hope that this brief will be of some value to you in the determination of the extensiveness of this problem.

Very cordially yours,

T. O. WALTON, *President.*

Study by Members of the Staff of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Tex., Prepared at the Request of Hon. W. Lee O'Daniel, Governor of Texas

OUTLINE, MIGRATORY FARM LABOR IN TEXAS AGRICULTURE

A. The total amount of farm labor.
B. The amount of migratory farm labor.
C. Reasons for the employment of migrants.
D. Use made of the services of migratory workers on farms.
    1. Cotton.
    2. Wheat.
    3. Citrus.
    4. Vegetables.
    5. Rice.
E. The migrants.
    1. Race and origin.
    2. Cycle of employment.
    3. Transportation.
    4. Housing, sanitation, and health.
    5. Education.
    6. Earnings.
F. Migration to and from Texas.
    1. Migration to Texas.
    2. Migration from Texas.

Migratory Farm Labor in Texas Agriculture

A. THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF FARM LABOR

There were 501,017 farms in Texas in 1935. The census of agriculture of that year reported that during the first week in January hired help was being used on 66,845, or 13.3 percent of these farms. Only a small percentage of tenants and croppers were using hired help, but 19.1 percent of the owner-operators were doing so. The average number of hired helpers employed per farm then using such help was 1.97 workers.

Of the 980,932 workers on farms in January 1935, 849,304 were members of the farm families and 131,592 were hired helpers. Since the first week in January is not a busy season on most farms, this figure is more indicative of the number of workers employed on a regular rather than a seasonal basis.

Significant also was the figure given in the same census, reporting that 24,271 farm operators had worked off their own farms for hire in agricultural pursuits during the previous year. This did not include the perhaps larger number of members of the operators' families who likewise worked part time off the operators' farms. The average number of days that farm operators worked off their own farms was 94 days. A large number of these were tenants or croppers on small places, who devoted only a part of their time to their own crops and the remainder to work for wages for their landlords or other farmers in the locality. Some of them no doubt "followed the harvest" and thus for a time were "part-time" migrants.

The 1930 census reported 842,001 persons gainfully employed in agriculture. Of this number 198,760, or 23.6 percent, were classified as wage workers. By 1935 the number of farm wage workers had increased by the amount of 25,601. The 1940 census will likely show a still further increase.

B. THE AMOUNT OF MIGRATORY FARM LABOR

No exact figures are available on the number of migratory farm workers employed in Texas. The number is estimated at 250,000 to 325,000—the latter figure probably being the more accurate.

The Texas State Employment Service reported 403,035 placements made in 1938 and 550,074 in 1939. These placements include only those facilitated by that agency and do not include the perhaps many times greater number made independently. These figures include placements of the same worker made more than once, hence are not to be interpreted as numbers of workers.

C. REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT OF MIGRANTS

The labor on farms is furnished by the farm operator and members of his family, regularly employed helpers, workers temporarily employed within the locality, and migrants.

When the nature of farm production requires a large labor force for short periods only, it obviously is not economy to keep permanently employed a sufficiently large force to meet the requirements in peak seasons. Farm operations are on the larger part of the farms in Texas highly seasonal. This is not the case to such an extent on livestock, dairy, and poultry farms, and farms on which a number of enterprises are carried on. But on farms raising cotton and other row crops, truck crops, wheat, rice, and other grains, and citrus fruits, large amounts of labor are needed during harvest season.

Hand labor is required in the harvesting of cotton—the major Texas crop—truck crops, and citrus fruit. No machines have been sufficiently perfected for common use in these harvesting operations. When crops are ready, they must be harvested at once; otherwise, they will be damaged or ruined.

On many Texas farms, by the use of improved machinery, the operator and his family, perhaps aided by regular hired helpers, can carry until harvest time a production that will require a large force working for a short while to harvest. Since all crops in a locality mature at approximately the same time, many localities do not have enough workers available to complete the harvesting expeditiously. The Texas State Employment Service reports that 70 counties of the State must rely upon migratory laborers during the harvest season.

For the above reasons migratory workers are indispensable in Texas agriculture.

D. USE MADE OF THE SERVICES OF MIGRATORY WORKERS ON FARMS

Agriculture affords the overwhelming part of the employment for migrants in Texas. While many migrants alternate between agricultural and nonagricultural enterprises, many are strictly agricultural workers. A survey showed that from 67 to 95 percent of migrants' earnings come from farm enterprises.

The need for and the use made of the services of migratory workers on farms in Texas is suggested by a consideration of the volume of production of certain crops.

1. *Cotton.*—The major farm enterprise in Texas is cotton growing. The production of this crop affords more employment than any other single industry, both agricultural and industrial. A tremendous amount of labor is engaged in the planting, chopping, cultivating, and picking of cotton. During chopping and picking seasons a large amount of seasonal labor is required.

The reduction in the cotton production of the State during late years has cut down enormously on the labor required for this crop. This is indicated by the fact that in the peak year of 1926, the cotton acreage was 17,749,000 and the bale production was 5,477,000. Two years later the acreage was 16,887,000 and production 4,941,000. By 1932, the acreage was 13,334,000; bale production was 4,307,000. Since that time the reduction has been precipitous. In 1938 only 8,784,000 acres were grown and 2,964,000 bales harvested.

Of the total amount of labor required to produce the cotton in Texas, even though the production has diminished, the percentage of that done by hired helpers has been increasing. This has been due to a number of factors. One was the development of the cotton-producing areas in the high- and low-plains areas, where low-cost-production methods are practiced and where larger farm units are worked. Tractors and multirow equipment are in common use, not only in the high and low plains but also in the Corpus Christi cotton area and to a larger extent that formerly in the black waxy prairie section, and even on plantations in river bottoms. The result is that the average acreage of farm operators is increasing, and the use if hired help in harvest is likewise necessarily increasing. In the high-plains cotton area, the majority of farmers operate from 160 to 320 acres of land, of which from 80 to 85 percent are in cultivation, and the cotton production per farm averages not less than 25 to 30 bales. A large proportion of hired labor is used for harvesting (1).

2. *Wheat.*—Over 3,000,000 acres of wheat were grown in Texas in 1934 and over 26,000,000 bushels harvested. This involved the use of 12.2 percent of the

crop land harvested for that year. Wheat was grown on 31,804 farms and the average acreage harvested per farm was exceeded only in Washington, California, and Montana.

Production of wheat is concentrated in the Panhandle area of the State and characterized by large-scale methods of production. Tractors and combines are commonly employed in harvesting, and crews for such harvesting usually consist in part of hired workers.

3. *Citrus.*—The production of citrus is localized in the Rio Grande area of the State. That this industry is increasing in importance is indicated by comparative figures for 1930 and 1935. During that period for oranges the number of trees increased 56 percent; field boxes of oranges produced increased from 316,245 to 1,049,476; and value of crops from $618,259 to $1,049,476. For grapefruit, the number of trees increased during this period 81.8 percent; field boxes produced rose from 997,551 to 3,878,920; and the value of the fruit jumped from $1,941,246 to $3,491,028.

Many small growers harvest their own crops. The larger part of the crop, however, is harvested by crews of laborers sent out by the canneries and packing sheds which buy the producers' crop on the trees. That most of these pickers are migrant is indicated by the fact that 75 percent of them in 1939 were recruited by the Texas Employment Service (2).

4. *Vegetables.*—The commercial production of vegetables has developed in late years as a major agricultural enterprise in several localities in Texas. Noteworthy are the developments in the lower Rio Grande Valley and the winter garden areas from which are shipped enormous quantities of vegetables to northern and eastern consumption centers during winter months. Important also are areas in the counties around the vicinities of the cities of Corpus Christi, Jacksonville, Fort Worth, and Dallas.

The growing importance of commercial vegetable production in the State (3) is revealed by the increasing amount of harvested acreage and quantity harvested. The acreage harvested increased from 1925 to 1935 for selected vegetables as follows: Onions, from 10,000 to 23,000; potatoes, from 28,000 to 49,000; tomatoes, from 10, 784, to 36,200; spinach, from 14,000 to 36,000; carrots from 5,750 to 9,100; cucumbers, from 980 to 7,300; cantaloups, from 3,000 to 6,000. In 1935, Texas produced over 2¼ million bushels of tomatoes, over 3¾ million bushels of spinach, nearly 4,000,000 watermelons, and over a million bushels of carrots. Although commercial vegetable production is not a major source of income to Texas agriculture, the total acreage devoted to such production increased from 191,490 in 1929 to 373,206 in 1934—an increase of 94.9 percent.

Vegetables must be harvested quickly when they are ready to harvest, otherwise they will become overripe, spoil, or become otherwise commercially unacceptable. Rarely does the grower have a family or local labor force sufficient for such work. He must, therefore, rely upon migrant workers.

5. *Rice.*—In 1934, Texas devoted 110,000 acres to rice and produced nearly 5½ million bushels. This crop was grown on 553 farms, which had an average of 200 acres in rice. These farms are located principally in 9 counties in the coastal prairie areas in the general vicinities between the cities of Houston and Beaumont.

Rice is harvested with a binder and shocked. After it goes through three sweat periods, and the moisture content is proper, it must be immediately threshed. Growers rely upon migratory labor for work in shocking and threshing this grain.

E. THE MIGRANTS

1. *Race and origin.*—Investigation shows that 85 percent of all migratory workers of the State are Mexican, 10 percent are whites, and 5 percent are negroes.

It is estimated that 60 to 65 percent of these workers, chiefly Mexicans, claim south Texas as their home; 20 to 22 percent, central Texas; 9 to 10 percent, west Texas; and 2 to 3 percent, places in other States.

2. *Cycle of employment.*—The principal migratory labor routes follow very closely the areas of greatest cotton production in Texas. The cotton harvest begins in the lower Rio Grande area around the 1st of July, reaching the peak around July 15. Following that date, two movements of laborers begin. One is

to the Corpus Christi cotton area and the other is to the coastal prairie area southwest of Houston. After cotton harvest gets under way in these areas, the rice farmers from Houston to Beaumont are calling for migratory labor.

Migrants next take either the eastern route up the Trinity River Valley to central and thence to north Texas, or the route following the Brazos River into central Texas, and thence into the north plains. The high plains cotton area ends the cotton harvest in late November or early December. The workers then return to the Rio Grande Valley for citrus-fruit-crop harvest, extending from December to April, or the vegetable crop, beginning in January and ending in June. Spinach and other vegetables in the Winter Garden area also require large numbers of workers in January, February, and March; onions in the lower Rio Grande Valley during April and May; and onions in the Corpus Christi area during May and in north Texas in June. This completes the labor cycle for migratory farm workers. From there they go into the cotton harvest again.

3. *Transportation.*—A study indicated that 20.2 percent of the farm laborers furnish their own transportation; 3.2 percent traveled by bus or rail; 59.4 percent are furnished travel by labor contractors; and the other 17.2 percent are either given transportation by farmers employing them or "hitch-hike." The average distance traveled between jobs ranged from 135 to 480 miles.

4. *Housing, sanitation, and health.*—The housing of migrants has always been a serious problem. They are usually left to provide their own living accommodations en route to jobs and frequently on jobs. Observations reveal shocking conditions. It is not uncommon to see hundreds camped on vacant lots in towns in employment areas or along highways en route to find work. Several towns have provided camp grounds with sanitary toilets, running water, and bathing facilities. In others deplorable conditions exist. Makeshift tents provide shelter, if any, subjecting the migrants to exposures of rain and chill. They sleep on the ground and cook over open fires.

Such exposures, lack of sanitation, and poor diet leave large numbers ready victims of disease. The living conditions not only undermine the health of the workers themselves but jeopardize that of the resident population. Camping in towns without sanitary toilet facilities and along streams from which municipal and sometimes rural home-water supplies are taken are obviously menaces to public health.

The Farm Security Administration lately has established camps at four concentration points—Sinton, Robstown, Ramondville, and Weslaco—and is now erecting camps at Princeton, Harlingten, and Crystal City. These camps afford adequate shelter and sanitary conditions. The present camps will accommodate around a thousand families and the ones under construction nearly 500 more. These camps provide much-needed housing for some part of the migratory labor force in the State.

5. *Education.*—A survey of 620 migrant workers selected at random in a number of Texas cotton areas indicates that the educational attainment for the group is low. Almost 20 percent of the white laborers had little or no schooling, while 40 percent of the Mexicans and 5 percent of the Negroes had none. The percent who had completed elementary school was 10 percent for Mexicans; 33 percent of the whites, and 25 percent of the Negroes.

General observations lead to the conclusion that seldom do children of migratory workers ever attend school. Shifting from locality to locality would preclude much progress if they did. Compulsory attendance laws are ignored.

6. *Earnings.*—No exact figures are available on the earnings of migrant farm workers. General observation, sample checks, and the number of relief applications from among them indicate that their earnings are deplorably low and far from adequate to provide decent standards of living.

A survey in Karnes County in 1936 showed the average annual earnings of 325 workers to be $171, of which 95 percent was derived from agriculture. A survey of 620 agricultural laborers in a number of Texas areas in 1938 showed the average earning to be about $225, of which about 67 percent was derived from agriculture.

F. MIGRATION TO AND FROM TEXAS

No exact figures are available on the movements of migratory farm workers in and out of Texas. While there is an undetermined amount of such interstate migration, the problem within the State is generally considered, whether properly or not, largely an intrastate problem. The larger number of the migrants who work in the State appear to remain here most or all of the time. Some exceptions to this permanency, however, are noted below.

1. *Migration to Texas.*—There appears to be no evidence that many migratory workers have come to Texas from other States. Checks by the Texas State Employment Service lead to the estimate that only between 2 and 3 percent of migrant farm workers in Texas come from other States.

2. *Migration from Texas.*—Evidence shows movements of migrants from Texas in three definite directions:

The first is a spasmodic migration of an unknown number of cotton pickers into the Mississippi Delta and the Arizona cotton regions. It appears that most of these return.

The second is an annual migration of Mexicans to Northern States—principally to Michigan and Minnesota—to work in the sugarbeet fields. The number formerly estimated at 3,000 is now thought to be 8,000 a year. It is estimated that 75 percent return at the end of the crop season.

The third is a migration largely of displaced tenants to California. The volume of such movements is probably not definitely known. Counts at border check stations of California are reported to show a total of 8,684 Texans entering that State in 1938 in search of employment. Government surveys show Texas as one of the States from which a considerable number of migrants in California have come.

REFERENCES

(1) Bonnen, C. A., and Thibodeaux, Types of Farming Areas in Texas, No. 554, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1938.

(2) Annual Report of Farm Placement Service. Texas State Employment Service, 1939.

(3) Gabbard, L. P., and Bonnen, C. A., Statistics of Agriculture, Circular No. 80, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1937.

STUDY[1] SUBMITTED BY TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE, LUBBOCK, TEX., AT THE REQUEST OF GOV. W. LEE O'DANIEL, AUSTIN, TEX.

I. TYPES OF MIGRANTS

1. *Industrial workers.*—No reports were received of interstate migration of industrial workers except from El Paso, Tex. (see below under "Areas"). Reports indicate that there is the usual movement from community to community of intrastate industrial workers, especially in the building trades, but with the exception of El Paso, no report indicated any problem of local maintenance whatever.

2. *Seasonal agricultural migrants.*—This refers to those agricultural laborers who regularly move from one section of the Nation to another, following crop harvest, especially such migrants as fruit and vegetable packers.

West Texas crops are not of the kind which attract this sort of seasonal migratory labor. The only area which might be affected is extreme southwest Texas, to which this type of laborers report in late June, July, and early August, for the packing of cantaloupes.

There are no indications of local problems or needs for care for this type of migrant.

3. *Agricultural workers and general unskilled labor.*—There is evidence of some interstate movement of this type of migrant. The largest movement, however, indicates that the movement is intrastate, and depends upon crop conditions in the various sections of the State.

It appears from reports that this intrastate movement of agricultural laborers and common labor is the most general type of migrant within the State.

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[1] Reporting conditions in west Texas; that is, approximately that area north and west of a line from Fort Worth, Tex., to slightly southeast of El Paso, Tex. (Because of the brief time available, the material herein presented was gathered largely by telephone conversations and hurried correspondence. Time was not available to prepare a questionnaire, and secure data in the form of replies to questionnaires.)

II. CAUSES

There are two general causes for this type of migrants:

1. These persons represent largely farm workers and former tenants who have been displaced by the mechanization of large farms and by the reduction in cotton acreage permitted to be planted in the cotton-growing sections of the State. Data submitted from Lubbock, Tex., by the Salvation Army, which is the organization taking care of transient relief, indicate that "more than 90 percent of the persons served by his organization (the Salvation Army) are single men, and in all probability will be affected by any type of military conscription that might be placed in operation." This report further indicates that the load is largely intrastate, and increases and decreases with crop conditions; that is, the data indicate that the large load of intrastate movement comes to the community during the cotton-picking season. If there is an abundant cotton crop, most of the workers find jobs immediately; if the cotton crop is somewhat reduced, or the migrants do not find jobs picking cotton, the load increases. The same tendency is reflected from other localities reporting by telephone.

III. AREAS

1. *The north Panhandle.*—Reports from the Panhandle area, through which passes one of the east-west highways most generally traveled by migrants, indicate that there is some general movement of migrants, chiefly agricultural workers, from Oklahoma and points east and north, but that these migrants are merely passing through, and do not constitute a problem of local relief; that is, do not remain in the community.

2. *Central south plains of west Texas.*—The number of interstate migrants in this area is very small, and no reports indicated a local relief problem. Conditions regarding intrastate migrants are reflected in the report given above for the city of Lubbock. No reports indicated a problem of local maintenance and relief.

3. *Southwest Texas.*—The report from El Paso, Tex., does indicate some burden thrown upon the local community for relief of interstate migrants. Many of these may originate in Texas, but are planning to move to States farther west.

El Paso is a sort of gateway to the West, at which converge several main traveled continental highways and railroads, and this no doubt accounts for the larger load there. Relief agencies there indicate that there is an interstate transient relief problem.

IV. SUMMARY

1. *Interstate problems—industrial workers.*—In the area hurriedly surveyed, it would appear that there is no problem of local relief and maintenance for interstate migratory workers except in El Paso, as indicated above. The report further indicates that in none of these areas is there any considerable migration of industrial workers. One reporter gave as his opinion that the demand for industrial workers in sections more industrialized than west Texas draws such transient workers to other areas rather than to or through this area. El Paso, Tex., is an exception.

There is an intrastate movement of such workers, but no relief problem results.

2. *Agricultural workers and common labor.*—There is no problem of the regular, professional, seasonal agricultural migrants, such as fruit and vegetable packers, largely because seasonal crops usually harvested and packed by this type of labor are not grown in the area surveyed.

There is some interstate movement of agricultural laborers going to other States and passing through Texas. This is true of the north Panhandle area, and of extreme southwest Texas where highways converge at El Paso. No reports, except from El Paso, indicated a problem of local relief for such interstate migrants.

3. *Intrastate migration.*—Intrastate migration occurs largely from the movement of agricultural laborers moving from one section to another, to harvest crops. The relief problem is temporary, and does not assume any considerable proportions, except when such laborers move into communities where there is a shorter crop and therefore less chances of employment than during previous years. None of the communities reports a serious relief problem, and one from which de-

pendable data were secured, indicates that 90 percent of such labor calling for temporary local relief is relief for unmarried men, and for only a short period.

4. *Causes*—(1) *Industrial workers.*—It is apparent that the very slight movement of industrial workers is due to the fact that the section surveyed (west Texas) is not an industrialized section, and with the exception of the highways converging at El Paso, is not a route generally followed by industrial workers moving from one section of the country to another.

(2) *Agricultural workers.*—The movement of migratory agricultural workers through west Texas is due to main traveled highways across the Nation, and apparently due to the mechanization of farms, and the reduced acreage planted to crops, which therefore displace the agricultural worker in his home community. Intrastate movement does occur continually year after year, and presents a problem only when workers move to an area where crops are shorter than usual.

It would appear, therefore, that the burden thrown upon local communities in west Texas (with one exception) of caring for interstate migrants, is not one of serious proportions.

Respectfully submitted.

CLIFFORD B. JONES,
President, Texas Technological College.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE R. MARTIN, WESLACO, TEX.

Mr. CURTIS. You may state your name for the record.

Mr. MARTIN. George R. Martin.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. MARTIN. Whigham, Ga.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. MARTIN. I will be 62 the 22d of November.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you raised on a farm?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; not altogether.

Mr. CURTIS. What was your father's business?

Mr. MARTIN. Dentist.

Mr. CURTIS. How old were you when he died?

Mr. MARTIN. I was 21 in November before he died in the spring.

Mr. CURTIS. How much education did you have?

Mr. MARTIN. I got through the eighth grade.

Mr. CURTIS. How old were you when you started to work for yourself?

Mr. MARTIN. I believe I worked some for myself when I was about 17 years old.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you begin agricultural labor?

Mr. MARTIN. That is what I was doing then, farm work, working for wages.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was that?

Mr. MARTIN. Thomas County, Ga., near Thomasville.

Mr. CURTIS. What were you doing?

Mr. MARTIN. Feeding a cane mill, where they make sirup.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever work in the fruit any?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; I did not until after I was 21; I went to Florida when I was 22 years old and began working in the fruit.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay in Florida?

Mr. MARTIN. I went there when I was 22, and I was there about 8 years, I guess, regularly employed, then I got to where I would go up in Georgia and work in the peaches in the summer and then out in other States.

Mr. CURTIS. Working in the canning end of it or what?

Mr. MARTIN. Packing.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you work with anything besides fruit in Florida?

Mr. MARTIN. I worked in the nursery budding trees, I learned that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you do any vegetable work?

Mr. MARTIN. I picked tomatoes.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave Georgia?

Mr. MARTIN. In 1924.

Mr. CURTIS. Why did you leave?

Mr. MARTIN. The tomato work had opened in Mississippi and I came on out there to work in the tomatoes.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go from there?

Mr. MARTIN. I came to this State and worked in the cantaloups and then went to Colorado.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay in Colorado?

Mr. MARTIN. I was there about a month.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go in Colorado, what place?

Mr. MARTIN. I was at Hasty, Colo.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go when you left Colorado?

Mr. MARTIN. I went to the Rio Grande Valley in Texas, Mercedes.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Martin, I wish you would tell the committee briefly in how many States you have worked in this fruit and vegetable and nursery business since you have started out?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I worked in Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York State, Colorado, and Texas.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have a family?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of a family?

Mr. MARTIN. I have a wife and three children of my own and a stepdaughter.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are your own children?

Mr. MARTIN. The oldest was born in 1929.

Mr. CURTIS. Eleven years old?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is the youngest child?

Mr. MARTIN. She will be 8 next December.

Mr. CURTIS. How old is your stepchild?

Mr. MARTIN. She will be 15 in December.

Mr. CURTIS. You were going to these various States before you were married?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; mostly.

Mr. CURTIS. When were you married?

Mr. MARTIN. I was married in 1928.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do in 1932?

Mr. MARTIN. In 1932 I worked in a fruit-packing house in Alamo, Tex., in the valley, and then left there and went up into Arkansas and down there I didn't do hardly anything the rest of the year.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you work on the C. W. A. any?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; I worked on what they called the C. W. A.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you on that?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know exactly, but it must have been a couple of months or more; 2 or 3 months.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do in the next 3 years, 1933, 1934, and 1935?

Mr. MARTIN. The Government let me have a mule along about either 1933 or 1934, I am not positive, but I believe it was 1933, and I kept that mule a little over a year and gave it back to them and went out to work for wages again.

Mr. CURTIS. Then, the next 2 years what did you do in 1936 and 1937, where were you and what were you doing?

Mr. MARTIN. I began working, I was working for Sherry in the Rio Grande Valley, that is the Texas Fruit Growers' Exchange, and I worked for them until I left and went out and worked in the tomatoes a while and then I went back to the valley and worked in the fall.

Mr. CURTIS. In these last 2 years, 1938 and 1939, where did you work?

Mr. MARTIN. I worked for the Rio Grande Valley Association from January to about April.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of an association is that, a growers' association?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; then I went on down and worked for an exchange in Brownsville.

Mr. CURTIS. Were you out of the State of Texas at any time in those 2 years?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I worked in the tomatoes in Arkansas, then went into Tennessee and worked a little while there.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have a legal residence in Texas?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Since the time you started out about 41 years ago, since you were of age, have you voted regularly?

Mr. MARTIN. No; there would be lots of times I wouldn't be qualified when it come time to vote, I would be in some other State.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you voted at all?

Mr. MARTIN. One time, I believe, in Arkansas, is the only place.

Mr. CURTIS. Since you became of age you voted once?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What have you been doing this year?

Mr. MARTIN. I worked in the tomatoes in the spring about 3 or 4 weeks then went to Arkansas and worked in the tomatoes there.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the general difference, if any, in wages you found in the various places you have worked?

Mr. MARTIN. The kind of work I do the wages are pretty near the same one place as another, it is kind of what we call a trade and the drifters get all about the same prices.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there some difference?

Mr. MARTIN. Very little, but in the scale of labor it is some different.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you mean?

Mr. MARTIN. The day labor work in these packing houses.

Mr. CURTIS. What is that difference?

Mr. Martin. In Colorado they get about 30 cents, in Arkansas they get 25 cents and in Texas they get 25 cents.

Mr. Curtis. Would you say that the places where wages are the lowest it costs you the least to live?

Mr. Martin. No; I don't believe it does.

Mr. Curtis. Have you found any competition to your detriment among alien labor from Mexico?

Mr. Martin. Well, I think it keeps the people that belong on this side from getting more money for their work. I think they would get more money if it wasn't for the Mexicans coming over from Mexico.

Mr. Curtis. Do you see any of them smuggled or bootlegged in?

Mr. Martin. No, sir; but they get a permit to come over and visit their folks and come in and work in the vegetables and also in the cotton.

Mr. Curtis. They get from the United States Immigration Service a visitor's visa?

Mr. Martin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. If the Federal Government provided that anyone issued a visitor's visa could not be employed as a laborer during that time that would take care of that, wouldn't it?

Mr. Martin. It looks that it would.

Mr. Curtis. Does that have anything to do with your wandering around over the whole country?

Mr. Martin. Well, I don't know as it does except I think that there would be better wages; I think we would get a better price for picking cotton if it wasn't for so much of that.

Mr. Curtis. Would you be able to spend more of your time in Texas—do you consider Texas your home now?

Mr. Martin. Yes; most of the work I do is in Texas.

Mr. Curtis. What are they paying for cotton picking this year?

Mr. Martin. Fifty cents a hundred for quite a while, and when we began scrapping where it was thin, 75 cents a hundred.

Mr. Curtis. How much can you make a day at that?

Mr. Martin. Me and my folks could pick, where the cotton was good, me and my wife and three little kids could pick about 400 pounds.

Mr. Curtis. Back in the early 1920's how much money could you make traveling around this way?

Mr. Martin. I expect I made—lots of months I would put in a pretty good month in the packing houses, maybe in a month I would make $150, and maybe the next month I would make $50.

Mr. Curtis. Have you ever been on relief?

Mr. Martin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. When was the first time that happened?

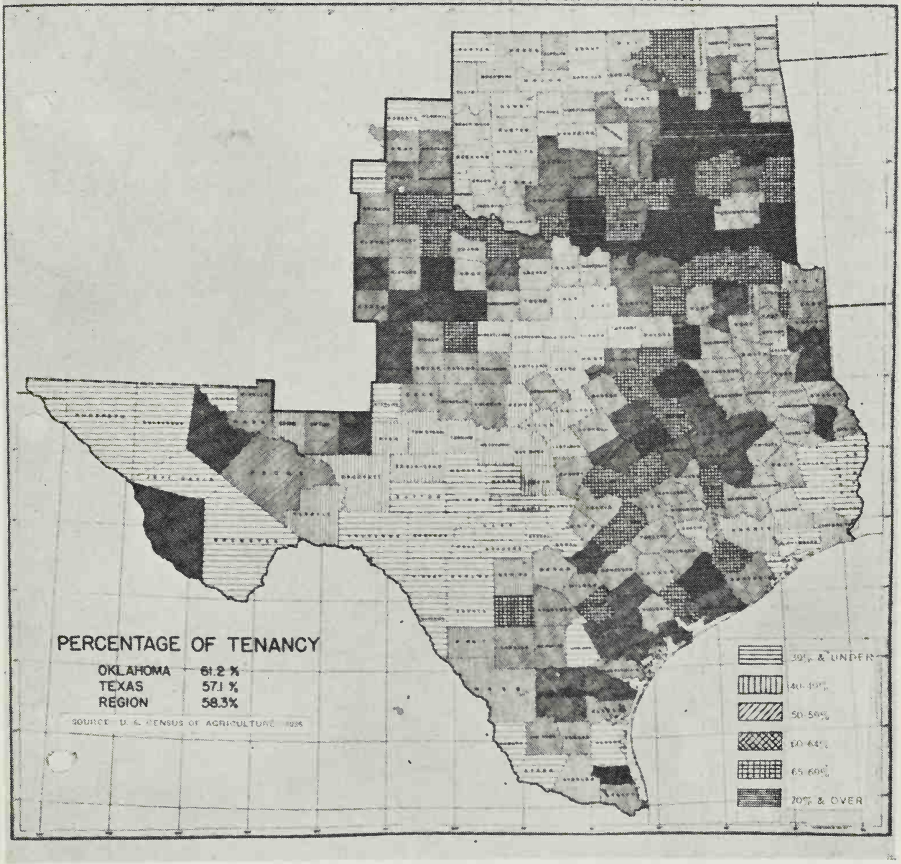
Mr. Martin. I believe it was just before I got on with the C. W. A. in Arkansas, along in either 1933 or 1932, I am not positive, but I think it was 1933.

Mr. Curtis. Have you ever been stopped at a State line when you tried to enter a State?

Mr. Martin. No, sir.

CHART I

RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION, REGION EIGHT.


PERCENTAGE OF TENANCY
OKLAHOMA 61.2 %
TEXAS 57.1 %
REGION 58.3%
SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE 1935
39% & UNDER
40-49%
50-59%
60-64%
65-69%
70% & OVER

Mr. CURTIS. Have you ever had any question raised about entrance to a State or receiving relief because you did not have a legal residence some place?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you going to vote this time, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; I won't be qualified to vote this time.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF C. M. EVANS, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, DALLAS, TEX.

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Evans, give your name to the reporter.

Mr. EVANS. C. M. Evans, regional director, Farm Security Administration, Dallas, Tex. Mr. Chairman, I should like to introduce three of my staff members, Mr. William J. Green, assistant director, Mr. Lee Ozbirn, and Mr. B. J. Walker.

Mr. PARSONS. The very excellent statement, with its illustrations, which you have submitted to the committee, has been received and will be made a part of our record.[1]

STATEMENT PRESENTED BY C. M. EVANS, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, DALLAS, TEX., ON MIGRATORY FARM LABOR AND THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN TEXAS AND OKLAHOMA

Less than half a century ago, Oklahoma farmers were rooted to the soil. One hundred percent of them were landowners, because land was to be had free merely for the planting of a stake in it. But today more than 60 percent of Oklahoma farmers are tenants (chart I), and 41 percent of those tenants, both in Oklahoma and in Texas, break loose like the tumbleweed every year and go rolling across the prairie until they lodge for a year against a barbwire fence, only to break loose next year and go tumbling on again (table 1).

TABLE 1.—*Percent of farm operators by term of occupancy, 1935*

State	Less than 1 year	1 year	2 to 4 years, inclusive	5 to 9 years, inclusive	10 to 14 years, inclusive	15 years and over
Oklahoma:						
Owner	9.0	4.5	14.4	18.4	14.3	39.4
Tenant	42.9	12.0	23.2	12.9	4.9	4.1
Texas:						
Owner	8.6	3.9	12.6	18.9	14.5	41.5
Tenant	41.4	11.3	22.2	14.2	5.8	5.1
United States total:						
Owner	5.9	3.9	13.2	17.2	15.3	44.5
Tenant	34.2	13.1	24.1	14.7	6.8	7.1

All farm problems are solved, or more easily solved, once you have anchored the farmer to one spot. A. C. Williams, president of the Federal Land Bank of Houston, says that the man who succeeds in paying out a farm is the man who gets on one piece of land and plans to spend the remainder of his life there. And so the farm-tenancy problem is, first of all, a problem of making the tumble weeds stay put.

Helping the landless man to acquire land has been an objective of the United States Government since 1785. And even from the start, with land at $2 an acre, it was realized that many settlers were not able to buy even this $2 land without credit. When the first Government land was offered for sale, immediate payment was insisted upon. By 1800, 4 years' credit was being allowed. But in 1820 the Government went out of the farm-credit business and stayed out of it for 80 years. After that first 20 years of operation, the land purchasers still owed the Government almost half of the $44,000,000 with which they had been charged. Time had been extended for the indebted landowners through 13 separate and distinct relief acts passed between 1800 and 1820.

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[1] Additional statement by Mr. Evans will be found on p. 2196.

A minimum price of $1.25 an acre was set up in 1820, making it possible for a man to buy an 80-acre tract for $100. From then until 1900 the Government disposed of the public domain at prices which made credit unnecessary. But by the turn of the last century, free land worth having had all been taken up, the value of the average farm had decreased slightly during the generation following the Civil War, sliding from $3,251 in 1860 to $2,896 in 1900. But in the 10 years following 1900 the average farm doubled in value, jumping from $2,896 to $5,471. The price per acre went from $15.57 to $32.40 in those first 10 years of the century, and continued, as we all know, on the upgrade until the middle twenties.

As soon as land took this upward turn increasing pressure began to appear in Congress for long-time credit and low interest rates. Mortgage agencies and commercial banks were unable or unwilling to grant the terms which farmers required, making loans of only 5 years. Interest rates in the South and West were admittedly high in comparison with the East and Central West.

Fifteen years of discussion brought the Federal Farm Loan Act in 1916. It provided a 40-year period of payment and lower interest rates. But land continued to slip out of the hands of the man who cultivated it. The farm-tenancy chart still curved upward (chart 2[1]). Only 18 percent of Federal land-bank loans made during the first 5 years were actually for purchase of land, and this proportion has since that time not even been equaled.

Through 1936 the average amount loaned annually through the Federal Farm Loan Act to buy farms had been $14,592,151. That would have bought, at $4,000 per farm, between three and four thousand farms a year. We do not know how many of those farms were bought by actual farmers and how many were bought by business or professional men as an investment or to satisfy their innate urge to own a piece of agricultural earth. But we do know that twenty to thirty thousand tenant farmers each year have been added. Today half the Nation's farm land is owned by investors (p. 1935). With his limited capital, the actual dirt farmer has not been able to compete with the businessman or the speculator.

Where he has been able to buy any land at all, the farmer has usually been compelled to content himself with that which is comparatively cheap and comparatively unproductive. It is almost exclusively upon submarginal land that increases have been shown in ownership of farms by actual farmers (charts 4, 5, and 6[1]). Yet it is in those very areas that paying for a farm is most difficult, in spite of the lower price. An Alabama survey shows that land which produced less than a third of a bale of cotton to the acre was foreclosed in 28 percent of the cases, while land which produced half a bale to the acre was foreclosed in only 21 percent. This was in spite of the fact that the land growing a third of a bale sold for only $28 an acre, as compared with $71 an acre for the better land. Buying cheap land, not worth even its cheap price, has been the unprofitable alternative to which the farmer has been forced, in spite of the more liberal credit extended by the Federal Government since 1916.

As it became evident that there was to be no great remedy for the landless through this Federal act, action was demanded locally in many of the agricultural States. South Dakota, North Dakota, and Minnesota were among those which embarked upon State programs to help tenants become owners. South Dakota, after making approximately $41,000,000 in land-purchase loans, found herself in 1937 with a deficit of more than $17,000,000, or approximately 40 percent of the amount invested. North Dakota had a deficit of more than $7,000,000 on a total of $40,500,000 loaned. Minnesota, after issuing $66,000,000 worth of bonds, showed a deficit of approximately $7,000,000 at the end of 1934, after which no further loans were made.

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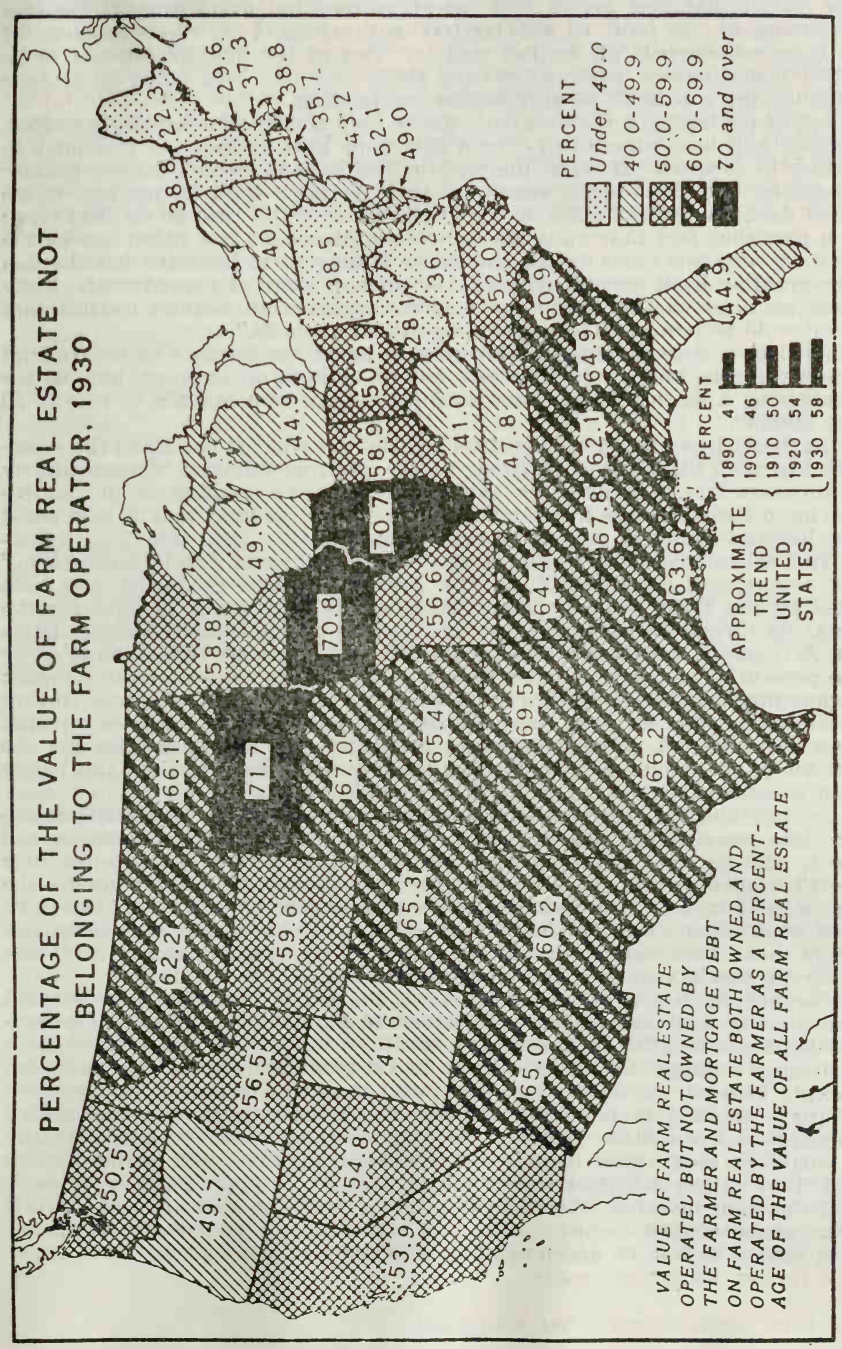
[1] These charts held in committee files, not printed.

PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF FARM REAL ESTATE NOT BELONGING TO THE FARM OPERATOR, 1930


50.5
49.7
53.9
56.5
54.8
62.2
41.6
65.0
59.6
65.3
60.2
66.1
71.7
67.0
65.4
69.5
66.2
58.8
70.8
56.6
64.4
63.6
49.6
70.7
67.8
44.9
58.9
41.0
47.8
62.1
64.9
50.2
28.1
60.9
44.9
38.5
36.2
52.0
40.2
38.8
22.3
29.6
37.3
38.8
35.7
43.2
52.1
49.0
PERCENT
Under 40.0
40.0-49.9
50.0-59.9
60.0-69.9
70 and over
APPROXIMATE TREND UNITED STATES
PERCENT
1890 41
1900 46
1910 50
1920 54
1930 58

VALUE OF FARM REAL ESTATE OPERATEL BUT NOT OWNED BY THE FARMER AND MORTGAGE DEBT ON FARM REAL ESTATE BOTH OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE FARMER AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE VALUE OF ALL FARM REAL ESTATE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE NEG. 31342 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

A chief cause given for failure in the State program was that those in control were too close to the people they were serving, too susceptible to demands for liberalism and lenience.

But the Federal Government suffered also from this same complaint after passage of the Reclamation Act of 1902, which started irrigation projects for sale to homesteaders. A total of $228,000,000 was expended on those projects, of which Congress charged off sixteen million. Out of the $212,000,000 left to be repaid by homesteaders, payment of only $56,000,000 had been made up to June 30, 1934, leaving a balance of $157,000,000 outstanding.

Instead of paying back the cost over the 10-year period as originally provided, the settlers had been allowed to extend that time first to 20 years and later in some cases to 40 years. Many of the projects had been in operation for a quarter of a century, yet repayments amounted to little more than 25 percent of the obligated debt. A report issued by the Department of the Interior in 1934 read: "It is a pertinent fact that although the reclamation debt is a prior lien on the land, yet in very few cases during the entire history of reclamation has the lien been enforced by legal process, despite thousands of cases of nonpayment. Fully as much as a quarter of a century ago the reclamation settlers learned that payment could be postponed by appeal to political methods."

With all the assistance that the Government has given farmers on the Federal irrigation projects, tenancy in 1930 was almost as high on these projects as for the country as a whole. It had increased from 24 percent tenants in 1925 to 36 percent in 1930.

The National Resources Board in 1934 pointed out what it considers the essential weakness of the Federal program in the past, as follows: "Comparatively little attention has been given in this country to the training of prospective settlers or to their subsequent guidance. It has been assumed that if men could only be helped to acquire farms, the rest could be left to their individual initiative. The subsequent experiences of settlers do not support this assumption."

This new approach indicated by the National Resources Board has been accepted by the Farm Security Administration in its program of land for the landless. The Farm Security program was defined by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, passed during the summer of 1937. The new act endeavors to carry out the precautions suggested by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace when he said: "I am anxious that the procedure be safeguarded in every possible way so that it will not be possible for some future Congress, 10 or 15 years hence, to say that this law was enacted without sufficient thought as to the mechanics for the supervision of the tenant while beginning those agricultural practices and habits which are necessary when a man is operating his own land."

The act provides that the Secretary may prescribe covenants which will assure proper farm practices and guard against speculation. Should the borrower sell the farm without first obtaining the consent of the Secretary, the latter may declare the unpaid balance immediately due and payable, and he may invoke the same penalty if the borrower fails to comply with any of the conditions in regard to farming practices. Some critics of the act have pointed out that declaring the mortgage to be immediately due and payable will not stop speculation if the borrower can obtain enough cash to meet the demand.

In accordance with the provisions of this bill, State advisory committees selected counties in which loans are to be made for purchase of land by tenants. All counties in Oklahoma and 158 in Texas have now been designated. In each of these counties, three successful farmers actually living upon their own land were chosen as a county advisory committee to select purchasers and to pass upon the value of the land which they proposed to buy. These county committees were assembled for a 1-day school of instruction, where it was impressed upon them that they are to do what has never been done before—pick tenants who will purchase land without a down payment, where those who have purchased land from the Government in the past have too often failed even after making a down payment. It was also impressed that they must pick land good enough to produce the necessary revenue, bought at a price which can be paid from the actual crop yields.

There were 25 applicants for each loan which could be made from available funds, and the committees were able to choose from the very best tenant farmers in these counties. Committees estimated 50 to 75 percent of the applicants would probably make good as purchasers under the Bankhead-Jones plan.

Payments under this act are actually less than most tenants in Texas and Oklahoma are now paying as rent. A study by Dr. C. H. Hamilton, of the Texas Experiment Station, shows that in east Texas tenants are paying as rent 5⅒ percent of the market value of the land which they operate, that in central Texas they are paying 6½, and on the south plains 9⁹⁄₁₀ percent. The Bankhead-Jones plan simplifies the payments still more by permitting the amount paid to vary with the size of the crop and the price obtained by the farmer. In years of good crops and good prices the purchasers will be required to pay more than 4³⁄₁₀ percent and will be allowed to pay less in years of poor yields or low prices.

The statistical record of the tenant-purchase program in Texas and Oklahoma follows:

	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	Total
Applications received:				
Texas	2,890	7,158	15,047	25,095
Oklahoma	1,098	3,303	9,294	13,895
Number of loans made:				
Texas	149	357	482	988
Oklahoma	81	180	238	499
Amount loaned:				
Texas	$836,735	$2,177,482	$3,431,518	$6,445,738
Oklahoma	$426,025	$1,070,134	$1,833,149	$3,328,309

The average cost of improvements involving new construction (dwelling, barn, etc.) on farms bought in the fiscal year 1939–40 was $1,790.

Ninety-nine percent of the maturities for the 3 years have been collected.

Only 15 borrowers are delinquent in Texas and 11 in Oklahoma; $4,433,418 has been set up for tenant purchase loans this year, 1940–41, in Texas; $2,204,079 in Oklahoma.

Tenant purchase loans	Texas	**Oklahoma**
Acres per borrower (average)	153.46	178.94
Purchase price per borrower (average)	$4,872.69	$5,129.75
Improvements, repairs, and fees per borrower (average)	1,634.99	1,284.49

With the passage of the Tarver amendment to the Bankhead-Jones Act by the present session of Congress, it is required that farms bought under the act be limited in value to the average value of all farms in excess of 30 acres in the county. This would have eliminated approximately half the farms previously bought in Texas and more than that number in Oklahoma. It reduces the potential purchase price in some eastern Oklahoma and east Texas counties to as low as $1,000. It emphasizes management as the essential problem, as loans will not be made for purchase of farms unless a plan of management can be provided which gives reasonable assurance that the loan will be repaid from sale of the farm's products.

If such management plans can be developed, a vitally needed influence will be provided to check the trend to larger farms and the consequent displacement of farmers who had previously operated small units which were absorbed in the larger ones. During the 1930–35 period 11,000,000 acres of land in Texas were shifted from farms of less than 500 acres to farms of more than 500 acres (chart

7).[1] (Charts 8 and 9[1] present the type of farming areas in Texas and Oklahoma, with the rainfall which can be expected ordinarily; chart 10,[1] the areas in which land is available for new settlement; and charts 11 and 12[1] the areas in which wheat farming decreased as a result of the drought years, and other areas in which it increased. Also see attached study of Mechanization of Farms, by Dr. C. H. Hamilton.)[2]

The greatest activity of the Farm Security Administration is among a class on a lower scale of efficiency and financial security than those to whom land-purchase loans are made. They are the class from which the majority of the migrants come.

They are about to lose their last hold upon the land. Two-thirds of this group served by Farm Security Administration in 1939 had incomes, before acceptance into the program, of less than $500 a year (table 2). The average amount of land which they operated before entering the program was 89 acres. The total number of families in the less-than-$500-income class in 1935 was 44,000 in Oklahoma and 162,000 in Texas (table 3).

These are farmers who a few years ago were on the dole or on the verge of it, and were ineligible for credit from private banks or Government lending agencies other than the Farm Security Administration. They are on the lower rungs of the agricultural ladder just as the tenants who are to buy the Bankhead-Jones farms are, for tenant farmers, on the very top rung of the agricultural ladder.

Borrowers are drawn from the bottom of the tenancy ladder, in expectation of moving them, step by step, to the point where they also will be ready to graduate into ownership of land. A live-at-home program shifts them from a one-sided cotton program to livestock and subsistence farming. Cotton farming may not be the cause of tenancy, but the fact remains that 73 percent of cotton farms are tenant operated (charts 13 and 14).[1] Only 21 percent of the dairy-products farms of the United States were tenant operated in 1930 (chart 15),[1] and small as the number of tenants is on dairy farms, the trend is toward a still smaller percentage. Shifting to a dairy program or other livestock program is obviously a shift away from conditions under which tenancy has developed (charts 16, 17, and 18).[1]

TABLE 2.—*Proportional distribution of active standard borrowers whose first crop year on the program was 1939, by net income year before acceptance and by State, region VIII*[1]

A	B	C
Net income year before acceptance	Region VIII	
	Oklahoma	Texas
	Percent	*Percent*
Negative income	2.6	4.7
$0 to $99	9.0	14.0
$100 to $299	27.0	28.4
$300 to $499	25.1	20.3
$500 to $699	18.7	13.8
$700 to $999	10.6	9.5
$1,000 to $1,499	5.3	7.3
$1,500 or more	1.7	2.0
All borrowers	100.0	100.0

[1] Based on county supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers.

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[1] Charts held in committee files, not printed.
[2] See p. 1948.

TABLE 3.—*Number of farm families with net income in 1935 of less than $500, number of farms less than specified sizes, and number of farm families who worked more than specified number of days off the farm, the State, region VIII, 1935* [1]

[1,000 families]

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
State	Number of farm families with net incomes in 1935 of less than $500	Number of farms of less than given size			Number of families who worked more than given number of days off farm		Total number of farm families
		10 acres	20 acres	50 acres	150 days	250 days	
Region VIII	206	31	77	213	42	25	666
Oklahoma	44	8	17	52	11	6	208
Texas	162	23	60	162	31	19	458

[1] Source: United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

A second fundamental of the rehabilitation program is to break farmers loose from the half-and-half or "cropper" system. The cropper, who has no livestock or equipment of his own, is not even considered a tenant by the courts, but is classified as a farm laborer. The cropper is usually the type of farmer who must have continuous and detailed supervision, but the landowner is seldom able to give him this supervision to the extent necessary for carrying on a profitable farming enterprise. The share-crop system has not only resulted in destruction of soil fertility but has disintegrated the basic social fabric. One of the most disastrous effects of mechanization and big-scale farming is the displacement of croppers (charts 21 and 22 [1]).

Where croppers are qualified to become true tenants, the Farm Security Administration is financing them to the purchase of livestock and equipment and helping them to develop plans of farm and home management under which they will gradually grow in managerial ability. It is helping them to locate on better land and to negotiate leases which will give them a longer term of years upon these farms, with compensation for improvements they may make upon land and buildings.

In 1934 there were approximately 1,000,000 farm families upon relief, 100,000 of them in Texas and Oklahoma (charts 19 and 20 [1]). There appeared to be two possible methods of meeting the emergency—first, continuing to hand out direct charity, or, second, to put these families into a position where they could support themselves. The Administration turned to the second method. It authorized a system of supervised loans to these needy families, with sound farm and home management plans backed by finances adequate to carry out these plans. But in the first year or two of the emergency, 90 percent of the time of the rural supervisors was required for loans or grants to relieve urgent necessity. Farm plans and home plans were made out in the office, without visiting the farm or studying the actual realities of each situation. With dozens of destitute men packed into his office all day, clamoring for checks, writing to their Congressmen about the delay, caring not for a long-time plan but for immediate cash in hand—the supervisor could not get into his car and drive out to spend half a day on the land, detailing a plan for any one family. Nor could he reject a family because it was located on a farm too small for adequate operation, or because the land was unproductive. The job was to get the family to work, producing as much as possible of its own food supply. That did not cost as much, in the end, as it would have cost to carry these families on direct relief, and it was better to have the beneficiary stand on his own legs, even if he wobbled because of an inadequate farm or an imperfect plan.

Progress has been made by a large number of borrowers in the face of the imperfect administration of the first few years. Gradually the urgency of the situation has relaxed and now supervisors are able to bring practice more nearly into line with theory (table 4).

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[1] Charts held in committee files, not printed.

That these families are actually moving toward economic independence is indicated by the fact that borrowers in Oklahoma produced $4,740,475 worth of goods for home consumption last year, as compared with only $2,366,740 worth before they came into the Farm Security Administration program, according to a Statewide survey of borrowers made this year (table 5).

TABLE 4.—*Average number of supervisory visits to active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers in 1939, by race and by State, region VIII* [1]

A	B	C	D	E	F
State	All borrowers	Race of borrower			
		White	Negro	Indian	Other
	Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*
Region VIII	4	4	4	4	4
Oklahoma	4	4	4	3	3
Texas	5	5	4	6	4

[1] Based on county supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers.

TABLE 5.—*Average amount of gross family income and amount, proportion and change in value of home-use products, of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers, year before acceptance on program and 1939, by State, region VIII* [1]

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
State	Year before acceptance			1939 crop year			Increase in value of home-use products	
	Average gross family income	Value of home-use products		Average gross family income	Value of home-use products			
		Amount	Proportion of gross family income		Amount	Proportion of gross family income	Amount	Proportion of year before acceptance
			Percent			*Percent*		*Percent*
Region VIII	$349	$127	27	$505	$235	32	$108	85
Oklahoma	337	131	28	480	265	36	134	102
Texas	358	123	26	525	212	29	89	72

[1] Based on county supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers.

A pressure cooker is a standard item in a Farm Security Administration loan if the family does not already have one. Last year our families in Oklahoma canned 4,825,322 quarts of fruits and vegetables, or an average of 269 quarts per family. They produced 10,166,541 gallons of milk for home consumption, an average of 567 gallons.

The 17,938 standard rehabilitation borrowers in Oklahoma had an average net income last year of $505.70 per family, as compared with $295.21 in the year before they came to Farm Security Administration for help. This represents an increase of 71 percent (table 6).

Moreover, these families increased their average net worth—over and above all debts—from $596.98 before they came into the Farm Security Administration program, to $838.82 at the end of the 1939 crop year, a gain of 41 percent.

The borrowers in Oklahoma have repaid $4,343,507 into the Federal Treasury as installments on loans totaling $14,309,143. The typical rehabilitation borrower family in Oklahoma has borrowed $797.70 and already has repaid $242.14. Since much of the money loaned does not fall due for 4 or 5 years, there is every reason to expect that the great bulk of it will be repaid.

For farmers overburdened with debt, the Farm Security Administration has a means by which their debts can be adjusted to their abilities to pay. Debt-distressed farmers and their creditors may meet with the county farm debt adjustment committee for discussion of their mutual problems. Often it is possible for them to reach agreements for time extensions, reamortizations, or reductions in principal and interest.

TABLE 6.—*Average net income year before first crop year on program, average net income 1939, and percentage change in net income of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers, by first crop year on program, region VIII*[1]

A	B	C	D	E
First year on program	Average net income year before acceptance	Average net income 1939	Average change in net income	
			Amount	Proportion of net income year before acceptance
				Percent
All years	$273	$468	$195	71
1935	159	382	223	140
1936	205	402	197	96
1937	229	444	215	94
1938	357	509	152	43
1939	440	643	203	46

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[1] Based on county supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers.

Activities of county committees since 1935 have enabled 4,909 Oklahoma farmers to reach agreements with their creditors, in most cases avoiding foreclosure and permitting the farmers to remain on their land and make substantial payments to their creditors on what otherwise might have been bad debts. These farmers operate 1,180,350 acres of Oklahoma farm and ranch land. The scale-downs in interest and principal amounted to $2,936,682, or 21.7 percent of the original indebtedness. Taxes amounting to $287,021 were paid to local governmental agencies as a direct result of these adjustments.

The ultimate goal of the Farm Security Administration's rehabilitation program is to assist the farmer to be moderately prosperous, secure, and able to go under his own steam. Our records indicate that in Oklahoma more than 4,500 farmers have left the Farm Security Administration, fully rehabilitated, and are attractive credit risks to banks and other financing agencies. More than 80 percent of all matured installments have been repaid.

These farmers have not only been freed from dependence upon others for their teams and tools, but they have also been emancipated from the credit system which has been one of the most deadening and overpowering burdens of the southern tenant for more than half a century. Even in recent years, when credit has been easier in practically all other lines, surveys made in a number of southern States indicated that the prevailing rates of interest to tenant farmers at local banks, credit stores, or commissaries have been running as high as 35 to 40 percent. This percentage does not show on the face of the note as being so high, but that is what it actually figures when computed accurately upon the basis of time that the money is used. It was found also that prices charged at the credit stores and commissaries frequently were 20 to 25 percent above prices at which the same supplies could be purchased for cash. The Farm Security Administration, by making loans that bear only 5 percent, figured on the time actually used, has lifted from its borrowers a load that of itself alone was enough to kill the spirit and paralyze any move toward economic independence. This statement is made with full realization that the high interest rates and excess charges for goods were frequently the result of losses which the lending and selling agencies had experienced in this class of business, and were in a measure due to the hazards and uncertainties unavoidably connected with tenants who were here this year and gone next, with nothing certain about their income or their habitation except that it would be uncertain.

The livestock program, which is being made the basis for rural rehabilitation plans, was the foundation of Denmark's farm recovery. Today on a Danish farm of the size corresponding to the average Texas or Oklahoma farm, that is from 75 to 150 acres, there are 45 cows, 92 pigs, 388 chickens, in addition to the average 15 head of work stock. On the smaller farms, the proportion of livestock is almost twice that much. This condition exists where three-fourths of a century ago there was a one-crop system hardly less specialized than that of our own cotton farms, with grain constituting 60 percent of all Danish exports. In place of the poverty-stricken farmers of the grain era, the livestock program has resulted in an income of $44 per acre on the smaller farms, and $10 an acre on farms equal in size to the average in Texas and Oklahoma. That $10 an acre is the return to the operator for work and management, and is over and above any interest and overhead chargeable on the capital invested in land and equipment. Such a system would mean a return of $750 to $1,500 a year on the average Texas or Oklahoma farm, whereas we all know that at present it is a rather small fraction of that amount. The average Texas cotton farm produces only 6 bales of cotton, which means at present prices about $250 to be divided between the landlord and the tenant.

The Farm Security Administration program does not overlook that other vital factor in success of small farmers—cooperation. Ninety percent of all Danish dairy farms, and 86 percent of all the cows in Denmark are included in dairy cooperatives; 75 percent of all Danish pigs find their way to market through cooperative packing plants. The groups who are being aided by the Farm Security Administration are scattered here and there, constituting a comparatively small proportion of any community, and therefore they can usually participate only in such cooperative activities as are already in existence. These Farm Security borrowers constitute merely one element of a number which must be brought together to set up a community cooperative enterprise. It is difficult for these farmers, on the lower rungs of the agricultural ladder, to take leadership in such an enterprise, but Farm Security is encouraging them to take whatever steps are practical.

Often we have found groups of low-income farmers who needed equipment or services which no one farmer could afford to own by himself or which were too large or expensive to use solely on family-size farms. By using the Farm Security Administration's cooperative and community loan service, farmers in the same neighborhood can get together to buy a tractor, purebred breeding sires, spraying equipment, etc.

During 1939, some 5,000 Oklahoma farmers used these facilities which were provided by Farm Security Administration loans made during the year. These loans were for:

Purebred bulls	29
Jacks	39
Stallions	18
Harvesting machinery units (combines, grain binders, row binders, etc.)	68
Threshing machinery units (for grain, peanuts)	21
Tractors and plows for land preparation	6
Feed grinders and ensilage cutters	15
Haying machinery (presses, mowing machines)	15
Miscellaneous (sirup mills, corn shellers, sawmills, pond-building equipment, boars)	5
Total	216

The definite purpose of carrying on a program of diversified farming was behind the making of these loans. For example, a purebred bull will enable a community to carry on a dairying industry. A peanut thresher will make it possible for sandy-land farmers to have a new cash crop.

These loans enabled small farmers to compete with large, well-financed farmers who have the land and resources to use the latest type of large-scale machinery. They had the effect, too, of improving land tenure and assisting farmers toward farm ownership. Landowners are more anxious to rent to well-equipped farmers and to sell their land to them. Well equipped farmers can operate more profitably, and in communities where loans have been made for purebred herd sires, farmers boast that they are growing out of debt with their young livestock.

We have found that many of the farmers who dropped out of the Farm Security Administration program failed because they and their families were in no physical condition to operate a farm. In a recent survey of low-income farm families, it was found that 22 percent had unpaid doctor bills and more than half of the serious illnesses were without treatment of a physician. A majority of the childbirths were unattended by a doctor.

Our medical-aid loans are made for two purposes—first, to rehabilitate the family by improving their health, and second, as a straight matter of business. Farmers who are in no physical condition to work can't repay their loans.

As one way of meeting such a situation, the Farm Security Administration has organized cooperative medical bureaus in 20 counties of Oklahoma by the end of the year 1939. By these bureaus medical care was brought to 2,232 families containing 11,529 members.

A recent allotment of $96,000 was given to Oklahoma to use in improving sanitary conditions in and around homes of low-income farmers. Sanitary toilets, improving the water supply so that it will be sanitary, and screens for the houses are being provided. The money is being spent chiefly in eastern Oklahoma where hookworm and malaria are most prevalent.

An amount up to $100 per farm is being handled on a trading basis to bring about the largest possible contribution of labor and materials from owners of the land and the tenants. The Work Projects Administration, National Youth Administration, and State health department have furnished labor and technical guidance in addition to the Farm Security Administration's contribution, which has largely been for materials.

In a limited number of cases, in order to get a family off to a sound start, small grants for food, fuel, and other urgent necessities have been made to supplement the standard farm-and-home-plan loan. Usually these grants were just enough to tide the family over until it could make its first crop. They have averaged $86.23 per family, or a total of $1,546,794 over a 4-year period.

Another objective of the Farm Security Administration is to help tenants and sharecroppers to increase the security of their land-tenure agreements so they can plan ahead for crop rotations, soil conservation, and avoid the waste of frequent moving. Thirteen thousand six hundred and nine tenant farmers in Oklahoma financed by the Farm Security Administration have obtained written leases in place of verbal agreements.

It is to the example of England that Farm Security has turned for precedent in its effort to promote leases under which tenants will be able to occupy the same farm for a longer period of years and will be encouraged to make improvements. Dr. Earl Brandt, recently lecturing at Louisiana State University, who studied the English system at first hand and later acted as arbitrator of landlord-tenant relations in his native Germany, says: "It is generally agreed upon that the landlord has the upper hand in the tenancy situation. But this does not mean at all that the landlord has the power to force tenants to operate a farm to the greatest benefit of both parties and of the commonwealth. Force on the one hand and passive resistance or defensive inertia on the other prevent the development of prosperous farming.

"Such a deadlock can only be broken by a changed psychology. The first requirement for a reform of a degenerate tenancy is a new interpretation or a new philosophy of the principle of tenancy."

As a practical means of setting up this new standard of relation between landlord and tenant, Farm Security has developed a new lease. Chief features of the lease are compensation to tenants for improvements which they make upon the landlord's property and safeguards against termination of the lease on short notice. Expectation is that the increased interest which the tenant will take in maintaining the property and in carrying on an efficient farming system will more than pay the landlord for the concessions that he makes under this agreement. (See tenure survey of the Texas Agricultural Workers Association.[1]) The mere fact of entering into a written agreement, to clarify the conditions which are already tacitly in effect, is considered worth while, even though no new principles are introduced. The unfair attitude of many landlords and the undependable attitude of many tenants are largely the outgrowth of the unbusinesslike and unsatisfactory relationships which have existed between them, and the distrust between them is largely due to their failure to enter into a definite tenure arrangement which would be mutually fair and profitable.

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[1] See p. 1945.

The migratory-labor problem in Texas and Oklahoma has resulted largely from insecurity of tenure, the one-crop farming system, and the inadequate credit system developing over a long period of years. It has been intensified in recent years by mechanization of farming, discussed in the attached paper by Dr. C. H. Hamilton, formerly of the Texas Experiment Station.

It is estimated that 70,000 farm families are now wanderers upon the highways of Texas and Oklahoma, living by such precarious earnings as they make in the harvests which they follow from the Rio Grande to the Red River with the seasons. Their annual cash income, per family, in Texas amounted to $154 in 1937.

The remedy is to anchor these families to the land, before they lose their grip upon it. When this fails, and the families become migrants, their lot may be alleviated by the provision of labor camps, such as have been constructed and are now being constructed in various parts of Texas. The camps provide temporary housing, sanitary, health, and social facilities. They assist local farmers to solve their labor problems; and help the State, county, and city health officials in the promotion of health and sanitation programs; and aid the community, State, and Nation to build a stronger democracy by a well-rounded program to meet the education, cultural, and social needs of these laborers.

Permanent camps are located in areas where seasonal work runs continuously over a period of from 4 to 6 months. Shelters, tent platforms, and trailer lots in each camp now open will accommodate 250 to 300 families. In addition there are from 25 to 50 labor cottages available to families who have the prospect of a more permanent employment pattern in the local community and who because of their energy, skill, and ambition have reasonable prospects of again establishing themselves on the land.

A general assembly or community building provides complete facilities for group meetings, church and Sunday school services, kindergarten, dances, and other community functions. There are reading and library rooms. General space is provided for indoor recreation and for various educational projects.

A large central utility building is provided with shower baths and laundry tubs with hot and cold water, and sewing and ironing rooms. The opportunity to clean up and wash their clothes is one of the features of the camps most appreciated and enjoyed by the people who use them.

Each community is provided with a modern clinic fully equipped and supplied with a complete stock of medical supplies and drugs usually found in any modern urban clinic. A registered nurse is on the staff of each camp to care for minor illnesses; conduct child welfare and prenatal clinics; to promote a community health program and to assist in the promotion of the general welfare of the community. The medical program includes the services of physicians to care for the more serious illnesses, advise in regard to child welfare, give physical examinations, and render professional services as needed.

All families are required, immediately upon registration in the camps, to register with the Texas State Employment Service. All contacts between employers and employees are established through this agency, and hiring is done by the aid of these officials or their representatives.

A community manager and small staff, employed by the Farm Security Administration, are in charge of camp property, operations, applications, assigning quarters, and maintaining the Government property in good condition.

Self-government by a camp council elected by the residents is encouraged in every way possible.

The solution of problems of migratory labor and tenancy in general involves something far more fundamental than labor camps or lease forms or cooperative agreements or obtaining adequate livestock and equipment.

The spirit of the tenant farmer in Texas and Oklahoma is the spirit of the pioneer, questing for a new land where he can build a home to be his castle. His spirit is no different from that of his father who left the British Isles or the Continent in search of freedom. When the tenant farmer feels that his freedom, either political or economic, is being cramped, he picks up and moves. His fathers moved first into the older Southern States, then into Texas and Oklahoma, and the sons today are moving on to California, and failing to find there a home which will be their castle, they are turning back again to Texas and Oklahoma. They are ripe for leadership which will show them the wisdom of ceasing to be a human tumble weed, and of taking root.

Back in the old countries from which their fathers came, the cousins of our tenants are working out their problems in the way which is giving them security on the land. The Danish farmer who now plugs along in his livestock farming, let us not forget, is descendent of the Vikings who once drove pirate crafts across a stormy sea. If the Danish Vikings could be domesticated, we should be able to make our human tumble weeds take root.

We can say that already, even among these families with which we deal upon the lowest rung of the agricultural ladder, they are taking root. Fruit trees and vines were planted last year by 4,627 rural rehabilitation families in Texas and by 4,819 of these families in Oklahoma. They are being given, under Farm Security Administration leadership, a new vision of home, even though it is a rented home. They have decided to stand and fight where they are. People do not plant fruit trees and vines unless they have hopes of eating the fruit.

APPENDIX

A. Results of Farm Tenure Questionnaire of the Texas Agricultural Workers Association.
B. "The Social Effects of Recent Trends of Mechanization of Agriculture," by C. H. Hamilton.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
Dallas, Tex., July 12, 1940.

In reply refer to: RS-3-JHC.

MR. EUGENE BUTLER,
President, Texas Agricultural Workers Association,
Care of Progressive Farmer, Dallas, Tex.

DEAR MR. BUTLER: The farm tenancy committee of the Agricultural Workers Association has tabulated and analyzed the results of a comprehensive questionnaire on the tenancy situation in Texas. This questionnaire was prepared and submitted in cooperation with the State land use planning committee, and most of the answers were made by county land use planning committees, covering about 40 counties in all sections of the State.

TENURE SURVEY OF TEXAS AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION

Notable facts developed include evidence of a heavy swing of sentiment toward long-term leases and Government policies which aid tenants to become owners of small farms.

All answers but two were signed by landowners, the suggestions being made by owners rather than by tenants themselves.

A heavy majority favored legislation which would require advance notice when either the landlord or tenant planned to terminte a lease. Time which it was suggested should be given before termination ranged from 30 days to 5 months in case of the 1-year lease, while for longer leases the suggestion was up to 8 months. Compensation was favored for either the tenant or the landlord in case the other party abruptly terminated a lease or abandoned the farm without due notice.

Compulsory arbitration of disputes was favored by a heavy majority, but most answers opposed "professional" arbitration boards. A special committee in each case was favored, one member selected by each party to the dispute, and a third by those previously selected.

It was generally agreed that the tenant is at a disadvantage in bargaining, because of the shortage of rentable farms. Most frequently quoted evidence of the tenant's disadvantage was "unlawful and unethical retention by the landlord of Government benefit payments." Other inequities listed were excessive rents, or "bonus" rents, and acceptance by tenants of the responsibility for making improvements which should be made by landlords.

Tenants should be compensated for improvements, it was held, when made with the landlord's approval. Compensation favored was the assessed value at the time of lease termination. Replies were practically unanimous in opposing adoption of the English plan of permitting tenants to receive compensation for certain improvements made without consent of the landlord.

Encouragement and aid to tenants in acquiring ownership of small farms was unanimously approved, the type of aid usually suggested being long-term loans at low interest such as is now being provided through the Farm Security Administration. A graduated land tax was frequently suggested under which small, owner-operated farms would be comparatively free from taxation, but an increasing rate would be applied to investment holdings. Value, rather than acreage, was favored as the basis for taxing the larger tracts.

I invite your attention to the fact that a "flexible lease," obtained at any county office of the Farm Security Administration, provides a form for adopting suggestions made in these answers as to more profitable relations between owners and tenants.

Detailed analysis of the answers follows:

I. A three-fourths majority were in favor of a law which would require notice by either landlord or tenant to terminate the customary 1-year or continuous lease. The amount of time that would be given under the proposed law ranged from 30 days to 5 months. The majority replies indicated that there is little need, if any, for changing the customary date of terminating leases or changing tenants. The customary date, it was stated, is July or August for turning back small grain lands, after the harvest. January 1 is the customary date for turning back land planted to row crops, along with the tenant's house.

II. An 80-percent majority said that the present laws establishing the landlord's lien operate fairly and equitably to both parties.

III. Replies were almost unanimous in opposing authority for tenants to make improvements and claim compensation therefor unless they had first received authorization from the landlord, but that tenants should be compensated where landlord's authorization had been received. It was suggested by most that compensation should be on the appraised value of the improvements at the time the lease is terminated. A two to one majority held against a State law which would permit the tenant to rebuild and collect compensation when the dwelling or other necessary facilities on a tenant farm had been destroyed or damaged by fire, flood, or other causes beyond his control.

IV. Compensation for abrupt termination of the lease by the landlord, or abandonment by the tenant, was favored by more than three-fourths of those answering the questionnaire. Most of these believed compensation should be assessed on the basis of actual damages, such as the expense necessary to complete the crop when abandoned by the tenant or the value of the growing crop to the tenant if he is evicted without proper notice. Many favored leaving the damages figure to the arbitration board.

Most of the answers were against fixing a fraction of the crop rent as damages for disturbance. The consensus of opinion, however, was that a tenth or more of the year's rent was not too much damages to assess where a 1-year automatically renewable lease was terminated without adequate notice. About half of those answering this question held a tenth was too small.

Minimum period of advance notice to terminate a lease of 3 years or longer was given as 30 days to 8 months. Ninety days was most frequently named. Minimum notice to terminate a 1-year automatically renewable lease varied from 10 to 180 days, although 90 days was again most popular.

The feeling was frequently expressed that possessions of most tenants would not satisfy a judgment or penalty assessed against them for violation of the rental agreement.

Legislation suggested included compulsory notice, uniform rules of abandonment and eviction, making this a compulsory contract matter, or leaving it to arbitration.

V. Opinion was evenly divided as to whether minimum standards of housing, sanitation, and health should be set by State law. It was held that most landlords are not able with the present level of farm income to build or maintain better housing, sanitary, and health facilities, and that to require a compulsory standard would be to force tenants in many cases to leave the houses, however poor and unsanitary. Others felt that improved facilities, if built, would be abused by tenants and not kept in repair.

Almost one-half, however, favored State legislation and a public agency to determine and approve the minimum standard. This was preferred rather than for tenants to make such improvements, in case his landlord failed, and deduct the cost from his rent. Two-thirds of those favoring legislation would force the tenants to maintain the property and be responsible for minor repairs.

No unanimity was shown as to the nature of the minimum standards which should be required. Most answers included a water supply free from contamination, sanitary toilet, screens, and a good roof.

VI. A 75-percent majority held that disputes between landlords and tenants should be submitted to arbitration. In case either party fails or refuses to arbitrate, it was the general opinion that State laws should permit the other party to go ahead and that the verdict should be legally binding. A large majority favored arbitration by special committee rather than by a standing committee, the special committee to consist of one member selected by the landlord, one by the tenant, and the third by the two previously selected. Opinion was heavily against use of a "professional" arbitration committee.

VII. It was the general opinion that sharecroppers have approximately the same standing in law and in actual practice as third-and-fourth tenants, and that sharecroppers would lose these advantages if they should be classed as farm laborers or wage hands.

VIII. In regard to amendments or new laws needed to encourage ownership of family-sized farms, most replies suggested expansion of the present Farm Security Administration activities, with their long-time purchase loans and low interest rate. Some suggestions were made that family-sized, owner-operated farms should be exempt from all taxation. A closely divided vote disapproved restrictions which would limit farms to family-sized units. A heavy majority indicated that homsteads should be exempted only from State taxes but not local. As regards bond issues, sentiment was strongly against exempting homesteads. But the majority approved a land tax under which small owner-operated farms would be comparatively free from taxation, and an increasing rate be applied to investment holdings. A somewhat smaller majority approved the principle of escheat laws under which a land title reverts to the State after investors have held it a number of years or a penalty tax is applied. General disapproval met the suggestion of a capital-gains tax, to be applied when land is sold, as a means of discouraging or penalizing land speculation.

IX. As to types of owners doing the more effective job of preserving the land and maintaining satisfactory arrangements with tenants, local farmers with surplus land, and local private investors were voted the best.

X. No support was found for the suggestion that each rented farm be appraised periodically and the rate of rent fixed by law. Disapproval was likewise given to suggestions that a tenant have the legal right to purchase the farm at any time if he desired to use it as a homestead, the price to be established by Government appraisal.

XI. No unanimity was expressed as to what should be done, if anything, about "suitcase farmers." This term is applied to operators who own or rent land upon which they do not live, and work that land in wheat or other crops which can be produced and harvested in a short period. Suggestions made were that "time will take care of this," "leave it to A. A. A.," "put them off," "permit them only on land not good for family-sized farms."

XII. Shortage of farms on which a fair living can be made puts landlords in a superior bargaining position, and unsatisfactory housing and living facilities which the tenant is forced to accept is the most common form in which this inequality of bargaining position is manifested, according to the majority of answers. Unlawful, unethical retention of Agricultural Adjustment Administration price parity and soil conservation payments by the landlord was named next most frequently as evidence of this inequity. Other inequities listed were bonuses and excessive rates of rent, and acceptance by tenants of the responsibility and expense of making farm improvements which should be made by landlords.

The minority who held that landlords are suffering from unequal bargaining position pointed to poor return from their farms as evidence.

XIII. Comparative legal and economic responsibility of landlords and tenants: No clear-cut opinion.

XIV. The tenant's need for a farm was held more vital to human welfare and also from a "plain business viewpoint" than the need of a landlord for a tenant to operate his farm. In every opinion, save one, the tenant without a farm was considered to be suffering a greater inconvenience and loss than the landlord who is unable to get a tenant.

Greater loss is sustained by the tenant in the case of abrupt and unexpected termination of his lease than by the landlord whose tenant moves without adequate notice, according to four-fifths of the answers. A great majority held that public welfare and the community interest is also involved in this.

Encouraging ownership of the land by those who work it was dominant in the legislative solutions offered. The Farm Security Administration's "tenant purchase program" was specifically named in several questionnaires as the most desirable solution. Without mentioning Farm Security Administration's farm-purchase program by name, many others agreed that long-term financing at a low rate of interest was the answer. Other suggestions were continuation of Agricultural Adjustment Administration price parity and soil conservation payments, encouraging more written leases, requiring Agricultural Adjustment Administration committeemen to enforce regulations against landlords getting an unfair share of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration payments, refinancing distressed owner-operated farms with long-term loans at low interest, discouraging large holdings, discouraging investment in land by those who have no intention of farming it, expanding the Farm Security Administration's rural rehabilitation program, and extension of the work of the land-use planning committees.

One reply urged: "Everything possible should be done to increase the 'love of the land.' The father of Scarlett O'Hara in Gone With the Wind said in substance, 'To an Irishman the love of the land is like his love for his mother. It is the only thing worth working for, worth fighting for, worth dying for.' It made me feel like an Irishman, too. Wang Lung in The Good Earth would not sell his land, even though he was starving. Home ownership will increase the 'love of the land' more than anything else."

Respectfully submitted.

C. M. Evans,
Regional Director, Chairman Farm Tenancy Committee.

[579 Progress report, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and A. and M. College of Texas, College Station, Tex., December 14, 1938, A. D. Jackson, editor]

The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture, by C. Horace Hamilton, Economist in Rural Life, Agricultural Experiment Station, A. and M. College of Texas

THE RATE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF MECHANIZATION

The rate and the magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are, to put it mildly, beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man. The year of 1937 marks the high point in the manufacture and sale of farm tractors and other farm equipment in the United States. According to a recent report of the Bureau of the Census (1), the value of farm equipment sold by manufacturers for use in the United States amounted to $507,146,913 (see table 1). This figure is to be compared with $409,090,155 in 1936, $302,259,557 in 1935, only $90,000,000 in 1932, and in 1929, the record year before 1937, $458,000,000. Farm tractors alone accounted for 42 percent of the farm equipment sales of 1936 and 1937. In 1925 the sales of farm tractors accounted for only 27.2 percent of all such sales. During the 3-year period, 1935 to 1937, farm machinery manufacturers sold for use in the United States 565,792 tractors. In 1937 alone more tractors were sold for domestic use than were enumerated on farms in 1920.

According to the estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute (2), there were, as of April 1, 1938, on the farms of the Nation 1,527,989 tractors—less than 3 times as many as were sold in the 3-year period preceding 1938 (see table 2). A recent survey of 3,000 farms shows that 40.3 percent of the tractors on farms and ranches in the United States were bought in the 3 years preceding 1938 (3). The estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute are likely conservative (see table 3). Their estimates show for the State of Texas 73,981 tractors in 1936 and 98,966 in 1938—an increase of 34 percent. Their figure for 1938 may be too low by 17,000, for, during the same period, gasoline tax refunds to farmers using tractors increased 57 percent.[1]

TABLE 1.—*Farm equipment sold for use in the United States 1922–37*

Year	Value		Percent of tractors	Year	Value		Percent of tractors
	All types of farm equipment	Tractors			All types of farm equipment	Tractors	
1937	$507, 146, 913	$214, 192, 212	42. 0	1927	$391, 868, 822	$131, 667, 221	33. 6
1936	409, 090, 155	171, 850, 905	42. 0	1926	364, 751, 042	105, 001, 649	28. 8
1935	302, 259, 557	123, 432, 843	40, 8	1925	340, 271, 234	92, 506, 790	27. 2
1930	382, 190, 716	133, 054, 559	34. 8	1924	277, 924, 547	74, 063, 314	26. 6
1929	458, 091, 248	155, 406, 163	33, 9	1923	311, 976, 047	77, 418, 955	24. 8
1928	402, 872, 036	122, 281, 032	30. 4	1922	222, 907, 764	53, 860, 771	24. 2

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Reports on the Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products. Data for 1931–34. Figures for years previous to 1937, quoted from Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt," p. 27. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Serial No. R 737.

TABLE 2.—*Trend in the number of horses, mules, and tractors on farms, Texas and the United States, 1920 to 1938*

Year	United States				Texas			
	Number in 1000's				Number in 1000's			
	Horses	Mules	Total work-stock	Tractors	Horses	Mules	Total work-stock	Tractors
1938	11, 163	4, 477	15, 640	1, 528	714	740	1, 454	99
1937	11, 445	4, 571	16, 016	1, 383	707	787	1, 494	88
1936	11, 635	4, 684	16, 319	1, 248	693	837	1, 530	74
1935	11, 858	4, 818	16, 676	(1)	686	890	1, 576	(1)
1930	13, 511	5, 375	18, 886	920	780	1, 053	1, 835	37
1925	16, 401	5, 681	22, 082	506	1, 000	1, 220	2, 220	17
1920	19, 767	5, 432	25, 200	246	1, 240	1, 060	2, 300	9

[1] No data.

Source: United States Census of Agriculture, 1935, vol. 3, p. 243 for data from 1920 to 1935. Data on horses and mules, 1936 to 1938, from the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates. Data on tractors from the Farm Implement News, April, 1936, 1937, 1938.

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[1] This conclusion is verified by the results of farm-management studies (4, 5) which show the average annual gasoline consumption per 2-row all-purpose tractor to be slightly over 1,000 gallons in the highly mechanized areas of west Texas and approximately 750 gallons in the less mechanized blackland area. The low consumption per tractor in the blackland is offset by the higher consumption by 4-row tractors on the plains and by the larger tractors found in the Panhandle wheat area. Since, however, the 2-row all-purpose tractor is the most prevalent type in Texas, a rough estimate of 1,000 gallons per tractor may be used. At 4 cents per gallon, the State refund would amount to $40 per tractor. The amount of gasoline taxes refunded to farmers in Texas during the year ending August 1, 1938, was $4,640,414. Therefore, if the average tractor consumed 1,000 gallons, the number of tractors in use in Texas during 1938 must have been approximately 116,000. If the Farm Equipment Institute's estimate is correct (and it may be), the average consumption of gas per tractor would be about 1,172 gallons per year (see table 3). It is entirely possible, of course, that the mean consumption of gasoline per tractor has been increasing in the more recent years. It is interesting to note that the institute's estimate for 1936 is almost identical with that based upon the 1,000 gallons per year estimated consumption; and that my estimate for 1931 (estimate A, table 3) of 40,099 is very close to the number of farm tractors enumerated in 1930—37,348.

TYPES AND REGIONS OF MECHANIZATION

The increase in the use of the all-purpose, rubber-tired tractor has characterized and dominated recent agricultural mechanization in the United States. For instance, of the 565,792 tractors sold for domestic use, 72.7 percent were of the all-purpose type, and nearly 50 percent of these were equipped with rubber tires. Table 4 shows the trend of tractors manufactured in the United States—both for export and domestic use, by type of tractor. The all-purpose tractor designed to list or flat-break 2 rows or furrows at a time has been most common. It has been found that these tractors can also be used in cultivating and planting 4 rows at a time. During the past year, farm machinery manufacturers have begun to feature smaller tractors designed for 1-row equipment. A streamlined, completely enclosed tractor, equipped with radio, spittoon, and cigar lighter, has also been developed for the gentlemen farmers who since 1933 have found farming to be so attractive.

The types of machines powered by the all-purpose tractor, as well as the types of farming being mechanized should be given attention. One of the characteristics of recent mechanization trends is that nearly all types of farming are being invaded in varying degrees. A rough idea of the types of tractor-drawn farm equipment may be obtained by scanning the different classifications of manufacturers' sales for 1937 (1). Over $50,000,000 worth of harvesting machinery, nearly $29,000,000 worth of plows and listers, $25,000,000 worth of planting, seeding, and fertilizing machinery, and $20,000,000 worth of cultivators and weeders are shown in the census reports. Although some of these machines may be either horse- or tractor-drawn, their descriptions and values indicate that the tractor-drawn equipment accounts for from 60 to 80 percent of the total value of sales.

The types of crops and farming subject to recent mechanization is indicated by the following selected list of 1937 domestic farm equipment sales:

Two-row cultivators	121, 158
Two-bottom moldboard plows	110, 168
Two-row corn planters	53, 922
Grain combines	29, 403
Grain binders	31, 259
Manure spreaders	60, 057
Corn pickers	13, 586
Corn binders	16, 698
Potato diggers	5, 703
Beet lifters	1, 797

Mechanization in the production of wheat, corn, and cotton has, of course, been most spectacular; but such machines as potato and beet diggers should not be overlooked. Truck crops in general, however, present many obstacles to mechanization (13). Although wheat is the most highly mechanized of all the major crops, there has been a surprisingly large amount of mechanization in wheat states during the past few years—most surprising when the effects of the drought and depression are given due consideration. This is illustrated by the fact that the number of tractors in the West North Central States increased from 318,160 in 1930 to 504,157 in 1938. Even in North and South Dakota the number of farm tractors increased approximately 30 percent during the last 8 years; and in Nebraska the increase amounted to 61 percent. In Kansas the number of tractors showed an estimated increase of 39 percent during the period, the 1938 figure being 91,801.

Table 3.—*Recent trends in the amount of gasoline-tax refunds to Texas farmers, showing estimated number of gasoline tractors in use, 1931 to 1938*

Fiscal years (ending Aug. 31)	All refunds	Refunds to farmers [1]	Percent to farmers	Estimated number of tractors	
				A [2]	B [3]
1938	$6,871,302	$4,640,414	67.5	116,010	98,966
1937	5,780,486	3,682,661	63.7	92,067	88,306
1936	4,837,800	2,951,596	61.0	73,789	73,981
1935	3,507,329	2,037,705	58.1	50,943	---------
1934	3,143,460	1,740,611	55.7	43,740	---------
1933	2,803,832	1,512,960	54.0	37,824	---------
1932	3,275,142	2,009,431	61.4	50,236	---------
1931	2,792,047	1,603,971	57.4	40,099	---------

[1] Refund made at the rate of 4 cents per gallon.
[2] Assuming that the average refund per tractor was $40.
[3] Estimates made by the Farm Equipment Institute, Chicago, Ill., on the basis of estimated tractors sold in each State and an allowance made for obsolescence.

Source: Annual Reports of the Comptroller of Public Accounts of the State of Texas, 1931–38 and the Farm Implement News, April 1936, 1937, and 1938.

Table 4.—*Number and value of tractors manufactured in the United States, by type of tractor, 1935 to 1937*

Type	Number			Value		
	1937	1936	1935	1937	1936	1935
All tractors	283,155	227,185	161,131	$268,394,076	$214,853,968	$147,825,552
Wheel [1]	53,882	39,068	31,741	42,384,936	28,509,515	24,397,535
All purpose	183,955	154,879	106,343	117,300,669	92,291,844	59,030,069
Track laying	34,602	27,299	18,774	66,418,335	54,602,581	37,056,960
Garden	10,716	5,939	4,273	1,575,415	1,101,054	816,108

[1] Except all purpose.

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. The Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products, 1937, p. 5.

If we take the ratio of tractors in 1938 to the number of farms in 1935 as a measure of mechanization, Illinois ranks first place with a ratio of 59.7 percent. Illinois also ranks first not only in the total number of tractors in 1938, 138,192, but also in the largest number of tractors added since 1930. Other States showing a high tractor-ratio, in order: North Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, California, New Jersey, and Indiana. The significant thing about these 10 highly mechanized States is that they almost span the entire Nation from New Jersey to California. In these States are found approximately 45 percent of all the tractors in the United States; a percentage which has declined only slightly since 1925. In 1920, 52.5 percent of all the Nation's tractors were in these 10 States. (See table 5.)

Although the greatest degree of mechanization is found in the North Central States, we must look elsewhere to discover the higher and more spectacular rates of mechanization. The most widespread high rates of mechanization are found in the South and Southwest. Mississippi leads the Old South both in the number of tractors added since 1930 and in the rate of increase; the number of tractors increasing from 5,542 in 1930 to 14,703 in 1938, an increase of 165 percent. Yet the tractor-farm ratio for Mississippi was only 4.7 per hundred. In the Southwest, Texas leads, with 61,618 tractors added—an increase over 1930 of 165 percent. The tractor-farm ratio for Texas was found to be 19.8 per hundred, considerably higher than any other southern State, except Oklahoma, which showed a ratio of 19.5. It is interesting to note than there were estimated to be more tractors in Texas than in 8 Old South cotton States—reaching from North Carolina and Georgia to Arkansas and Louisiana. Although the old cotton

States of the South still have few tractors compared with the North and West, they all show high rates of mechanization.

The most rapid mechanization of cotton farming has occurred in the western cotton areas of Texas and Oklahoma. Several large areas in Texas are almost completely mechanized; e. g. the high and low plains, the Corpus Christi area. Bonnen and Magee (6) found that of 141 representative farms in the high plains in 1927, 79 percent were depending on tractor power and multirow equipment as compared with only 26 percent in 1931. They also noted a very rapid increase in the use of 4-row equipment. In many communities practically 100 percent of the farms depend upon tractor power. In Lubbock County, in the heart of the high plains, a sample of 43 farmers interviewed during the summer of 1938, while they were in town for their agricultural conservation checks, included only 2 farmers who did not use tractor power (7). Twenty-seven of the 43 farmers were using 4-row tractor-drawn cultivating and planting equipment. On these 27 farms were found 28 tractors pulling 4-row equipment; 5 tractors pulling 2-row equipment; 1 other tractor; 52 farm families; 445 crop acres per operator or farm; 343 acres per tractor; and 224 acres per farm family—operators and laborers. On farms having only 1 set of 4-row equipment, the mean acres in crops was 398.

Fourteen of the 43 farms used 2-row cultivating and planting equipment but no 4-row equipment. On these 14 farms were found: 26 two-row tractors; 34 farm families; 503 crop-acres per farm; 271 crop-acres per tractor and 207 crop-acres per farm family. Nineteen of the 43 farms surveyed had no workstock whatever, and the other tractor farmers had very few workstock in active use. These situations are considered typical of the plains area.

The farms in the blacklands of Texas are also being mechanized at a rapid rate. Reconnaissance surveys indicate that at least 30 percent of the blackland farmers use tractors and that possibly 50 percent of the crop land is cultivated with tractors.

TABLE 5.—*Trend in the number of tractors in use in the United States and in selected groups of States*

Group	Year					
	1938	1937	1936	1930	1925	1920
Number:						
The United States	1,527,989	1,382,872	1,248,337	920,021	505,933	246,083
10 highly mechanized States [1]	690,266	630,236	577,215	397,687	229,936	129,269
8 Old South cotton States [2]	97,473	84,888	74,236	48,529	30,841	31,817
Texas	98,966	88,306	73,981	37,348	16,780	9,048
Remainder of the United States	641,284	579,442	522,905	436,457	228,376	93,949
Percentage distribution:						
The United States	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
10 highly mechanized States	45.2	45.6	46.2	43.2	45.4	52.5
8 Old South cotton States	6.4	6.1	5.9	5.3	6.1	5.6
Texas	6.5	6.4	5.9	4.1	3.3	3.7
Remainder of the United States	42.0	41.9	41.9	47.4	45.1	38.2

[1] Illinois, North Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, California, New Jersey, and Indiana.

[2] North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Source: Farm Implement News for data of 1936, 1937, and 1938. United States census for the years 1920, 1925, and 1930.

The large plantations of the river bottoms have been slow to mechanize. Nevertheless, a survey of 196 plantations revealed that the number of tractors on them had doubled during the past 4 years. The average plantation had 1.5 tractors and 382 acres of cotton in 1938 (7). Most of the tractors on these plantations were used only for breaking, discing, roadwork, and ditching. Many plantation operators interviewed stated that they expected to shift to tractors extensively in the near future. Two important factors, however, will retard mechanization on plantations: (1) Because of the dense weed growth, the heavy foliage of the cotton plant, and the slow opening of the cotton bolls, a relatively large proportion of labor used in cotton production on the plantations must be hand labor; and (2) because of the restrictions of the agricultural conservation program, plantations cannot utilize the additional land released by mechanization in either cotton production or in the production of livestock and feed for the market. A small farmer can milk a few cows or feed some calves and hogs without conspicuously violating the regulations of the agricultural conservation program; but a shift to commercial dairy farming on plantations would not be permitted. Furthermore, the plantation is set up primarily for commercial cotton production, and not for mixed or general farming. The type of labor needed for cotton picking is entirely different from that needed for livestock farming.

FARM MECHANIZATION AND THE USE OF MAN LABOR

Long before the tractor became an important source of farm power, the development of labor-saving machines, together with other changes in technology, had greatly reduced the amount of labor needed per unit of agricultural product or per unit of land cultivated. For instance, it has been estimated that, in 1830, 288 hours of man-labor were required to produce a hundred bushels of wheat on 5 acres of land. By 1880, with the use of machines available at that time, 100 bushels of wheat could be produced with only 129 hours of man-labor; and by 1900, only 86 man-hours were required. Finally, by 1930, only 49 man-hours were needed to produce 100 bushels of wheat on 5 acres (8).

In the production of corn, the number of man-hours needed to produce 100 bushels dropped from about 180 in 1880 to 104 in 1930 (22). Since 1930 the perfection and the increased use of corn picking and corn husking machinery has likely reduced the number of hours needed still further. The average amount of labor now actually used in the production of 100 bushels of corn in the United States as a whole has been recently estimated to be 90 man-hours, as compared with only 49 hours in the Corn Belt (9). Between 1911 and 1934, the same report, indicates that the total number of hours of man-labor used to produce the Nation's corn crop decreased from 2,898 millions to 2,276 millions, or approximately 21.5 percent.

In the production of cotton, with the exception of harvesting, a similar condition prevails. McCrory and others, in a National Resources Committee report, estimate that, on the average, in 1930 only 235 man-hours were required to produce a bale of cotton as compared to 285 in 1900, and 304 in 1880 (22). Holley and Arnold, in a Work Projects Administration national research report estimate that the actual number of man-hours required to produce one bale of cotton decreased from 271 in the period 1907–11 to 218 in the period 1933–36 (10). This same report shows, however, that only 178 man-hours were required to produce one bale in the entire western cotton area[2] in the period 1933–36. Furthermore, the total number of man-hours utilized annually in cotton production in the United States decreased from 3,343 millions in the period 1907–11 to 2,489 in the period 1933–36, a decrease of 25.5 percent. A part of this decline was due to the fact that in the latter period the annual production of cotton in the United States was nearly a million bales less than it was in the former period. Also, in the latter period cotton production had shifted to the western areas where labor requirements per bale were lower than in the older areas.

Other reports of the Work Projects Administration national research project indicate that there have also been substantial reductions in the number of man-hours used in producing sugar beets and potatoes (11, 12). In the case of sugar beets, the reduction in the use of man-labor was about 17 percent between the periods 1920–24 and 1928–32—dropping from 112 man-hours per acre in the former period to 94 in the latter. However, the full effect of recently developed harvesting machinery has not been felt in the case of sugar beets. The number of man-hours required to produce an acre of potatoes in selected areas has decreased from 86 to 64 between the periods 1909–13 and 1934–36, a decrease of 25.6 percent. Since 1910 it is estimated that approximately 50,000,000 man-hours of labor have been eliminated in the production of the Nation's potato crop. In other commercial truck crops the trend in labor demand is generally upward. Mechanization in the production of many vegetable crops is very difficult, and, due to rapid urbanization, the acreages of such crops has expanded considerably in the last few years (13). The same might be said about many fruit crops.

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[2] The area reaching from central Texas (not including the black land) to California. In some of the highly mechanized areas of the west the number of man-hours required per acre may be as low as 20 or 25.

The net result of recent trends in farm mechanization (along with other technological changes) has been summarized in the most recent report of the Work Projects Administration national research project (23). Briefly stated, this report shows that "from 1909 and 1929 the output per person working in agriculture increased approximately 37 percent. This increased productivity made it possible for 7.5 fewer persons to produce an agricultural output which was 27 percent greater in 1929 than in 1909." Other studies indicate a similar situation (22).

MECHANIZATION IN THE COTTON BELT

The extent of mechanization and the decrease in the demand for labor in cotton farming have been indicated. The social effects of mechanization will now be presented briefly. The displacement of thousands of farm croppers, tenants, and farm laborers is the most serious problem. Adequate data are not available to show the complete picture in all its details, but a number of recent studies and surveys do show that the situation is a most critical one. Bonnen and Magee (6) have shown that the use of 2-row tractor-powered farm equipment on all farm land in the high plains of Texas would reduce the number of farms to 58 percent of the 1935 census count, and that the use of 4-row tractor equipment would further reduce the number of farms to 33 percent of the 1935 figure. Langsford and Thibodeaux (15) have shown how the mechanization of plantations in the Mississippi Delta area would reduce the plantation labor force per plantation (having 750 acres of crops) from 40 families under the horse-drawn 1-row system to 24 families under a 4-row tractor system. This amounts to a decrease of 40 percent. In this estimate they are quite conservative, because they are assuming that some of the 24 families would be kept there primarily for the purpose of hoeing and picking cotton. If the Delta should come to depend upon transient labor as the plains and black lands of Texas do, then less than 24 families might be kept on the plantation. Already we know of many instances where transient cotton pickers have been transported in trucks from Texas to Mississippi.

That actual population displacement in Texas cotton-growing areas has reached serious proportions is demonstrated by the 1937 Texas population-changes survey, which indicated a decrease of over 20,000 farms in the State between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938 (16). Since many displaced families from cotton farms likely migrate to noncotton farms, the displacement from cotton farms has likely been greater than 20,000 families. In connection with the annual population surveys for the past 2 years, scores of letters have been received from correspondents giving illustrations of the displacement of farm tenants and laborers by tractors. The displacement of from 3 to 5 families by 1 tractor is not uncommon. One case was reported where 9 families were displaced by 1 tractor. Assuming that 1 tractor will displace 1 family only, more than 60,000 farm families have probably been displaced from Texas farms since 1930. Also, since the number of tractors on Texas farms increased about 50,000 in a 3-year period before April 1, 1938, it may be estimated that more than 10,000 families have been displaced annually from Texas farms since 1935.

"Where do these displaced farm families go?" is a question which is frequently asked. Many of them, as I have already indicated, move to poor farms, unsuited to cotton production with farm tractors. A larger number migrate to towns and cities and become common laborers, alternating between agriculture and the town. Many displaced tenants and croppers remain in the open country as partially employed farm or common laborers. At the time of this writing, the Works Progress Administration reports a certified caseload of 80,000 farm families—48,000 of whom were awaiting assignment. A late report is that some of these people are to be shifted to the care of the Farm Security Administration, which was already assisting nearly 30,000 Texas farm families. Welfare and employment service offices in the State for the past 2 years have been reporting unusually heavy requests for aid from these displaced farm families. The 1937 Census of Unemployment showed approximately 130,000 unemployed and partially unemployed agricultural workers in the State. This is almost identical with the number of agricultural wage workers reported as employed by the 1935 Agricultural Census.

The displaced family faces the prospect of a lower income. The typical farm tenant in the high plains or in the black land may be expected to earn a net farm income of from $800 to $1,000 annually, even with cotton prices as they are today. As either a common or an agricultural laborer the same tenant cannot expect to earn more than from $250 to $300. A survey just completed in Texas shows the farm laborer family median income to have been only $220 in 1937—when opportunities were excellent for cotton picking (7).

The surplus of farm tenants available has created considerable competition among tenants for places to rent; and, as a result, rental rates are rising. In areas that once followed the straight third-and-fourth share rent systems, cash rents and privilege rents of various types are being used. Pasture land, which tenants formerly received free of rent, now rents frequently for $1 per acre. In some areas tenants are being charged cash rent for their dwellings. In many areas from $3 to $6 per acre is being charged for land planted in feed crops. On many of these farms the cash rent on the feed land amounts to more than the income from cotton.

The mechanization of cotton farms has increased what might be called the patch-cropper system. The patch-cropper, similar to a hoe-cropper in some of the southeastern States, may receive a small cash wage and in addition the cotton produced on a 4- or 5-acre patch. In west Texas the patch may be as large as 35 or 40 acres, and the cropper may receive a cash wage as well as some perquisites. No surveys are available to show the extent and characteristics of the patch-cropper system over wide areas.

The mechanization of cotton farms in Texas and in some other States has greatly enlarged and intensified the transient labor problem. New social relations, institutions, and problems are arising out of this situation. Already there has developed a widespread private and unregulated system of transporting transient labor—a system which has in it great possibilities of labor exploitation. The labor contractor furnishes a large open truck, recruits a group of laborers, and transports them, presumably free of charge, across the State as the cotton picking and the truck and fruit harvesting seasons progress. The contractor, usually a Mexican with a truck, is a contact man and business agent for the laborers. He takes the responsibility for contacting farmers, weighing, and hauling cotton (or truck crops), and of collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmer. For these services and for transporting the laborers, the contractor receives from the laborer from 5 to 10 cents for each 100 pounds of cotton picked, and from the farmer about $1.50 per bale.

The rapid increase in the transient labor population has complicated health, sanitation, and housing problems in towns where labor concentrates. The farm population of some large cotton counties is virtually doubled during the busy part of the picking season. There is a movement on foot now to provide both temporary and permanent camps for transient laborers at strategic centers in the State. Already a number of small towns in cotton centers have cooperated with the Texas Employment Service in setting up temporary camps equipped with shower baths and sanitary toilets. These camps serve as points of contact for laborers and employers. On any Sunday during the cotton-picking season these camps are greatly congested with trucks, old cars, and people—farmers, cotton pickers, men, women, and children. During the mornings there will be seen much informal dickering between farmers, labor contractors, and heads of families. A farmer will approach a group of pickers, contact the contractor, and perhaps two or three of the family heads. Information as to the number of pickers, amount of cotton, camping or housing facilities, and wage rates are quickly exchanged. If the preliminary information is suitable to both pickers and farmers, a quick trip is then made to inspect the field of cotton. Large groups or truckloads of pickers prefer, of course, the larger fields and the thicker cotton. If the field is too small, the cotton yield too low or very difficult to pick, the leaders go back to camp and make another contact—unless perchance they are stopped en route by a farmer looking for pickers. If the cotton is satisfactory, the truck returns to the camp and brings the entire group of pickers out to the farm, where they usually stay until the crop is picked over once. Due to the fact that most of the transient pickers move in large groups, small farmers quite frequently have difficulty in locating pickers. Labor is also difficult to get for second pickings.

Just how many years the mechanized cotton farms will be able to get an ample supply of cotton pickers at prevailing wages remains to be seen. No effort has been made to organize this group of workers, which, it is estimated, number between 200,000 and 300,000. Under conditions that are developing, some sort of labor organization may appear. If the organization of cotton pickers should be successful, the cost of picking cotton might rise to the extent that the farmers would lose much of what they have gained by mechanization. If such a condition ever arises, we may expect a widespread demand for mechanical cotton pickers. Several mechanical pickers have already been developed. Although their performance is still much below that of hand pickers, the leading agricultural engineers believe that the development of a successful cotton picker is now a possibility. The mechanization of the preharvest operations in cotton production will very likely speed the development of harvesting machinery. In the event of a major war, an acute shortage of labor might arise. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems to me mechanical cotton picking could very easily become an actuality within the next 10 or 15 years (17, 18, 19, 20). When that time comes the southern part of the country may present the Nation with its social and economic problem No. 2.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have had the time and space to present only some of the more immediate effects of recent trends of mechanization in agriculture. If there are those in this group who would contend that the conditions which have been described are only temporary, may I call your attention to some of the more permanent social effects of mechanization. Mechanization in agriculture has been going on for a hundred years or more. It is likely to continue for many decades. Even though technological unemployment brought about by the introduction of one machine may disappear in time, we would still be faced with problems of a continuously changing technology, and hence continuous problems of human maladjustment.

The invention of machines, and more important their exploitation by monopolistic corporations, may be considered as one very effective means by which a nonagricultural economic group cuts out for itself a juicy slice of agricultural income. In this sense farm-machinery manufacturers and the large oil companies are engaged in the process of agricultural production, without having to take nearly so many of the risks as does the farmer. Just how these outside interests are able to capitalize on the situation is indicated in a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission. Among other things, this report is quoted as saying:

"The ability of the International Harvester Co. to make more net profits in 1937 than it made in 1929 (in fact, enough to break all records for net earnings before 1937), though the cash income of the farmer for 1937 was nearly 18 percent less than it was in 1929, can, the Commission believes, have only one explanation. It was the result of a policy by the International Harvester Co. to advance prices, which policy could not have succeeded if conditions of free and open competition had prevailed in this industry" (21).

The situation just referred to illustrates only one way in which the farmers of today have become so much more dependent on outside economic forces than were the farmers of 150 years ago. One authority on this subject summarized the results of technological advance in agriculture as follows:

"In 1787, the year the Constitution was framed, the surplus food produced by 19 farmers went to feed 1 city person. In recent average years 19 people on farms have produced enough food for 56 nonfarm people, plus 10 people living abroad" (22).

If this statement is true, then the farmer of today is 66 times more dependent upon outside markets, economic conditions, and organizations than was the farmer of 150 years ago. Temporarily, mechanization increases the individual farmer's income; but ultimately, if mechanization actually lowers cash costs, he is forced to cut his prices, and at the same time pay higher costs for land and fixed costs for both land, machinery, and motor fuel. The only possible way for the farmer to maintain the favorable position which he has gained by mechanization would be to imitate the industrialists and organize a monopoly with or without the help of the Government. Temporarily, farmers might be successful by adopting such a program; but since this is a democracy and since the farmer is outnumbered more than 4 to 1, what chances does he have of maintaining such a position?

Another way in which the farmer loses some of the advantages of mechanization is through continually rising standards and costs of living. He has apparently increased his productivity in doing a few things; but he has relinquished to others the doing of a hundred things which he once did himself with little or no cash costs. Therefore, we may well ask: "What does the farmer of today have in terms of ultimate human values, contentment, leisure, mental health, and security that the farmer of 1787 did not have?" And as "farmer" in this question we must include farm laborers as well as the farmers who operate hundreds of acres with machinery.

Another angle to this question is the fact that the mechanized farmer and the machinery manufacturer have shifted a lot of their costs on to the shoulders of the State. There is little need here to enumerate the many services which the State now performs for rural and urban residents. True enough, industry and mechanized agriculture must ultimately bear some of these costs through taxation or through depreciation in Government bonds; but the economic and political system by which such an indirect payment of costs is made necessary is neither desirable nor efficient. There are too many groups of one kind or another who are trying to get and are succeeding in getting a larger and larger slice of the producer's income. We have reached the point where governmental employees and beneficiaries of governmental assistance are currently cartooned and lampooned as being enemies and parasites on society.

The development of new governmental functions and programs—such as social security, farm security, agricultural adjustment, the works program, and the housing program—is the fruit of poorly controlled mechanization in both industry and agriculture. Under our old rural culture, we had developed the family-farm institution in such a way that our social needs, such as education, care of the aged, the dependent, and the unemployed, were met without any elaborate political organization or expense. The fact that we are now spending billions of dollars to do things which were once done by the farm family for itself demonstrates in a dramatic manner just how valuable the family-farm institution was to society.

Along with the machines which the farmer has bought, he has been furnished with a set of ideas about the social advantages of mechanization. He has, for instance, been thoroughly inculcated with the theory of social and technological progress; the theory that social and historical evolution is always onward and upward; the theory that older and simpler forms of agrarian and social organization passed away because they were bad; and, finally, the theory that he need not exert any effort to develop new social organizations and institutions; because what he has are adequate and that if they were not adequate new ones would in some mysterious manner come into existence as a result of more, bigger, and better machines.

We might clarify the issue here by saying that just as we cannot attribute social evils to the inanimate machine, neither should we attribute to the machine some mysterious capacity to mold and develop our social life. The actual forces that determine the patterns of our social institutions are more likely to be human than mechanical in character. Whether or not machines are to do the wonderful things claimed for them depends upon how individuals and groups of individuals make them, how they sell them, how they manage them, and, finally, how they distribute their products. In the final analysis, we must evaluate the social effects of mechanization, not by what these social effects might be under certain ideal conditions yet to be realized, but rather upon what the social effects are here and now or have been in recent years.

Still another permanent social effect of farm mechanization and other technological changes is the fact that a larger and larger percentage of agricultural products going into the market are being produced by a smaller and smaller percentage of the farm population. In 1930 the Census reports show that about 90 percent of farm products going into the market come from 50 percent of the farms of the Nation. Since today there are more people on farms than in 1930 and since the mechanization of farms has displaced thousands of people from commercial farms, the probability is that much less than 50 percent of our farms are producing 90 percent of the farm products going into the market. If this were not true, then 600,000 farmers during the past few years have blundered in buying tractors. As individuals they did not make mistakes. Many of them had either to mechanize or to quit. However, as a group, they have along with the help of their city brothers, contributed to a very critical social problem.

We might conclude this paper by pointing out that the social effects of mechanization in agriculture should not be considered as entirely isolated from other technological and economic trends. Mechanization of agriculture is rather a part, a very important part, of the current and everchanging order of things. Its significance cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the entire social and economic order; nor can much be done about it, without doing something about the rest of the world at the same time. As one writer put it, we are in a position where it seems we cannot continue mechanization without great social cost nor can we stop it without great social cost (22).

The question of the hour, it seems to me, is whether or not we can develop some efficient and stable, social institutions which will control the machine and give us the same social and human values which are enjoyed under a more simple agrarian organization. If you should ask me, at this time, whether I thought that such institutions could be developed, I would be forced to reply: "Yes; but it is very improbable." The social system toward which we are now evolving seems to be little more than a set of makeshift compromises in a descending spiral of social disintegration. However, if it is necessary that I end this paper on an optimistic note, it may be said that a downward spiral is more pleasant than a downward plunge. So, if it is down that we must go, let us make the spirals as long and as wide as possible. Who knows but that we may hit an upward current somewhere and see yet again the mountain heights of freedom and democracy.

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TESTIMONY OF C. M. EVANS—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. I should like to ask you a few questions, some of them based on the material in your statement and some of them on subjects not covered therein.

Mr. EVANS. I shall try to answer them.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have what is known as farm management division of your Texas office?

Mr. EVANS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. When we were down in Alabama we heard from the representative of the Farm Security of Florida, who gave a very fine description of how the migrant camps were working down in that section. How many do you have in your region here?

Mr. Evans. We have four camps that are completed and occupied, and four others that are in the process of being built at this time. These camps have only been in use about 6 months.

Mr. Parsons. The committee had someone before it at the hearings down there that called the camps the "ambulances waiting at the end of a dangerous curve." I would like to have your theory and for you to tell the committee how these camps were obtained and about life in the camps and how they are operated, and so on.

Mr. Evans. I think perhaps the committee would be interested in a background going a little further back than just the immediate set-up of the camps, and while they might be termed the "ambulances" we look upon these camps as a solution to a change in system, perhaps more than simply an emergency service for an accident victim. I think the thing goes back a good many years to the point when we considered the migrant laborer a normal thing for our country. Some 25 or 30 years ago when some of us were younger we went out to work in communities where there was a peak load of labor and came back home at the end of the season. For instance, we started in the wheat harvest in Texas in early June and wound up in Illinois, Michigan, or Canada and came back in the fall and considered that a normal summer trip. The difference at the present time is that the migrant laborers do not have a home to come back to, and while only the men went in those days, the entire family goes now because they have been detached from the land and go from place to place with no objective known as "home" to go back to.

Mr. Parsons. Good roads and cheap automobiles have made it possible for these families to start on wheels?

Mr. Evans. That is right; now then, the question as to why we have this problem at the present time is based on the fact that in agriculture there are about four things that have been taken into consideration to make agriculture a complete set-up; one is people, one is land, another operating capital, and the fourth is knowledge about how to carry on the proper type of agriculture. When one of these is out of balance the whole system breaks down; for instance, we have people being detached from the land because they do not have money, operating capital, with which to carry on agriculture suitable to that type of land, so we have a displacement of several families and the man who owns the land takes a smaller investment and buys a tractor and these families are detached from the land permanently.

DISPLACEMENT BY MECHANIZATION

Mr. Parsons. What percent of farm labor do you think has been displaced by mechanization on the farm?

Mr. Evans. In Texas in the past 10 years tractors have increased from about 30,000 ten years ago to about 130,000 to 160,000 at the present time, and in Oklahoma I believe the number of tractors increased from about 10,000 in 1930 to about 60,000 at the present time.

Mr. PARSONS. That would put at least 100,000 people out of employment, would it not?

Mr. EVANS. Yes; we have found by investigation that every time you get a tractor on the farm you displace probably or potentially about three-fourths of a family, but we have found by proper management the tractor does not necessarily decrease the carrying capacity of the land. That is based upon the fact that a lot of our agricultural upset comes from unemployment. For instance, the cotton farmer works about 100 days a year, the average wheat farmer with a tractor and modern equipment works about 6 weeks out of the year, and the problem is to make some employment for that man for the full 300 days out of the year that he and his family are capable of being employed. Just because the tractor can cultivate crops and break land cheaper is not a bad thing because when these modern methods are used we are bound to increase our efforts to indulge in a balanced system of farming rather than a one-crop system. For instance, we have found where one man was operating four or five or six hundred acres with a tractor that by proper planning he could introduce other items than wheat, sorghums, and so on, and be able to plan that farm and take care of four or five families, and do it better than when it was taking care of one family on wheat.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think that the tractor has made conditions worse over the whole of America?

Mr. EVANS. I think we would be in a sad plight if we had the tractors taken away from us; I think their use has been abused, certainly, by farmers who have bought tractors and displaced families in order to get the triple A benefits.

Mr. PARSONS. I would like to have your comments on that.

Mr. EVANS. I think the consensus of opinion—and I gathered this from the farm tenancy hearings we held in Oklahoma City and at Austin, Tex.—is that if we use these tractors properly the thing will go along all right, but if we use these tractors to engage in a one-crop system of farming, why, the thing won't do so well. I don't know whether I have answered your question or not, I don't think I have. Will you state that question again, I think I got a little off the track.

The CHAIRMAN. You can put me back on the track if you tell me what three-fourths of a family is.

Mr. EVANS. Well, every time you get 100 tractors probably 75 families are displaced.

Mr. PARSONS. I asked you the question, Do you think the tractor has been a detriment to American agriculture as a whole?

Mr. EVANS. I don't think it has; I think it has been abused.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any figures on how many tractors we are using in America today?

Mr. EVANS. No sir; I do not, outside of this region.

Mr. PARSONS. But you say that out of every 100 tractors there are displaced probably 75 families which would be on an average of 4 people to a family, which would be 300 people out of every 100 tractors?

Mr. EVANS. That is right, but if they are used properly that wouldn't happen.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think the manufacturer of the tractor has given labor and employment to the number of people that have been displaced?

Mr. EVANS. I don't know about that.

Mr. PARSONS. Here is another angle to the tractor story. Before the days of the tractor it all had to be done by horses and mules and they were grown by the farmers and were a source of revenue and in addition to that they consumed the surplus oats, corn, and hay, and now every tractor that is purchased does the work of probably three teams. What do you estimate to be the displacement in farm stock?

Mr. EVANS. I don't think I have those figures in mind, but we do have in mind the cost of feeding these teams, which is very great, especially on our small farms. We find it difficult to figure out a plan for our small farms that will make enough feed to feed a team and still have enough land left to devote to commercial products.

Mr. PARSONS. Yes; but on the other hand the farmer was growing small grain for a cash crop and the surplus was consumed by the stock and they are no longer there, because there is not much of a market for them and thus no inducement for the farmer to produce them. The extra corn that went to the extra horses has flooded the market and brought down the price of hogs and the price of corn, creating surplus after surplus, whereas, in the old days, the farm stock consumed that.

Mr. EVANS. There is some merit to that contention. However, we wouldn't want to give up our automobiles and tractors and still stay in the farming game.

Mr. PARSONS. Proceed.

Mr. EVANS. In the matter of the triple A, with respect to tractors, the general consensus is that if the subsidy followed the family rather than the land we would not have this displacement. We can't figure out a farm plan to take care of a large number of families, because the subsidy does follow the land and this makes it easy for a landowner to buy a tractor and displace a number of families.

Mr. PARSONS. There is a trend in that direction?

Mr. EVANS. It seems evident.

Mr. PARSONS. Oklahoma was admitted to the Union in 1907, wasn't it?

Mr. EVANS. I think it was.

Mr. PARSONS. A few years ago nearly everybody in Oklahoma owned their land?

Mr. EVANS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Practically all of it had been homesteaded?

Mr. EVANS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Today what is the percentage?

Mr. EVANS. I believe 61 percent of our farmers in Oklahoma today are tenants, with 57 percent in Texas.

Mr. PARSONS. What has brought about that situation?

Mr. EVANS. There are several factors that have entered into that. One thing has been the increased cost of living in these days that prevents a family from living in comparative comfort, and when I say comparative I mean as compared to a neighbor. That has caused unrest in these days among a great many of the farmers. Farmers in those days lived in dugouts or semidugouts, with sod roofs over them, and they were happy without telephones, radios, and bathtubs, and without automobiles. At the present time, even though that same farm would produce as large a cash income as it did at that time, it would not in any degree make the family nearly so contented. So there has been an unrest and the industrial development of our country beckoned to our youth and they have gone where wages were higher. The same thing was true in the plantations in Texas, when industrial wages were opened to Negro tenant farmers they went to Chicago or New York and were happy when wages were good but were very unhappy when employment ceased.

OPERATION OF F. S. A. CAMPS IN TEXAS

The CHAIRMAN. Now, describe to the committee about your migrant camps and how they are operated and the cost of them?

Mr. EVANS. These migrant camps were a new experiment to us; they were not built for the purpose of attracting customers, but for the purpose of relieving a very distressing condition of the migrant family seeking labor at different times during the year. These families, because there are families that migrate now instead of just a single male individual in the family, the head of the family took the entire family with him and traveled as best he could and found work wherever he could. Because their income was not sufficient to enable them to stop at comfortable places they camped at the side of the road where there were no sanitary facilities, where flies spread filth and disease—scarlet fever and typhoid fever and everything else of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. They never had any medical care at all?

Mr. EVANS. No medical care; where mosquitoes spread malaria fever; it was a distressing condition not only to the families themselves, but to the community in which they congregated. Now, it does seem desirable that certain communities that produce winter vegetables and winter fruits, and even communities that produce large quantities of cotton or wheat or rye, should have additional labor at certain seasons of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. You wouldn't stop that kind of migration?

Mr. EVANS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We found one city down in Florida whose mayor appeared before us in Montgomery, Ala., who said his population was about 5,000 normally and about half of the year he had as many as 10,000, and for at least one-third of the year there was as many as 15,000. That brings a considerable problem to a little municipality of 5,000, when it is twice doubled at those seasons of the year. Do you have some of those situations?

Mr. EVANS. Our survey indicated there were about 50,000 farm families that traveled on or stopped on the highway.

The CHAIRMAN. In your region?

Mr. EVANS. Yes; and since they were largely gathered in the southern extreme where the winters are mild and the season peak loads of labor are needed in the citrus fruit and the winter vegetables, we first set up our migratory camps in that area.

The CHAIRMAN. That was done by the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. EVANS. By the Farm Security Administration.

The CHAIRMAN. About what did those cost per camp?

Mr. EVANS. About $220,000 per camp.

The CHAIRMAN. And house how many people?

Mr. EVANS. These camps will take care of from two to four hundred families in the shelters or major quarters and in addition to that there is ample space for those that have their own camping equipment. These camps are not only equipped with shelters to keep out flies and mosquitoes, but with a community bath, a shower-bath system, and are serviced with a community laundry with tubs and hot water for doing their own laundry.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have sanitary facilities?

Mr. EVANS. Sanitary facilities are provided and in addition we found it necessary to provide medical service, so local doctors are engaged on a per diem basis to come as needed on stated intervals where they interview people that the local nurse has indicated were in need of medical service.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do you charge them per week or month?

Mr. EVANS. There is no charge made for the service as such; however, the camps are managed by a council of campers and they make a charge in most instances of 10 cents a day to their own members and they administer this fund on their own account. These funds are used for such things as may be needed in the way of emergencies to keep up the place.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they charge each family per week or month for rent?

Mr. EVANS. That is the charge, 10 cents a day, and that goes into their own fund. Now, in the case of laborers, of course, in each of these camps there are labor cottages that have from two to three rooms each in which it is contemplated that people who secure permanent jobs in the community may live for a year.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the rent charged on those?

Mr. EVANS. What is that, Mr. Walker?

Mr. WALKER. From $6 to $7.50 a month; the idea being that these people can live there until they get established and then move out into the community.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any effort being made to amortize the cost of that to the Federal Government?

Mr. EVANS. No, sir; I think there is no plan on foot to amortize that cost.

Mr. PARSONS. You have heard the testimony here today about this migratory proposition; that it is national in scope we agree. Have you any suggestion to make to the committee that will help us or guide us in formulating regulations on this all-important problem?

Mr. EVANS. Yes, sir; I think I have.

Mr. PARSONS. Your paper is a very fine paper and contains a great amount of information and is a source of much statistical value to us and if you have any suggestions to make I would like to have them.

Mr. Evans. I will not refer to the statistics in the paper in order to save time, but I would like to say that we look on the problem of migration and the problem of the migrant family somewhat as the soil-conservation people look on the prevention of flood or erosion and that brings us to see that the only safe solution is to stop the flood at its source. After these families are detached from the land and are en route no one claims them as their own folks and no one has any interest in settling them in any community.

Mr. Parsons. And they don't only come from Oklahoma and Texas, do they?

Mr. Evans. They come from everywhere, we had one in our camp this last week from Illinois.

The Chairman. And all the people don't go to California; California has about as many people on the road going to other States as there are going to California?

Mr. Evans. Yes; we have some in our camp from California.

The Chairman. They starve to death in California as well as in other States?

FARM LOANS AND FARM DEBT ADJUSTMENT SERVICE

Mr. Evans. With respect to stopping the flood at its source and the proper solution of the problem, I would like to say that the Farm Security Administration has set up a plan of operation that loans may be made to low-income families, farmers, who have no credit, at a reasonable rate of interest. That is the operating capital I mentioned a while ago and that is the key to the situation in many instances. Now, the amount of the capital is not so important as the cost of the capital; some of these folks formerly were able to get loans but as our survey showed about 20 years ago the average tenant farmer had to pay about 66 percent per annum for the money on which he operated so even though capital were available it was not at a reasonable rate of interest and would be of no service, so we now have these reasonable loans on a reasonable rate of interest over a long period of time. It is provided that the money used for subsistence should be repaid at the end of the first crop season, about 6 or 7 months from the time the loan is made, and the balance in 2 to 5 years. We propose to make the loan not at 50 percent per annum, but at 5 percent per annum, and 3 percent for our land purchase loans which are repayable over a period of 40 years. Before the loan is made there must, of course, be a farm-debt adjustment because if a man was more in debt or owed more money than he could pay there is no chance.

The Chairman. He is worse off than he was before?

Mr. Evans. Yes; so there must be first a farm-debt-adjustment service, and that is performed by local people who know the situation and then a rehabilitation loan is made and a provision in that loan is that he must raise as nearly as possible all the food the family consumes, all the feed that the animals consume, and that he must have at least two sources of cash income. We will not make a loan to a strictly cotton farmer or a strictly wheat farmer; we feel he must have two sources or more of cash income, that makes for better balanced farming, and unless we do we have deserted our purpose. Not every farmer can borrow sufficient money to carry on his operations properly so he can make in addition to what we call the individual loan a loan which we call a community loan; for example, if several farmers need a hay baler or feed grinder several of them can go in together and get that, whereas an individual farmer couldn't afford that alone.

The CHAIRMAN. And they can pool their resources and do that?

WATER-FACILITIES LOAN

Mr. EVANS. Yes, sir; now, in the western part of our territory there is a water-facilities loan, one of the very best pieces of aid in countries with short rainfall, and I think you are familiar with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any pump irrigation in your region?

Mr. EVANS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it paying its way?

Mr. EVANS. We think it is. I will give you an example in Jones County, Tex., which is an area of 20 inches of rainfall. A family lived on a 74-acre farm and were unable to make a good living on it. However, they secured a water-facilities loan of $350 and dug a well, put in a windmill, dug a pond, and irrigated about 1 acre of land and the difference in what that acre of land produced in food was sufficient to help that family live on that farm.

The CHAIRMAN. I saw a lot of those irrigated farms in Nebraska. We had some witnesses out there who advocated pump irrigation; one member of this committee is almost sold on it; he lives in Nebraska.

Mr. EVANS. He is a good witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other suggestion to make to the committee as to how we can help this national problem?

Mr. CURTIS. I would like to ask a few questions.

Does your water-facilities board reach all the counties in the drought area?

Mr. EVANS. No, sir; it does not.

Mr. CURTIS. Then the Farm Security Administration cannot loan any money on those counties not reached?

Mr. EVANS. Only for other purposes.

Mr. CURTIS. I mean for water facilities, for irrigation?

Mr. EVANS. No.

Mr. CURTIS. And you can't loan any to anyone unless it is sort of a desperate need?

Mr. EVANS. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. They have devised no long-time irrigation loans to reach middle-class people in many counties?

RURAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS NEEDED

Mr. EVANS. No; now, I think we should consider that not only the drought counties are suffering from lack of that service, but the areas that have poor drainage and large rainfall should have that service;

it is the thing working in reverse. Now, these loans are extended for the purchase of land and for the leasing of plantations on time basis. On the latter cash rent is paid and they are in turn leased to a group of tenants on the farm who operate it as a business of their own. Then, adding to the loan program for these low-income people must be the grant program, and I would like to say just a few words about the grant program. It is divided into several different types; formerly it was just a form of relief, now it is altogether different. The grants are divided into two types, the emergency type, the grant made in case of disaster, hail, or flood, or tornado, and those grants that are made for food and seed to start over again. Another type is the medical cooperative or even an individual medical grant; and the other type of grant is one made for some standard service, such as sanitary facilities, and throughout the South we are making a great many of those. Some of those are made larger to include money for screening of houses to keep out flies and mosquitoes and to build sanitary type toilets and to improve the water supply by curbing the wells. Another program that seems to be badly needed is some sort of a subsidy on rural housing. If a person lives in town and doesn't have screens or has cracks in the floor or doesn't have water or electricity, every one of those things, it is terrible, but if a man lives in the country and has those conditions it seems to be taken for granted. Another grant is a grant made to balance a farm plan; there may be a farm here with a family on it and that is in Johnson grass, or the family may be sick of pellagra or some nutritional disease, and if we could make a grant so they could get along for one year they would get going alone after gaining their health or cleaning up the farm.

Mr. CURTIS. Your farm-management division is aiding and assisting in working out these plans for the assistance of farmers, is it not?

Mr. EVANS. That is right; and we couldn't get along in this program if it weren't for the services of the vocational teachers, extension workers, and more particularly, this labor service you heard from this morning. Then, I would say we need a work program for rural people, we have had rural people going to town to work on municipal works, but I don't know of a farm in Texas or Oklahoma that doesn't need something done on it and most of these owners would have this something done if they could finance it. I am speaking of ditching and clearing and building fences and building storm cellars and houses, but when the owner goes to town to borrow the money to do it that way they say they will let us have the money at a high rate of interest but want it paid back in 6 months. If we had a way we could get them this money for 20 years to let them make these improvements, the men that would do the work would work perhaps for 6 months on the farm on which they were living and it would be a self-liquidating thing, so the problem of stopping the flood at its source is to provide sufficient capital so that the man can rehabilitate himself before he leaves the farm.

Mr. CURTIS. Keeping him tied to the soil?

Mr. Evans. Yes; and make him put in full time by either having a work program on the farm or in the community. If we can do that we would not have these migratory camps, or at least we would have them only as temporary stations.

Mr. Curtis. What did you say the rate of interest was that he would have to pay from private sources?

Mr. Evans. I am talking about 20 years ago, the A. and M. college of Texas made a survey and they found that the average tenant farmer paid 66 percent per annum on the money used to make his crop.

Mr. Curtis. How much was it 5 years ago?

Mr. Evans. It had got down to where there wasn't anyone that was willing to do it at that rate; there was no source of income to make a crop on.

Mr. Curtis. Then it is still 66 percent?

Mr. Evans. Then the Farm Security Administration was established and loans made to farmers at 5 percent. It was an unheard-of thing.

Mr. Curtis. Is it still 66 percent?

Mr. Evans. It will range from 7 to 9 percent.

Mr. Curtis. What was the rate when the Farm Security came in?

Mr. Evans. It was about 50 percent, but there wasn't any credit available at that time from any source.

Mr. Curtis. Don't you have a usury law in Texas?

Mr. Evans. Yes, sir; but just like our immigration laws and labor laws, when they break them no one pays much attention to them.

Mr. Curtis. I don't know much about your land ownership down there, but do you have very much agricultural land owned by men wealthy enough so that they are income-tax payers, Federal income-tax payers?

Mr. Evans. I doubt if you will find very many land owners that are Federal income-tax payers unless they have an income that comes from some source other than the land.

Mr. Curtis. I mean, they do pay income taxes, when you have corporate ownership or ownership of large holdings of land by an individual.

Mr. Evans. We have found it difficult to purchase land in a great many counties, more particularly in Oklahoma, and there are a great many things that enter into it, mineral rights, and so forth, that give it a speculative value.

REVISION OF TAX STRUCTURE

Mr. Curtis. Here is what I am getting at. There has been a suggestion made by a number of people interested in our tax structure that if there is someone who takes certain funds and invests them in things that require labor—here is a man that has income from many sources, among other things he owns farms, and they advocate that if he will build new houses or new barns on those farms and create that much activity—that the amount of money he uses for that be charged off on his income tax as an operating cost and not be considered as new capital investment. What do you think of that?

Mr. Evans. I think it would promote building.

Mr. Curtis. And I am wondering, do you have a type of ownership of that kind in Texas that that would help?

Mr. Evans. I think we do; we have a great deal of land owned that has been acquired by foreclosure.

Mr. Curtis. Do these land owners want good houses and buildings and wells, or has it been that the land didn't produce enough to finance it?

Mr. Evans. I think if the land produced enough we would have much better conditions at home; the whole thing is caused by low income for farm products, regardless of the cost of production.

Mr. Curtis. There is what I am getting at; there are certain limitations to the Treasury of the United States, we can't get all of these things now. If we spend this tax money from the Treasury on rural housing, that doesn't increase the productivity of the land nor add to the price structure?

Mr. Evans. No, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Now, if you spend that money and increase the productivity of the land and also add to the price structure, do you think those people would go ahead and improve their land themselves?

Mr. Evans. I think they would.

The Chairman. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. STEWART, RAYMONDVILLE, TEX.

Mr. Parsons. Give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. Stewart. James M. Stewart.

Mr. Parsons. Where were you born and reared?

Mr. Stewart. Oklahoma.

Mr. Parsons. In what county?

Mr. Stewart. Jefferson.

Mr. Parsons. How old are you?

Mr. Stewart. Thirty.

Mr. Parsons. Were you born on a farm?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Have you been on a farm all your life?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Was your father a tenant farmer or did he own his farm?

Mr. Stewart. He was a tenant farmer.

Mr. Parsons. How many acres did he farm?

Mr. Stewart. Anywhere from 50 to 100.

Mr. Parsons. How many children were there in the family, in your father's family?

Mr. Stewart. Six of us.

Mr. Parsons. You all worked on the farm like all of us country boys who worked on the farm?

Mr. Stewart. Right.

Mr. Parsons. Are you married?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many children do you have?

Mr. Stewart. No children.

Mr. Parsons. Are you still farming?

Mr. Stewart. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How long has it been since you farmed?

Mr. Stewart. 1925.

Mr. Parsons. Why did you quit?

Mr. Stewart. Tractors and boll weevils and overhead expense.

Mr. Parsons. What have you been doing since 1925?

Mr. Stewart. Labor and one thing and another, farm labor.

Mr. Parsons. Over the State of Oklahoma or out of the State?

Mr. Stewart. Texas and Oklahoma.

Mr. Parsons. Did you ever come on one of these tours up the Pacific coast following the farm and vegetable work and apple picking up the Pacific coast?

Mr. Stewart. No, sir; I have never been that far up.

Mr. Parsons. About what do you earn annually in your work?

Mr. Stewart. In a year?

Mr. Parsons. Yes; in a year.

Mr. Stewart. It runs different sometimes, sometimes maybe $200, sometimes maybe $300.

Mr. Parsons. Do you get paid in cash?

Mr. Stewart. Cash mostly.

Mr. Parsons. Do you take your wife with you?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Does she work, too?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You both work and earn probably from $200 to $300 in cash annually?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you have a car?

Mr. Stewart. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How do you get back and forth between the various places?

Mr. Stewart. Just go with other tourists.

Mr. Parsons. A bunch of you team up together?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. When did you go to Corpus Christi?

Mr. Stewart. Sometime, I believe, in 1932 or 1931.

Mr. Parsons. How long were you down there?

Mr. Stewart. About a month, I believe, something like that.

Mr. Parsons. Did you find any employment there?

Mr. Stewart. Vegetable work.

Mr. Parsons. Did you ever apply for relief anywhere?

Mr. Stewart. In Oklahoma; on the C. W. A.

Mr. Parsons. Was that since you came back from Corpus Christi?

Mr. Stewart. I believe it was; I don't remember.

Mr. Parsons. How long were you on relief?

Mr. Stewart. I was on the C. W. A., I think, about 6 weeks.

Mr. Parsons. They cut you off?

Mr. Stewart. They cut the C. W. A. out.

Mr. Parsons. Have you ever been on the W. P. A.?

Mr. Stewart. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Have you tried to get on the W. P. A. since?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Did they say you have a sufficient budget?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do they pay higher wages in Texas than in Oklahoma for farm labor?

Mr. Stewart. About the same.

Mr. Parsons. What are your plans for the future?

Mr. Stewart. Well, my plans now, I imagine, will be in Texas.

Mr. Parsons. Did you pick cotton this year?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many of you teamed together to go out on this migrant labor?

Mr. Stewart. Only four of us now.

Mr. Parsons. Four families?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do you all get along all right?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

CONDITIONS IN MIGRATORY CAMP

Mr. Parsons. Did you ever live in one of these migratory camps?

Mr. Stewart. Yes; I am living in one now.

Mr. Parsons. Where?

Mr. Stewart. Raymondville, Tex.

Mr. Parsons. How do you like life there?

Mr. Stewart. It is about as good a life as I can find.

Mr. Parsons. Much better than it used to be?

Mr. Stewart. It is much better than camping out on the road.

Mr. Parsons. I understand those are operated in a democratic way by the members of the camp. Do you think the people are going to take good care of those camps and keep them painted up and nice and sanitary?

Mr. Stewart. I believe they will.

Mr. Parsons. They take an interest in it, do they?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You are just typical of thousands that we know that seek employment in this way. Do you have any suggestion to make to this committee as to how we could better the conditions for you people that migrate?

Mr. Stewart. Well, that is about the only way that it could be adjusted to make it better.

Mr. Parsons. Would you like to own a farm yourself?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. But the section in which you grew up and where you were a boy didn't have sufficient rainfall to produce?

Mr. Stewart. That is right.

Mr. Parsons. You would still be on the farm if it did?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. That is all.

Mr. Curtis. How many people live in this migratory camp where you live?

Mr. Stewart. During the cotton season there was somewhere around 1,000 people there.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of buildings are they?

Mr. Stewart. Tin buildings.

Mr. Curtis. Are they divided into family units?

Mr. Stewart. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How many rooms allowed to a family?

Mr. Stewart. Just one-room buildings.

Mr. Curtis. One-room buildings?

Mr. Stewart. Yes; they are set out in units in rows.

Mr. Curtis. One room for a family?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. And what is in that room?

Mr. Stewart. Nothing; whenever a family occupies the room they put in a bed and stove.

Mr. Curtis. That is what I mean.

Mr. Stewart. A bed and stove.

Mr. Curtis. Are there any chairs or tables?

Mr. Stewart. You can build a table; they have got material and you can build a table and benches or whatever you want yourself.

Mr. Curtis. How many are there now?

Mr. Stewart. I think there are 13 families there now.

Mr. Curtis. Do they pay any rent?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. How much do you pay?

Mr. Stewart. Two dollars a month to the camp fund.

Mr. Curtis. How do you get in there, to whom do you apply?

Mr. Stewart. Just the camp; F. S. A. committee manager.

Mr. Curtis. Have there been people turned away because there wasn't room since you have been there?

Mr. Stewart. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. Curtis. That can take care of 1,000 people or 1,000 families?

Mr. Stewart. Well, there have been 1,000 people at this camp and it wasn't full.

Mr. Curtis. But there are 13 families there now?

Mr. Stewart. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Of those 13 families how many of them have some work?

Mr. Stewart. All of them are working now.

Mr. Curtis. What are they doing?

Mr. Stewart. Picking cotton.

Mr. Curtis. How long have they been there?

Mr. Stewart. Well, I don't remember how long some of them have been there; they move in and out.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you expect to stay all winter?

Mr. STEWART. I was figuring on it; yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You will have to pay $2 a month?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, sir; $2 a month camp fund.

Mr. CURTIS. You will have to pay that all winter?

Mr. STEWART. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Do they provide any fuel?

Mr. STEWART. Nothing only an oil stove.

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you get the oil for that, do you buy that yourself?

Mr. STEWART. We buy it ourselves.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you get any provisions?

Mr. STEWART. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Suppose there is a family in there that doesn't have a job?

Mr. STEWART. That is what we do with the $2 a month; we pay that into the camp fund and this $2 a month stays in the camp fund, and if a family stays in there that is in distress they can go to the office and get supplies out of this fund.

Mr. CURTIS. Suppose someone came in and wanted to stay there and never did find any work?

Mr. STEWART. He could work in camp and work a grant.

Mr. CURTIS. Who from, out of this $2?

Mr. STEWART. No; from the Government, from the F. S. A.; he could get a grant from the F. S. A.

Mr. CURTIS. For how long a period of time?

Mr. STEWART. I don't know; it is just so much a month.

Mr. CURTIS. You don't know how many months they would give it to them?

Mr. STEWART. No; I don't know how far they would go.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, sir.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF T. J. CAULEY, CHIEF OF REGIONAL ECONOMICS SURVEY SECTION, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE, FORT WORTH, TEX.

Mr. PARSONS. Dr. Cauley, give your name to the reporter.

Dr. CAULEY. T. J. Cauley.

Mr. PARSONS. Dr. Cauley, you are Chief of the Regional Economic Survey Section of the Soil Conservation Service at Fort Worth, Tex.?

Dr. CAULEY. Yes, sir. Also, I should like to have G. S. Klemmedson introduced here.

Mr. PARSONS. What region do you represent?

Dr. CAULEY. Region 4 of the Soil Conservation Service which is known as the Western Gulf Region.

Mr. PARSONS. The statement prepared by you gentlemen has been received and will be entered in the record at this point.

STATEMENT BY T. J. CAULEY AND G. S. KLEMMEDSON OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE, FORT WORTH, TEX.

SOIL EROSION AND RURAL EMIGRATION IN ARKANSAS, OKLAHOMA, AND TEXAS

The purpose of this paper is to indicate briefly the relationship between soil erosion in the States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, and the migration of rural people from the areas affected. Also an effort will be made to point out some possibilities of improving the situation.

Land suffering from soil erosion may be divided into two general classes on the basis of whether the condition requires curative treatment or only preventive treatment. If 25 percent or more of the topsoil has been lost through sheet erosion or gullying, the land falls in the class requiring curative treatment. If the land is suffering from erosion but less than 25 percent of the topsoil has been lost, it falls in the class requiring preventive treatment.

Curative treatment, as used in this connection, consists of such relatively complex and expensive measures as terracing, construction of outlet channels, gully control, retirement of land from cultivation with subsequent sodding or reforestation, use of meadow waterways, and installation of water-spreading systems. Preventive treatment, on the other hand, includes such comparatively simple and inexpensive practices as contour-cultivation, strip-cropping, crop rotation, use of cover crops, and controlled grazing.

According to surveys recently made by the Physical Surveys Division of the Western Gulf Region of the Soil Conservation Service, there are 12,215,609 acres of land in Arkansas in need of curative treatment, 25,268,034 acres in Oklahoma,[1] and 97,297,316 acres in Texas,[1] or a total of 134,780,959 acres in this class in the three States. Put into percentages, these figures indicate that 36.1 percent of all the land in Arkansas is in this class, 62 percent of that in Oklahoma, and 38.1 percent of that in Texas.

According to the same surveys, there are 3,285,827 acres in Arkansas requiring preventive treatment, 5,664,207 acres in Oklahoma, and 51,163,507 acres in Texas, or a total of 60,113,541 acres in this class in the three States. Putting these figures into percentages, we get 9.7 percent for Arkansas, 13.9 percent for Oklahoma, and 36.4 percent for Texas.

The total rural population of the land in Arkansas which is in need of curative treatment is 541,597; of that in Oklahoma, 1,007,480; and of that in Texas, 3,684,602—a total of 5,233,679 people on land of this class in the three States.

The corresponding figures for land in need of preventive treatment are: Arkansas, 151,838; Oklahoma, 196,848; and Texas, 962,937, or a total of 1,311,623. Combining the totals for the two classes of land, we find that a grand total of 6,545,302 rural people are dependent upon land which is in the process of being washed out or blown out from under them.

These figures include, in addition to the people who live directly on the land, those who live in the neighboring villages and are dependent indirectly, but none the less really, upon the land for a living.

A good illustration of the effect of soil depletion upon village people is to be found in the fate of the little town of Goforth in Hays County, Tex. A comparatively few years ago, Goforth was a prosperous trading center, including several general stores, a meat market, a barber shop, a blacksmith shop, a drug store, a post office, and a large cotton gin. The rolling black land was mined for cotton, and erosion ruined it. Today less than 5 percent of it is in cultivation whereas at one time as much as 95 percent was cultivated. When the soil was gone, the farm people left; and when the farm people left, the village people had to go, too. Their means of livelihood was gone just as surely as if they, too, had been farmers. At the present time, Goforth is completely abandoned—a ghost town, with deserted buildings; somber, weather-beaten, decaying walls; lopsided dilapidated houses and store buildings; rust-pitted gin machinery strewn beneath a creaking, swaying tangle of sheet iron—a grisly monument to soil erosion and the disruption of human lives which it wrought.

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[1] All figures given for Oklahoma and Texas in this paper exclude the portion of the two States lying within the High Plains, since this area is part of another region of the Soil Conservation Service.

From the standpoint of the future potentialities of this situation it should be stressed that soil erosion is a process which does not proceed at a constant rate of speed. Instead, once the process is started and particularly after the advanced stages are reached, it proceeds at an accelerated rate. This means that land which now needs only preventive treatment will soon need curative treatment, and that land which now needs curative treatment will very soon reach the stage where it can never be cured—irretrievably lost so far as agricultural purposes are concerned.

When this final stage of soil depletion is reached, obviously the people must leave the land or starve. They go wherever economic opportunity appears to exist.

In the meantime, however, there is a little-appreciated tendency for rural population to concentrate in the poor land areas. At least, such a tendency has operated during the past 10 years. During the depression period many people who had lost their jobs in industrial and commercial occupations returned to the farms. Almost all of them lacked adequate capital for farming. If they bought land at all, they had to buy the cheapest. If they rented land, they had to rent that quality of land which was in least demand and could be operated with the least and poorest equipment. High-priced land was beyond their reach either for purchase or for lease.

During these same years but more particularly since 1934, the development of farming on the better lands in these States has been in the direction of mechanization, with a considerable reduction in the number of tenants, share croppers and hired laborers. Due to foreclosure and other factors, there has also been a sizable reduction in the number of farm owners. These people who have been pushed off the better farms have, to a considerable degree, moved into the poor land areas. Their reasons for doing so were essentially the same as those of the unemployed industrial and commercial workers mentioned above, which is to say that they took poor land because it was all that they could get.

A good example of this sort of development is to be found in central Texas. The Blackland Prairie of Texas constitutes one of the best farming areas in the South, but the rural population of practically every county in it has declined during the past 10 years. The east cross timbers area lies to the east of the Blackland Prairie, and the west cross timbers area to the west. Both of these are areas of poor, sandy soil, most of which is badly eroded. But almost all of the counties in these areas have had an increase in rural population during the past 10 years, as against a decrease in the two preceding decades. So long as economic opportunities were available in the cities and in the more favored farming regions, people left these areas of poor land. But during the 1930's they have been driven back again, and they are there now.

Thus the areas of poor land have become badly overpopulated. The average size of the farms is too small for economic operation; the farmers have inadequate equipment and power, and cash incomes are miserably low. The people are there not from choice but from necessity. The whole development constitutes a distress movement.

Without aid, it is certain that the bulk of these people will not long remain where they now are. If superior economic opportunities appear elsewhere, they will go immediately to them. If the failure of such opportunities to appear causes them to stay where they are, their ill-advised use of the land will destroy it to the point that they cannot continue to get a living of any sort from it.

What are the possibilities of conserving what is left of the soil on these lands and of improving the depleted portions? Generally speaking, it may be said that the physical techniques for accomplishing these objectives are known and ready for use. They have already been used successfully by the Soil Conservation Service in its demonstration projects and in many soil conservation districts. Definitely, from a physical standpoint, the job can be done. Gullies can be stabilized; hillsides can be terraced and contour-cultivated or retired to grass and trees; cover crops can prevent washing and blowing of the soil; water can be conserved in the drier areas; and various other measures can be applied as the nature of the particular problem requires. Our technicians know how to do all of these things.

The obstacles are not physical; they are economic and social instead. The typical reasons why the average farmer in such an area cannot apply a complete and coordinated soil- and water-conservation program to his farm are the following: (1) He lacks the necessary equipment and labor supply to do the work himself; (2) his cash income is too small to enable him to hire the work done; (3) if he is a tenant without secure tenure, as he frequently is, he has no incentive to improve the land over a long period of time, because the chances are that he will not be able to stay on it long enough to get the benefits; (4) he has little or no livestock to which he can feed the hay and grain crops which are essential parts of an adequate conservation plan; and (5) the smallness of his cultivated acreage does not allow the retirement of any considerable portion of it to grass or trees for conservation purposes. In the case of small farm owners, the pressure of fixed charges in the form of interest on mortgaged indebtedness and taxes frequently necessitates the exploitation of the land.

As to the remedies, we must reconcile ourselves first of all to the fact that the application of adequate conservation measures to farms of this sort must be made largely by the Government if it is to be made at all. The farmer can contribute his own labor, but that is essentially all. And in many cases it will require a great deal of education and persuasion to induce him to do even that much.

This may appear to be a pessimistic statement; but, nevertheless, such are the facts. For example, there is an area of very badly eroded land in Wise County, Tex. The average net income of the farmers in the area is about $200 per year. Even if the whole of this income were spent on conservation, it would not be enough to cover the cost of controlling just one of the very numerous large gullies that are to be found on almost every farm. And, obviously, a farm family with so small an income cannot reasonably be asked to devote more than a small fraction of it to soil-conservation measures.

The Government has, of course, already come to the assistance of people of this sort to some extent through the Soil Conservation Service. During the past fiscal year this agency cooperated with 16 soil-conservation districts in Arkansas and 24 in Oklahoma. Texas had no organized districts last year but was assisted by 23 Civilian Conservation Corps camps doing soil-conservation work. Many of the soil-conservation districts have sponsored Work Projects Administration projects. These projects have served as a means whereby the rural relief load can be carried in such a way as to reduce one of the main causes of the need for rural relief. The relief workers are given an opportunity to tide themselves over their immediate distress and at the same time to help rebuild the fundamental economic foundation of the community.

In spite of a reduction of approximately 15 percent in its funds, the Service proposes to cooperate during the present fiscal year with 26 districts in Arkansas, 36 in Oklahoma, and 42 in Texas. This expansion has been made possible only by a serious reduction in the amount of assistance given to each district. The contribution of the Service is now confined largely to that of technical direction plus what labor is available from the Civilian Conservation Corps camps.

It should be clear from these facts that the Soil Conservation Service, with its present resources, is not going to be able to get the job of saving the farm land done soon enough to prevent the displacement of a vast number of farm families and other rural people. If this calamity is to be avoided, the work of the Service must be expanded so that it can do a larger share of the conservation work on distressed farms than it is now doing through the soil conservation districts program.

In the second place, there is a grievous need for an improved farm-tenure system. In all three of the States under consideration, well over half of the farms are operated by tenants. Most of these tenants move every year. They have no permanent interest in any particular farm and consequently are not much concerned with soil conservation. For example, of the 319 farmers in the lower east saline soil conservation district in southeastern Arkansas who have agreed to establish complete conservation programs on their farms, only 20, or about 6 percent, are tenants, whereas approximately 50 percent of all farms in the district are operated by tenants.

In addition to the tenants, there are great numbers of so-called farm owners whose farms are so heavily mortgaged in proportion to their earning capacities that they are in dire danger of losing them through foreclosure. Such "owners" do not have much more of a long-run interest in the conservation of their land than do tenants.

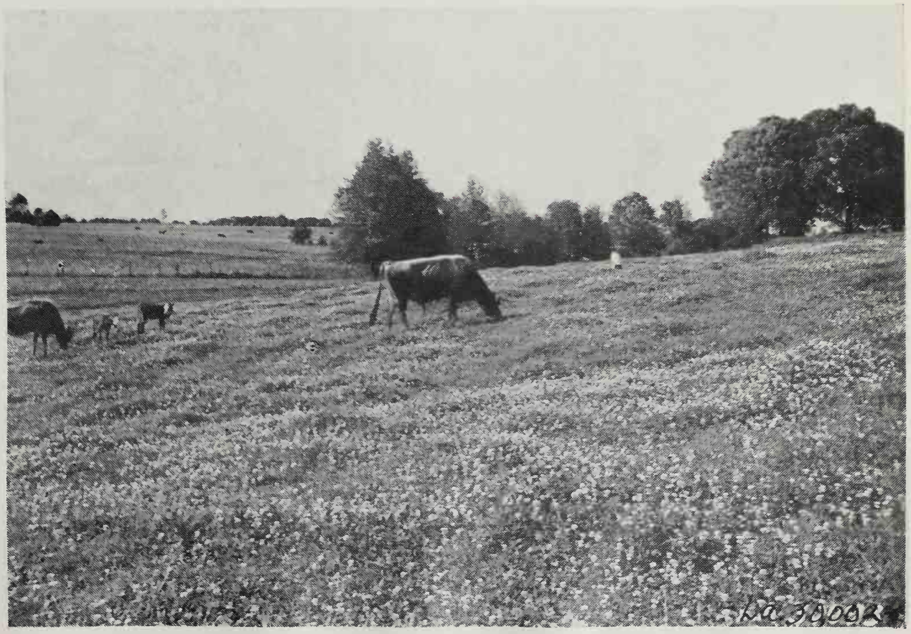
Pictures and maps on following pages are from photographs furnished to the Committee by the Soil Conservation Service (see testimony of Dr. T. J. Cauley and G. C. Klemmedson, pp. 1973, et seq.) and the Farm Security Administration and submitted to the Committee.

They illustrate graphically the effects of water and wind erosion and also show some of the remedial work done to secure water in proper amounts at the proper time.

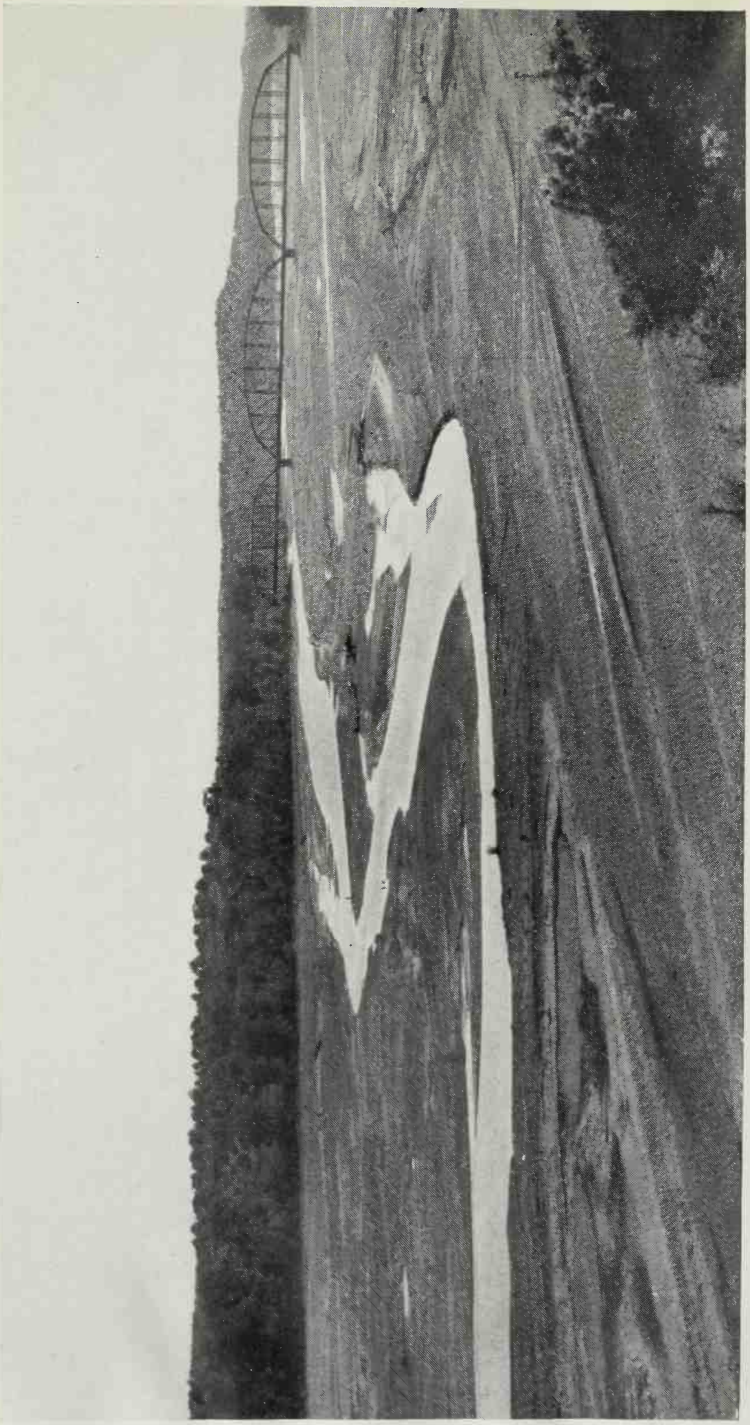
Decay like this takes place when land productivity declines through erosion and drought. Two hundred and seventy-eight thousand three hundred and fifty-four acres of such submarginal land have been purchased by the Soil Conservation Service and converted to a use for which they are suited.

Water provision constructed under the water facilities program keeps this farm from falling into the state of unproductivity pictured above.

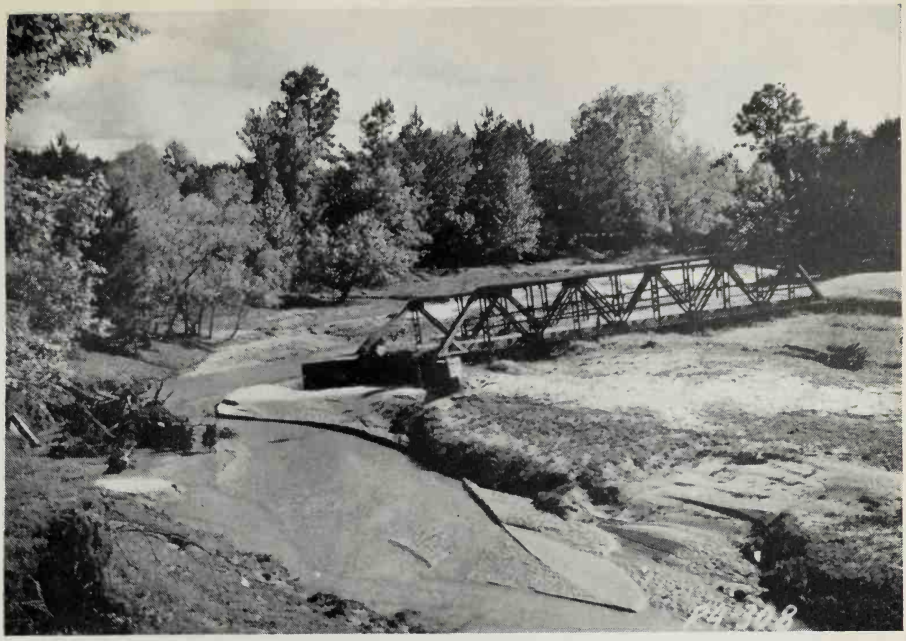
Eroded land no longer profitable for cultivation of crops.



Same field 2 years later after it was taken over by the Soil Conservation Service, turned to pasture land that provides luxuriant forage for livestock.

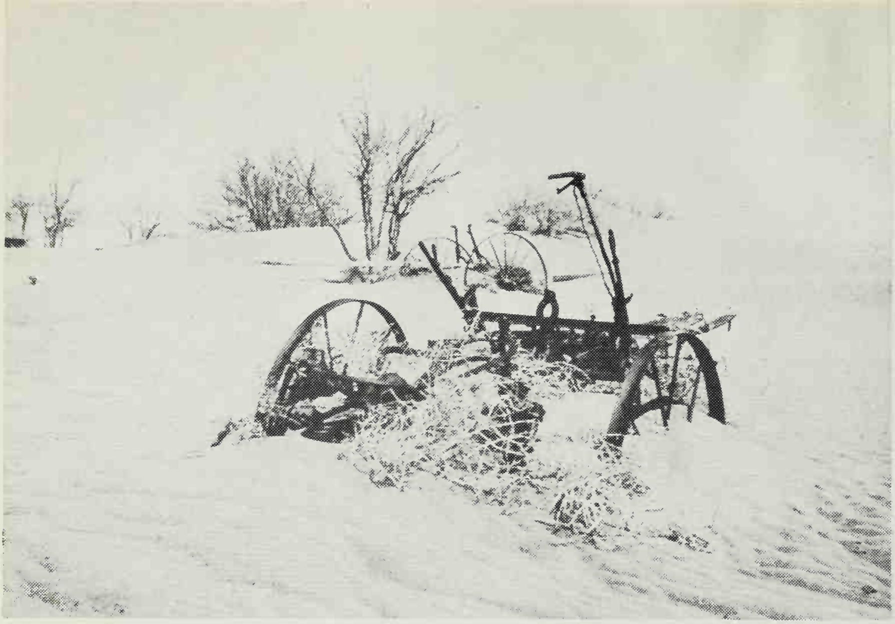


Serious cause of flood damage is this silt-gorged stream, filled with sediment washed into it by rain pouring down over eroded, unvegetated lands. During rainy seasons in past years, this stream was full from bank to bank; during the past few years it seldom has had more water than is shown here.

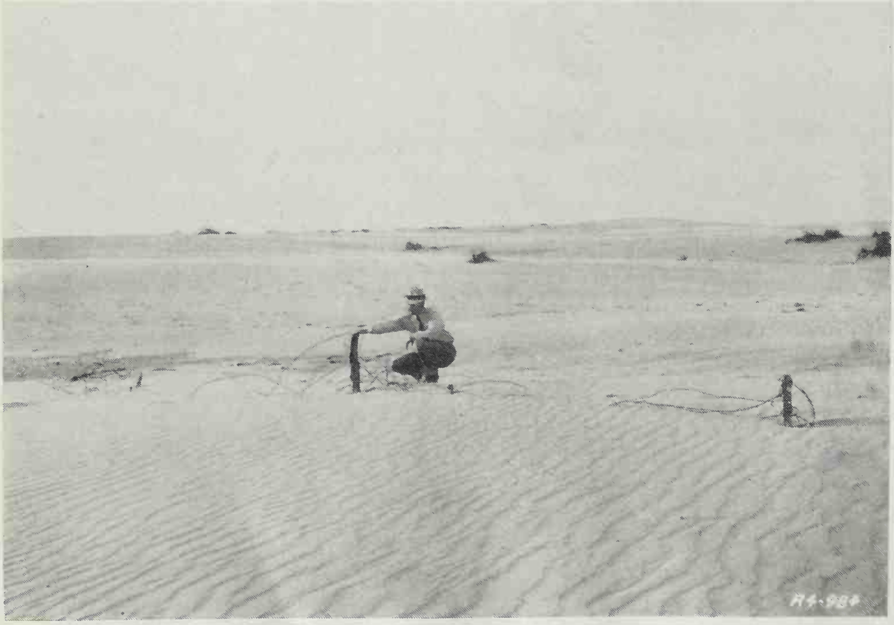


Destruction precipitated by products of erosion. This stream channel has silted up to the bridge level, leaving the bridge "high and dry" and useless.

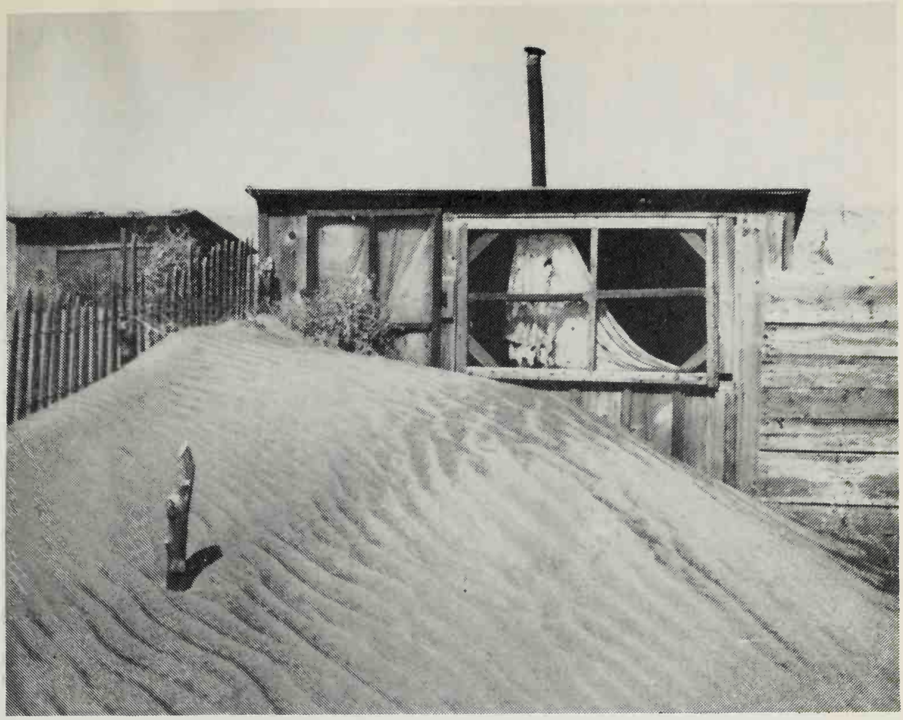
Cropland eroded by a heavy rainfall. There are 61,525,208 acres of land in this class in Region 4 of the Soil Conservation Service. From such devastation, thousands of farm families have been forced to flee.



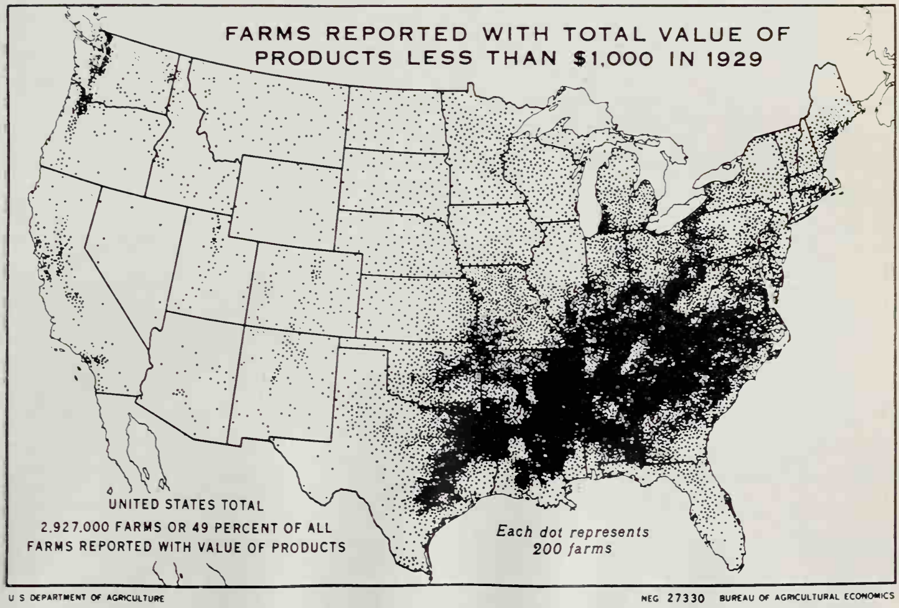
Farm machinery abandoned in the fields when a dust storm swept over the Dust Bowl in Oklahoma, devastating crops, cutting off source of food and income for thousands of farm families. These are the conditions migrant witnesses meant when they said they were "blowed off" their lands.



Advanced stage of wind erosion. These once fertile fields are nothing but waste land after a series of dust storms.



Sand piled up after a severe duststorm in the entrance of a chicken house on an Oklahoma Dust Bowl farm.


FARMS REPORTED WITH TOTAL VALUE OF PRODUCTS LESS THAN $1,000 IN 1929
UNITED STATES TOTAL
2,927,000 FARMS OR 49 PERCENT OF ALL FARMS REPORTED WITH VALUE OF PRODUCTS
Each dot represents 200 farms
U S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG 27330 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

See p. 1988.

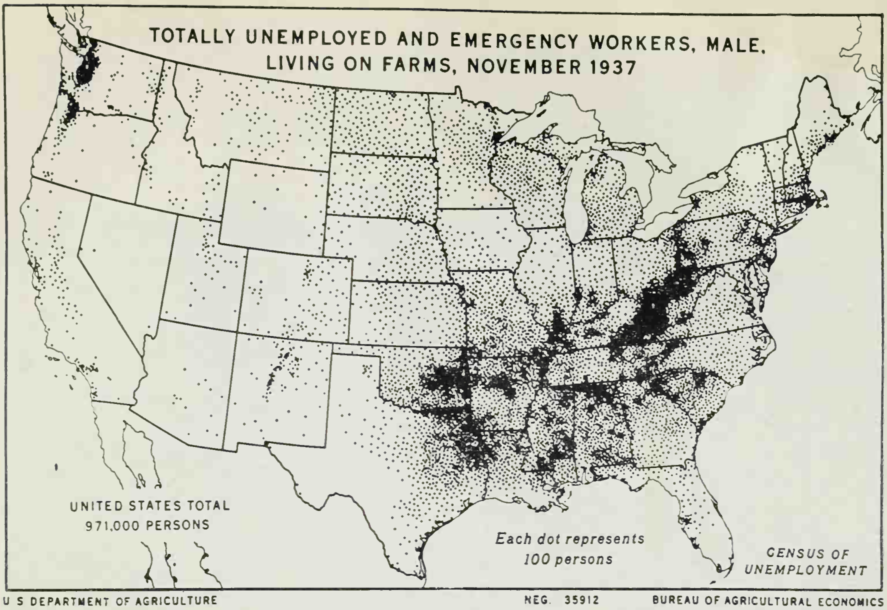

TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED AND EMERGENCY WORKERS, MALE, LIVING ON FARMS, NOVEMBER 1937
UNITED STATES TOTAL 971,000 PERSONS
Each dot represents 100 persons
CENSUS OF UNEMPLOYMENT
U S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. 35912
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 1.—Totally unemployed and emergency workers living on farms in November 1937 were most numerous in the South, notably in the hills of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, North Carolina, northern Georgia, and Alabama, western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma. Relatively few were registered in the Corn Belt, notably the prairie portion, where in most counties farm population declined during the depression. In general, the unemployed farm population is greatest in areas of high birth rates, hilly or poor soils, and small farms. (See p. 1988.)

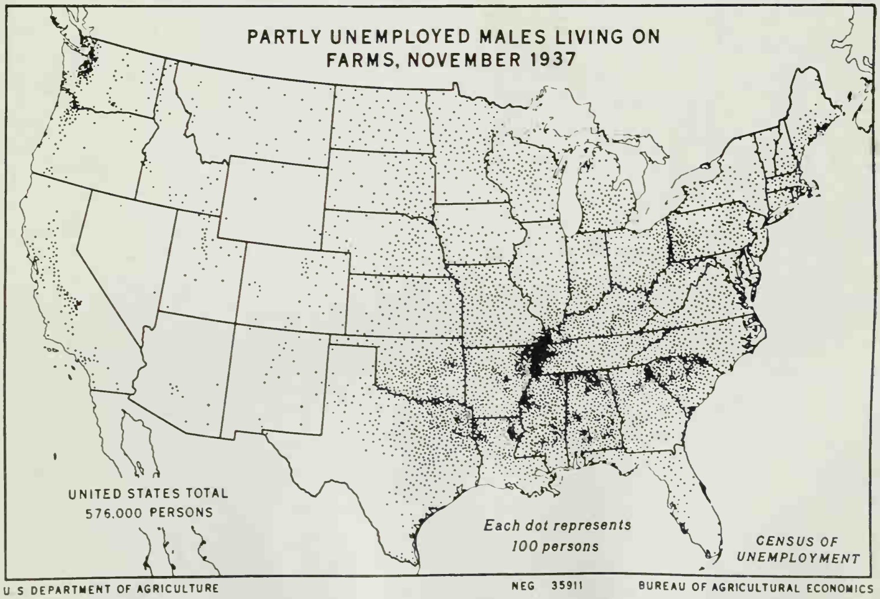

PARTLY UNEMPLOYED MALES LIVING ON FARMS, NOVEMBER 1937
UNITED STATES TOTAL 576,000 PERSONS
Each dot represents 100 persons
CENSUS OF UNEMPLOYMENT
U S DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG 35911
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 2.—Persons living on farms who registered in the unemployment census of November 1937 as partly unemployed were numerous in the Cotton Belt, particularly in the Mississippi River bottom lands of eastern Arkansas and southeastern Missouri. But large numbers registered also in the Appalachian region, extending from Maine to northern Georgia and Alabama, in Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and the Lake States, also in the valleys of the Pacific Coast. Relatively few registered in the Corn Belt and the Wheat Belt. (See p. 1988.)

It is probable that there will never be anything closely approaching complete conservation farming in this country until our farm lands are in the unincumbered ownership of the people who work them.

In the meantime, however, much good could be done by improving farm-leasing systems. The great need is for longer-term leases and increased security of tenure. Closely related to this is the need for lease provisions which will compensate tenants for conservation measures and other improvements which they make on the land. In general, the tenant should be given adequate incentive to conserve and improve the land; and the landlord should be given protection against exploitative practices on the part of the tenant.

It must be conceded, however, that there are some tenants who can never be materially changed in their atitude toward the land by such provisions. They are a poor lot, whose present condition is largely the result of the poor judgment which they exercised in the selection of their parents, an error which lies somewhat too far back for us to do anything about it, but the better ones can be helped, and that is something.

Prepared by Western Gulf Region, Soil Conservation Service.

TESTIMONY OF T. J. CAULEY—Resumed

Mr. Parsons. I have gone over your statement here and it has some very interesting data. You make the statement here that in these three States of Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas there are five and one-fourth million people living on land on which 25 percent or more topsoil has been lost, and that they are a problem for the other people in that State. Will you elaborate upon that situation?

CAUSES OF EROSION

Dr. Cauley. Erosion is of two particular types, of course, as to the cause—water erosion and wind erosion. Roughly speaking, east of the one-hundredth meridian water erosion is the more serious and west of that boundary wind erosion is the more serious. The results are essentially the same so far as the fertility and surface structure of the soil are concerned and the ability of the land to produce. One aspect of soil erosion and the deficiency of land which results from it and the concentration of rural population on such land is, I suspect, not very generally appreciated. We think, or at least a great many people are prone to think, of poor land areas as areas of sparse population; that is not true by and large, for the areas of poor land are areas of dense rural population, relatively speaking.

Mr. Parsons. Tell us what, in your judgment, has caused that situation?

Dr. Cauley. It has been a product, particularly during the past 10 years, of urban unemployment and of the processes of mechanization and a consequent expansion in size of farms on the better land areas in the country, generally speaking. During the worst of the depression period the people who had, during the preceding decade, the 1920's, gone to the towns and cities, lost their jobs. Those of them who did lose their jobs came back in great numbers to the farms or farming communities from which they had gone, and naturally when they came back they had very little capital, if any at all. If they bought land, they had to buy the cheapest land, and if they rented land they had to rent that quality of land for which there was the least demand, so of a necessity that back-wash of urban population concentrated on the poor land in areas because that land was the only land which was available to people of such meager resources as they had at the time they came back. In essentially the same way, the farm families which have been pushed off the better lands by tractor farming, commercial farming in all its typical manifestations, which has developed in the past 8 or 10 years, have gone in considerable numbers to this poor land where they can still get access to a little land of a sort with comparatively little money outlay. It is extremely difficult for a tenant to get good land nowadays, even when that land is offered for rent by an owner, unless he is able to pay the price and buy the relatively complex and expensive equipment which is required for the work.

CORPORATE FARMING

Mr. Parsons. Is there a great deal of corporate farming in your region?

Dr. Cauley. There is corporate farming of an involuntary sort, the various insurance companies and banks and other lending agencies have become owners of considerable blocs of farm land through foreclosure. Then in certain parts of this region there is land in corporate ownership that is going to be farm land; it is land that is owned by large lumber companies, and the timber has been cut from it, and it is going to be farm land, but it is owned by the lumber companies.

Mr. Parsons. Have the insurance companies, and so forth, been caught by the spirit of the farmers in the community, so as to leave them on the farm if they are good workers and honest men? Have they been cooperative in that regard? We have the testimony of the Union Central Life Insurance Co. over at Cincinnati and had their farm manager there showing what they were trying to do to help the farmer in the Great Plains area. What has been your observation?

Dr. Cauley. I haven't had an observation that would be a representative sample. The one case that I call to mind was to the contrary. A representative of the company told me his company's policy was never to permit the foreclosed owner to stay on the land after his foreclosure, because if he knew they were going to do that he would quit paying that much sooner, because he was going to get to stay there anyway, so they enforced a strict policy of evicting all ex-owners from the land. I am not at all sure that is typical.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Parsons. You have a very interesting work. What recommendations do you have to make to this committee to guide us in formulating legislation? First to try to tie down these farmers to the soil and where that can't be done, how to aid and assist those that have to go on the road and third, how to help those that migrate for industrial purposes and flock into the cities in the hope of obtaining employment and then find it is like the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, it isn't there. What suggestion do you have to make to us and what comments do you have to make, if any, on the water resources in your section?

1. EXTENSION OF SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

Dr. CAULEY. I should like to speak for a few minutes on that and then I should like to have Mr. Klemmedson say a few words. Very frankly we should like for the Soil Conservation Service to have more money than it now has.

Mr. PARSONS. That is quite right.

Dr. CAULEY. We are not able to reach anything like all the farmers and all the farm land which is desperately in need of the sort of thing that we can do for it. Soil erosion can be stopped, the mechanical and agronomic measures which are necessary for stopping soil erosion are definitely known and we can apply them.

Mr. PARSONS. Both as to drought and flood?

Dr. CAULEY. Yes, sir; the work is done at the present time largely through soil conservation districts, which are local organizations, units of local government organized under State laws and made up of land occupiers, both farm owners and tenants. The Soil Conservation Service works through these local agencies. We are cooperating at the present time with soil conservation districts in Arkansas and Oklahoma and we are beginning to do so in Texas. The Texas districts are just being organized. There are so many of those districts, so many new ones coming in, and there is such a great demand for the assistance which the Soil Conservation Service can give to them that we have had to expand our resources on so many of them that we are at the present time giving them practically nothing except technical directions, which is, of course, a splendid thing within itself, but it is awfully inadequate from our standpoint. There are hundreds of thousands of farms in the three States which we have to consider here on which the farm income is so miserably low that we cannot reasonably expect that farm family to spend more than a small fraction of it for the purpose of applying soil conservation measures, the several benefits of which will accrue in time not to him, but to what we term posterity.

Now, the farmer with a net income of $200 a year isn't in a position to spend very much of that for the benefit of posterity; he is not going to have any posterity, or his family isn't, if something isn't done a little more immediately. He is not able to spend the necessary amount from that income. We can go out there and give him the finest sort of farm plan, lay out his terrace lines with mathematical precision and give him a crop plan that will hold that soil until doomsday, but if the cost is $600 to carry out that program—and $600 is not an exorbitant sum of money from the long-run view to keep the earth together—$600 is a staggering amount for the farmer on that economic level; and if that soil is to be conserved for the benefit of the Nation at large from now on, the Nation at large is going to have to bear a larger percentage of the cost of having it done than we now stand ready to do with the $20,000,000 that the Soil Conservation Service has to treat the several hundred million acres of land in the United States which is in desperate need of this service.

Mr. PARSONS. And if something isn't done in time, posterity is going to need this soil for productive service?

Dr. CAULEY. Yes; and this need of posterity is not so far off in southeastern Oklahoma, for example, and some other parts of the region so far as that is concerned. I would like to close with a Chinese proverb, "It is much later than most people realize."

Mr. PARSONS. I think that is quite appropriate at the moment.

TESTIMONY OF G. S. KLEMMEDSON, OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE, FORT WORTH, TEX.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have a statement to make, Mr. Klemmedson?

Mr. KLEMMEDSON. We have already submitted some material [1] to the committee to show the direct correlation between the location of these migratory families and the unemployed people and the farmers with incomes of less than $1,000. (See pp. 1983 and 1984.) We also introduced a soil-erosion map [2] showing that the areas of severe erosion correlate with these areas and that it is due to the fact that so many of these farms have washed away that we are losing farms every day. I think, in the United States, we are losing 20 farms a day.

Mr. PARSONS. By water erosion?

Mr. KLEMMEDSON. By water erosion. In fact, we are losing hundreds of thousands of farms that will never be replaced, so we feel if we are going to protect humanity we must permanently protect the soil upon which these people depend for their future incomes. Another thing that very few people have realized is that a soil-conservation district is a local unit of government; it is a democratic set-up and these districts can accomplish a number of these adjustments.

There are millions of acres of farm and forest land in the South that have been eroded, misused, and burned over. You will see photographs of their condition in this illustrated folder.[3] You can visit southeastern Oklahoma and Arkansas in a month or so and you will see a tremendous smoke haze all over the country where the farmers in that area are burning over those forests; they are burning away future incomes. We have been doing some work to protect these forests and farm lands and we feel that the Soil Conservation Service, through the soil-conservation districts, can go in and control that land by bringing about desirable physical and economic adjustments in land use with a view to bettering human welfare, conserving natural resources, and reducing the hazards of floods and siltation so that the people can stay on the farms permanently. Much of that land is owned by absentee owners, men in Peoria, Ill., and Michigan, and New Hampshire.

Mr. PARSONS. Man has done a lot of foolish things in times past, hasn't he?

Mr. KLEMMEDSON. He certainly has.

Mr. PARSONS. We are buying up millions of acres of land to reforest. You cut down, through this section, nearly all the trees on it. You didn't have many to begin with, and now you are trying to get trees to grow; you went in there and plowed up all this buffalo sod and if it had been left alone there would have been sufficient moisture to have kept the soil from blowing?

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[1] See statement of Louis P. Merrill, p. 1979 et seq.

[2] The soil erosion map is not printed, as it was in color that could not be reproduced in black and white. Reference is made to black-and-white maps on pp. 1983 and 1984, in this connection.

[3] Some of the photos are reproduced on p. 1977 et seq.

Mr. **Klemmedson**. That is right.

Mr. **Parsons**. What suggestion would you make to this committee to aid in this problem?

2. AID TO FARMERS ON FOREST LAND

Mr. **Klemmedson**. The suggestions we have in our report are on the permanent order side rather than the short-term type. We feel the need of land use regulations that would be of advantage to the soil-conservation districts, some sort of additional State and Federal aid to assist farm owners on the farm and forest lands. For example, we have 400,000,000 acres of farm-forest land in the South that I am sure would produce enough income for those families so that we wouldn't have to move them around. In McCurtain County the farmers will make 65 cents an acre trying to grow cotton on cut-over land. If they controlled that land and those forests, using good farm-forestry practice, they could make an annual income of $2.50 to $5 an acre from that land. Some of that land has in the past cut as high as 20,000 board feet per acre.

3. RURAL WORKS CONSERVATION PROGRAM

We suggest the establishment of a national rural works conservation program to provide employment for farmers and conserve our resources and provide additional funds for technical supervision of such a program. We need additional legislation and financial assistance on land tenure problems and an extension of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act in order to make more farms available to tenants.

Mr. **Parsons**. The Soil Conservation Service and the Farm Security have done a great work in the past 5 years?

Mr. **Klemmedson**. Yes; they have.

Mr. **Parsons**. You are to be highly complimented; it is too bad we didn't start 25 years ago but it is better late than never, to get back to the Chinese proverb.

TIME REQUIRED AND METHODS OF LAND RESTORATION

Mr. **Curtis**. You used the example of its costing $600 to restore certain farms, assuming it is not forest land, how many crop seasons does it take before a return in increased production is evident?

Dr. **Cauley**. That depends a good deal on the rainfall; in the semiarid portion of the region where we can put in terraces, that will conserve most of the rain that falls, it will be evident immediately, the very first year, in increased crop yields. However, if it is where water erosion is much more severe it is usually necessary to take out of production entirely such an acreage of land and put it in trees or grass and leave it 5 or 10 years; and on strictly timber plantations it will be longer than that before any monetary return will come from that land.

Mr. **Parsons.** You are using some revegetation methods to make the land stop eroding?

Dr. **Cauley.** In general, a revegetation process is better than a mechanical process.

Mr. **Parsons.** What is the name of that plant you are using?

1. "KUDZU" PROCESS OF REVEGETATION

Dr. **Cauley.** Kudzu.

Mr. **Parsons.** You are using that?

Dr. **Cauley.** It has been used in eastern Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and parts of east Texas, but it is essentially a wet-climate plant and won't work in regions farther west.

Mr. **Parsons.** All you can use it for is to hold an embankment, for instance?

Dr. **Cauley.** No; it makes good hay; it is a legume.

Mr. **Parsons.** What do you mean, if you cut it in the field?

Dr. **Cauley.** Yes; you can cut it and bale it.

Mr. **Parsons.** Does it have any permanent effect?

Dr. **Cauley.** Yes; it is a legume, a soil builder; it puts nitrogen in the soil. I would like to make one more point, the very vital connection between land tenure and soil conservation. In spite of the fact that tenant farmers can participate in the program of a soil-conservation district so far as the law is concerned, and they are given every encouragement to do so by the Soil Conservation Service, it is hard to get their cooperation. We have obtained cooperation from some tenant farmers, but in the very nature of the tenant-farmer system, a tenant farmer who moves every year, who has no security of tenure, but just a simple verbal agreement from one year to another year, that tenant farmer has no permanent interest in conserving the soil on that farm or any other farm because he is not or probably will not be there when the time comes to reap the benefits from it. So as long as we have farms operated by farm tenants who are not going to be particularly interested in soil conservation, we are not going to have any soil conservation, and that applies to the range sections as well. When range land is leased at 75 cents an acre a year the thing to do from the standpoint of the tenant is to put as many head of sheep or cattle as he can on that land and get every blade of grass off of it; because, when he leaves, anything that is left is so much loss, so far as he is concerned. I talked to a ranchman out in Concho County, Tex. We were looking at his range and I said, "Don't you think it is overgrazed?" And he said, "Mister, you might lather it and take a safety razor and get a little more off, but I don't know how you could otherwise," and I said, "Don't you think that you will ruin it that way?" and he said, "Mister, I'm not as bad off as you think I am; I don't own this land."

The **Chairman.** Thank you very much, Dr. Cauley, your report has been made a part of the record.

(Witness excused.)

(The following statement was received later and accepted for the record.)

STATEMENT OF LOUIS P. MERRILL, REGIONAL CONSERVATOR SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE WESTERN GULF REGION

CONSERVING BOTH HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES BY A CONSERVATION OF THE PHYSICAL RESOURCES UPON WHICH PEOPLE DEPEND IN THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

The principal object of all agricultural programs is human conservation and welfare. There would be no advantage in saving soil or water or increasing farm incomes, or rehabilitating needy rural families if all these activities did not redound to the benefit of both present and future generations of farmers. Human life is our measure of the worth of all things. As Secretary Wallace has said:

"Damage to the land is important only because it damages human lives. The whole purpose of conservation goes back to that fact. Soil saving is not an end in itself. It is only to the end of better living."[1]

The location of agricultural and nonagricultural families moving to California between 1930 and 1939, the location of farms reporting less than $1,000 worth of products in 1929, and the location of the farm unemployed have a similarity in geographic distribution. Both the farm unemployed and farmers of income below average are, in general, most numerous where the birth rate is highest, the farms smallest in terms of crop acres, the soil of low productivity, the area of severe erosion, most of the people poor, and the agriculture largely either comparatively noncommercial or of a one-crop character. In such areas the need for conservation of natural resources is great. The Soil Conservation Service through its various subprograms has enabled the Department of Agriculture to make a large contribution in conserving both human and natural resources. The following pictures[2] illustrate some of the conservation problems and the type of work which is being done to solve these problems.

THE DAMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, soil erosion—

> Costs the farmers and ranchers not less than $400,000,000 annually. That means a loss of more than $7.50 for every man, woman, and child living in rural areas.
>
> Has already ruined about 50,000,000 acres of farm land for practical and profitable cultivation. This represents a loss of more than 320,000 farms equal in size to the 156-acre average for all United States farms. When farms are ruined, their operators join the unemployed and many of them must go on relief.
>
> Virtually has ruined another 50,000,000 acres.
>
> Has impoverished 100,000,000 acres more.
>
> Causes abandonment of 300,000 acres of land each year. This loss by abandonment is the equivalent of 7,500 40-acre farms annually, or 20 such farms daily.
>
> Has, where active, seriously reduced per acre crop yields despite improved cropping methods, improved seed, and fertilization.
>
> Washes or blows from the fields every year 3,000,000,000 tons of soil material.
>
> Causes 750,000,000 tons of solid matter to be dumped into the Gulf of Mexico annually by the Mississippi River.

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[1] H. A. Wallace, The War at Our Feet, Survey Graphic, February 1940.

[2] See pp. 1977–1983.

HUMANITY SUFFERS

But the destructiveness of soil erosion cannot be fully measured by tons of soil lost, by acres destroyed, or by dollars.

Immeasurable and scarcely within our comprehension is the damage to humanity, for poor land begets a poor people.

When the topsoil is removed by erosion, the productiveness of the land is lowered almost to the vanishing point and—

> Farmers find it increasingly difficult to wrest a living from the land.
> Living standards decline.
> Churches, schools, and other necessary institutions suffer.
> The security once offered by productive fields vanishes.
> Opportunity wanes.
> Faith is shaken.
> Hope falters.
> Even liberty and democracy are menaced.

Thus it can be seen that we have come in this country to a physical land crisis of enormous importance. At hand is the utter necessity for land conservation if we are to preserve our fundamental soil resources for the general welfare of the Nation and for the use of posterity.

ACTIVITIES CARRIED ON BY THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

I. Soil Conservation.

Legislative origin.—Soil Conservation Act of 1935. (Original program of the Soil Conservation Service.)

Objective.—To conserve basic soil and water resources by extending sound land-use practices to all private land vulnerable to soil erosion and public lands in cooperation with other agencies.

Activity involved.—(1) Research determining the character, causes, and effects of soil erosion and the development of practical measures for erosion control; (2) surveys made to determine the facts needed in planning and prosecuting erosion control and moisture conservation work; (3) demonstrations to illustrate the practical effectiveness of soil-conserving land-use practices, and to prove the techniques of erosion control through actual application on land; (4) dissemination of information regarding erosion and its control through the ordinary media of public communication; (5) cooperation with Federal, State, and local agencies in the field of conservation, land-use adjustment, and related fields; (6) cooperation with and assistance to land-use action groups formed under the authority of State law.

II. Submarginal land purchases.

Legislative origin.—Title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act of 1937. (Program formerly administered by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

Objective.—To correct social and economic maladjustments in rural areas by changing the pattern of occupancy and consequent use of land. Although the program deals directly with the conservation of physical and human resources, it involves consideration of those social and economic problems, such as land ownership and settlement, size of holdings, type of farming, and systems of local public finance, which frequently must be dealt with before conservation can be reconciled with productive use of the land.

Activity involved.—(1) The purchase of submarginal land or land not primarily suited to cultivation; (2) the development and improvement of purchased areas for sustained use; (3) the management of purchased land under uses to which they are adapted, or the transfer of such lands to appropriated Federal, State, or local agencies for administration; and (4) cooperation with local groups of farmers and public agencies in furthering such programs as land use, water conservation, rural zoning, and more efficient and economical local government.

III. Flood control.

Legislative origin.—Flood Control Act of 1936 and supplemental legislation.

Objective.—To plan and carry out watershed protection measures with a view to reducing the hazard of flood to human life and property, and damage to stream channels, reservoirs, harbors, and ditches by deposition of eroded material.

Activity involved.—(1) In cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Forest Service, preliminary examinations of authorized watersheds to determine the existence and seriousness of flood problems and the practical possibility of alleviating flood hazards and siltation by land treatments; (2) in cooperation with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Forest Service, surveys in authorized watersheds to obtain essential physical, social, and economic information and, on the basis of such information, to develop technically and economically sound plans for watershed treatment in the interests of flood control and prevention of siltation; and (3) actual protection work on the agricultural lands of each watershed in accordance with the program developed through the surveys, and cooperation with the Forest Service which manages the protection work on forest-type lands of each watershed.

IV. Water Facilities.

Legislative origin.—Water Facilities Act of 1937.

Objective.—To assist farmers and ranchers in the improvement and development of farm and range water supplies in arid and semiarid areas with a view to promoting better use of the land and advancing human welfare.

Activity involved.—This program is limited to the 17 Western States and is carried out cooperatively with the Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and other agencies, through the Water Facilities Board. The Soil Conservation Service is directly responsible for detailed planning and installation of facilities.

(1) In harmony with general plans developed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, assisting farmers and ranchers in planning the development of water supplies which will facilitate improvements in land use; (2) to construct and install, or assist farmers to construct and install water facilities, such as wells, ponds, reservoirs, dams, pumps, springs, stock water tanks, spreading systems for utilizing run-off water, and similar improvements.

V. Farm Forestry.

Legislative origin.—Cooperative Farm Forestry Act of 1937.

Objective.—To foster the practice of farm forestry in agriculture with a view to conserving soil and water resources, improving farm income, and aiding in the establishment of sound and economical land-use methods.

Activity involved.—This program is carried out jointly with the Forest Service, Agricultural Extension Service, State Experiment Stations, State Foresters, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The Soil Conservation Service is responsible for the action phases of the program.

(1) Producing or procuring and distributing forest planting stock to farmers (Forest Service—Soil Conservation Service); (2) advising farmers regarding the establishment, protection, and management of farm forests (Extension Service—Soil Conservation Service); (3) investigating the economic and other benefits of farm woodland management; and, (4) training personnel in methods of bringing about the use of farm forestry practices in agriculture.

VI. Drainage and Irrigation.

Legislative origin.—Agricultural Appropriation Act of 1932 and subsequent appropriation acts. (Programs formerly administered by Bureau of Agricultural Engineering.)

Objective.—To develop efficient and economical methods of draining and irrigating agricultural land with a view to promoting better land use.

Activity involved—(1) Investigation and reporting on laws and regulations affecting the organization and administration of drainage and irrigation districts and companies; (2) development of basic hydraulic information involved in the design of drainage ditches, tile drains, and pumping plants; (3) investigation of methods of applying irrigation water to farm lands; (4) development of apparatus for accurate measurement of the quantity of irrigation water delivered to the farmer; (5) development of pumps and equipment for utilizing underground waters; (6) development of diversion dams and desilting works for diverting flood waters into irrigation canals; (7) the making of snow surveys for the purpose of forecasting irrigation water supplies; and, (8) operations carried out under the drainage programs.

TESTIMONY OF C. O. BRANNEN, DEPARTMENT OF RURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, FAYETTEVILLE, ARK.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Dr. BRANNEN. C. O. Brannen.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Dr. BRANNEN. Fayetteville, Ark.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity do you appear here?

Dr. BRANNEN. I am head of the department of rural economics of the University of Arkansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anyone with you whom you would like to introduce at this time?

Dr. BRANNEN. Yes; this is William H. Metzler, of the College of Agriculture, University of Arkansas.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Brannen, you filed a very illuminating statement here, and that, of course, will be inserted in the record and in its entirety. We have to finish this afternoon with the witnesses we have, and I would like to ask you just a few questions, and anything else you want to offer, you may.

(Statement submitted by C. O. Brannen is reproduced below:)

CHANGES IN LABOR USED ON COTTON FARMS IN UPLAND AND LOWLAND AREAS OF ARKANSAS, 1932 TO 1938, INCLUSIVE[1]

Submitted by C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas College of Agriculture

A considerable number of renters, sharecroppers, and wage families in Arkansas, according to a survey in six counties, lost their places on cotton farms during the period from 1932 to 1938. Based on number of families per 10,000 acres of cropland, for each 100 of such families on farms in 1932, the number displaced in each of the surveyed counties is as follows: (Delta) Chicot 20, Mississippi 14, and Pulaski 12; (Coastal Plain) Clark 7; and (Hilly Upland) Pope 25 and Independence 19.

Accompanying the net decline was a redistribution of the resident families by tenure. In each of the delta-type counties, a considerable shift occurred from share renters and sharecroppers to wage laborers. In the coastal-plain county sharecroppers replaced share renters as the predominant group, while wage families remained unimportant. The numbers of share renters and sharecroppers declined in the hilly-upland counties.

Comparable with the shifts in tenure of resident families from 1932 to 1938 was the shift in acreage of cotton by tenure. The percentage of cotton worked by wage hands increased in all counties, while acreages worked by share renters and sharecroppers decreased. This shift in cotton acreage by tenure, like the change in number of resident families, was variable from year to year.

The changes that have taken place in the labor organization on Arkansas cotton farms since 1932 are associated with the other changes that have taken place on these same farms during this period. The cotton-production control programs in effect since 1933 brought sharp declines in cotton acreages in all areas, and in

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[1] Taken from "Land Tenure in Arkansas: II. Change in Labor Organization on Cotton Farms," by J. G. McNeely and Glen T. Barton, Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 397.

1938 all counties included in the survey had less than 60 percent of their 1932 acreages. Corn was planted on much of the land taken out of cotton in the delta-type and coastal-plain counties, while pastures and feed crops other than corn replaced cotton in the hilly-upland counties. The total labor requirements for the production of all crops, inasmuch as the crops substituted require substantially less labor than cotton, have decreased.

At the same time that total labor requirements for crops were decreasing, the mechanical power available for the production of crops increased. From 1932 to 1938 the number of tractors per 10,000 acres of cropland increased in the three delta counties, from 10.5 to 17.3 in Chicot, 12.5 to 29.6 in Mississippi, and 16.8 to 24.3 in Pulaski. Smaller increases in the use of tractors took place in the coastal-plain and one of the hilly-upland counties.

Share-renter and share-cropper families remaining on farms suffered losses in economic opportunity. From 1932 to 1938, in the delta-type counties, average cotton acreages per share renter declined from 25 to 13 acres, while those of sharecroppers declined from 15 to 10 acres. Cotton acreages of share renters in the coastal-plain county declined from 19 to 11 acres, while those of sharecroppers declined from 17 to 12 acres. Corn acreages per family increased only slightly for all tenure groups during this period, and acreages of other crops remained unimportant. To make up the loss in acreage, share renters and sharecroppers relied more than formerly upon wage work as a source of income.

The solution of this problem of displacement of farmers and farm labor on cotton farms is not obvious. Further developments in mechanization, which in varying degrees will substitute machinery for labor, are likely to occur as in the past. The disturbed international situation and reduction in demand for cotton on the part of foreign countries may lead to a further reduction in the acreage of cotton. If employing farmers should retain a larger number of renters and sharecroppers, the amount of acreage per family allowed might be further reduced, which would be likely to result in a lower standard of living for those remaining on farms. The alternatives available to employing farmers are: Displacing of a percentage of families and giving larger acreages and better economic opportunity for those remaining, or retaining a larger number of families with small acreages and a relatively low standard of living.

The need is for finding outlets in industrial and commercial employment for workers who are being displaced either by mechanized equipment or by reduction in the acreage of cotton.

Table 1.—*Change in resident tenant and wage families on cotton farms in selected counties in Arkansas, 1932 to 1938* [1]

[Based on number of families per 10,000 acres of cropland [2]]

Area, county, and tenure [3]	Families		Change 1932 to 1938	
	1932	1938		
Delta type:				
Chicot:	*Number*	*Number*	*Number* [4]	*Percent* [4]
Share renters	100.5	75.4	−25.1	−25.0
Share croppers	308.8	195.2	−113.6	−36.8
Wage families	53.0	92.6	+39.6	+74.7
Single wage hands	12.9	14.7	+1.8	+14.0
Total or average	475.2	377.9	−97.3	−20.5
Mississippi:				
Share renters	19.5	14.1	−5.4	−27.7
Share croppers	226.9	163.4	−63.5	−28.0
Wage families	144.3	152.9	+8.6	+6.0
Single wage hands	7.8	13.6	+5.8	+74.4
Total or average	398.5	344.0	−54.5	−13.7

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE 1.—*Change in resident tenant and wage families on cotton farms in selected counties in Arkansas, 1932 to 1938*—Continued

[Based on number of families per 10,000 acres of cropland]

Area, county, and tenure[3]	Families		Change 1932 to 1938	
	1932	1938		
Delta type—Continued.				
Pulaski:	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Percent*
Share renters	23.1	18.2	−4.9	−21.2
Share croppers	262.4	222.6	−39.8	−15.2
Wage families	49.9	48.1	−1.8	−3.6
Single wage hands	6.8	11.2	+4.4	+64.7
Total or average	342.2	300.1	−42.1	−12.3
Coastal Plain:				
Clark:				
Share renters	136.2	113.9	−22.3	−16.4
Share croppers	133.3	134.8	+1.5	+1.1
Wage families	1.4	1.4	0	0
Single wage hands	0	1.4	+1.4	----------
Total or average	270.9	251.5	−19.4	−7.2
Hilly Upland:				
Pope:				
Share renters	127.7	110.7	−17.0	−13.3
Share croppers	45.3	17.8	−27.5	−60.7
Wage families	12.4	9.9	−2.5	−20.2
Single wage hands	0	0	0	0
Total or average	185.4	138.4	−47.0	−25.4
Independence:				
Share renters	149.1	127.0	−22.1	−14.8
Share croppers	29.8	14.1	−15.7	−52.7
Wage families	6.9	2.4	−4.5	−65.2
Single wage hands	2.3	9.4	+7.1	+308.7
Total or average	188.1	152.9	−35.2	−18.7

[1] Data compiled from Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 397.
[2] Statistical sample of the survey for 1938 shown in Table 2.
[3] The share-renter group includes 7 cash renters.
[4] Plus sign indicates increase, and minus sign indicates decrease.

TABLE 2.—*Number of families in the survey sample in 1938*[1]

Tenure	Delta type area			Coastal plain area	Hilly upland area	
	Chicot	Mississippi	Pulaski	Clark	Pope	Independence
Delta type– Continued.	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*
Share renters[2]	144	23	39	82	56	54
Share croppers	373	265	477	97	9	6
Wage families	177	248	103	1	5	1
Single wage hands	28	22	24	1	0	4
Total	722	558	643	181	70	65

[1] Data taken from Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 397.
[2] Seven cash-renter families included with share renters.

MIGRATION OF FARM FAMILIES TO URBAN CENTERS IN ARKANSAS

Submitted by Wm. H. Metzler, University of Arkansas College of Agriculture

I. *Nature and extent of movement.*—Large numbers of farm families in Arkansas have moved to town in the last 8 years in an endeavor to find a more secure livelihood. A study of these migrant families in 12 urban centers in the State revealed that the people were relatively young and usually inadequately trained for urban employments. The most typical family was composed of husband, wife, and one to two children. In areas of the State where there was any high proportion of Negro population, the proportion of Negro migrants was above the population average.

In the delta section of the State the major proportion of the migrants were croppers, renters, or laborers. In the upland areas most of them had been tenants or owners. These differences indicate two different types of movement. Migration in the Delta was largely associated with displacement of cropper families by mechanization and acreage reduction, while migration in the upland area was associated with drought, crop failure, and lack of economic opportunity in agriculture.

A total of 3,347 of these families were contacted in the 12 urban centers. All had moved from farms within the past 5 years; approximately 1 in 5 had been living in town in 1929 and had failed in an endeavor to make a start in farming during the depression period. A few had wandered widely over the country before settling in town, but three-fourths of the migrant families had either moved in from the same county in which the city was located or from adjacent counties. Croppers and laborers especially were inclined to make short-range movements.

The migrants constituted 16.5 percent of the entire population in Helena, 17.1 percent in Forrest City, and 11.8 percent in Blytheville. In the upland cities they constituted only from 5.0 to 12.8 percent of the city population.

If the movement to the selected cities is typical of the State as a whole, then there must be a total of 45,000 to 50,000 farm families attempting to make a start in the cities of the State. In addition to these, there is a large number of single individuals.

See table I and chart I for extent of the movement to the selected Arkansas cities. For source of movement see chart II. Chart III indicates differences in tenure that are typical for the various parts of the State.

II. *Reasons for movement.*—The movement is largely dominated by lack of employment, particularly in Delta areas. The proportion of families who moved to town because they wanted better schools, better facilities, and the like, was 34.5 percent in Harrison, 18.4 percent in Hope, and only 5.6 percent in Blytheville and 4.7 percent in Helena.

The reasons for the movement centered around "no money in farming" and displacement. At Blytheville, in the Delta, 41.1 percent of the migrants gave displacement as the major reason for their movement; this percentage for other cities was Jonesboro 21.4 percent, Forrest City 19.7 percent, and Pine Bluff 11.3 percent. In the coastal plain the percentages were 10.1 percent in Hope and 4.9 percent in El Dorado; in the hilly upland it was 8.3 percent in Harrison and 5.7 percent in Fayetteville.

"No money in farming" was given as the reason by 39.6 percent in West Helena and 12.0 percent in Blytheville, both in the Delta, and by 26.7 percent in Hope and 15.3 percent in Harrison.

The proportions mentioning "desire to be on W. P. A." as a part of their motive were: Harrison, 8.3 percent; Pine Bluff, 5.4 percent; and Hope, 2.3 percent. While the major cause was usually something else, the presence of public assistance facilities entered into the decision to attempt a start in the city.

Table II itemizes the major reasons given by the migrants for their movement to town; table III gives their income the last full year on the farm.

III. *Urban adjustment.*—Two-thirds of the families studied were making enough of an urban adjustment that they had decided to stay in town. A large proportion of these families, however, were employed by the W. P. A. or were doing other relief work. One-third of the migrants either had a job before coming to town or received one almost immediately after entering. If the migrants did not obtain employment at that time they usually had a difficult struggle; the percentage of the heads of migrant families who never had a steady job were 39.9 percent for Forrest City, 34.8 percent for Monticello, 14.0 percent for Hope, and 43.3 percent for Harrison.

The proportion of families that had been given public assistance also varied widely from one city to another. It ran as high as 74.4 percent for the white families migrating to Forrest City and as low as 32.5 percent for those migrating to El Dorado. Negroes were on public assistance less often than whites.

The cities studied are able to take care of only a portion of the migrants. Many of them must be satisfied with a relatively low standard of living or migrate to other centers where they may be able to fit in to better advantage. It has been found that much of the migration to the Pacific coast is not directly from Arkansas farms but from the towns and cities. The sample from the Pacific Migration Survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics indicated 2,076 nonagricultural and only 1,727 agricultural families from this State.

In 1939 the proportion of the heads of families that had private employment varied from 44.7 percent in Forrest City to 79.0 percent in West Helena. One-fourth of them in Blytheville and Forrest City were making a living from odd jobs and only 3.8 percent in Fayetteville. The proportion on Work Projects Administration varied from 24.2 percent in Monticello to 2.4 percent in West Helena. The proportion who were wholly unemployed varied from 15.1 percent in Helena to 2.6 percent in Jonesboro, and the percentages were commonly higher for Negroes than for whites.

The average income of the migrant families in 1939 varied from one city to another in similar fashion. White families in El Dorado averaged $902.12; in Hope, $782.68; in Jonesboro, $776.25; in Forrest City, $470.50; and in Monticello, $496.77. Negroes made considerably less; the range was from $375.05 in West Helena to $257.41 in El Dorado.

Table IV indicates how long it took the migrants to obtain a relatively steady job in town; table V gives their public assistance record and table VI their occupation and income at the time the schedule was taken.

TABLE I.—*Number and proportion of families in Arkansas cities that migrated from farms during the years 1934–39* [1]

Location	Migrant families			Nonmigrant families			Total families reporting	Proportion of families that are migrants
Urban center	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total		
	Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Percent*
Blytheville	161	134	295	1, 584	631	2, 215	2, 510	11. 8
Jonesboro	398	50	448	2, 709	340	3, 049	3, 497	12. 8
Forrest City	115	65	180	400	470	870	1, 050	17. 1
Helena	187	398	585	1, 238	1, 731	2, 969	3, 554	16. 5
Pine Bluff	167	203	370	4, 112	2, 843	6, 955	7, 325	5. 0
Monticello	49	20	69	719	189	908	977	7. 1
El Dorado	88	103	191	2, 397	1, 146	3, 543	3, 734	5. 1
Camden	63	48	111	612	636	1, 448	1, 559	7. 1
Hope	102	176	278	1, 240	664	1, 904	2, 182	12. 7
North Little Rock	344	180	524	4, 698	2, 069	6, 767	7, 291	7. 2
Harrison	136	0	136	922	0	922	1, 058	12. 8
Fayetteville	158	2	160	1, 751	42	1, 793	1, 953	8. 2
Total	1, 968	1, 379	3, 347	22, 382	10, 761	33, 343	36, 690	9. 1

[1] For purposes of the study migrant families are those that have moved from rural areas since Jan. 1, 1934.

Source: Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Rural-Urban Migration Survey.

TABLE II.—*Major reasons for moving as given by migrant families to selected urban centers in Arkansas*

Major reason	North Delta, Blytheville		South Delta, Helena		Central Delta, Pine Bluff		Coastal Plain, Hope		Upland, Harrison	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
Displacement	102	41.1	8	5.4	33	11.3	17	10.1	7	8.3
Trouble with landlord	20	8.0	7	4.7	11	3.7	8	4.7	0	0
Foreclosure	4	1.6	2	1.3	4	1.3	0	0	0	0
Disaster	12	4.8	7	4.7	3	1.0	2	1.1	1	1.1
Sickness, death, or disability	24	9.6	33	22.4	43	14.7	15	8.9	14	16.6
Marriage and divorce	8	3.2	9	6.1	15	5.1	9	5.3	1	1.1
No money in farming	30	12.0	39	26.5	90	30.7	45	26.7	13	24.9
To be on Work Projects Administration	0	0	1	.6	16	5.4	4	2.3	7	8.3
Prefer urban employment	24	9.6	31	21.0	44	15.0	32	19.0	8	9.4
Town advantages	14	5.6	7	4.7	31	10.6	31	18.4	29	34.5
Miscellaneous	10	4.0	3	2.0	2	.6	5	2.9	0	0
Families reporting	248	------	147	------	292	------	168	------	84	------

Source: Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Rural-Urban Migration Survey.

TABLE III.—*Average income of migrant families during last year on farm, by race and tenure status, by urban centers*

Place	Total giving data	Owner		Tenant		Cropper		Laborer		At home		Average income
	Number	*Number*	*Income*	*Number*	*Income*	*Number*	*Income*	*Number*	*Income*	*Number*	*Income*	
North Delta, Blytheville:												
Total	237	10	666.10	47	547.01	106	428.96	71	372.10	3	108.33	441.28
White	138	7	783.00	38	549.92	44	551.01	46	428.66	3	108.33	509.32
Negro	99	3	393.33	9	565.83	62	342.33	25	268.03	0	0	346.45
South Delta, Helena:												
Total	127	5	832.00	30	311.93	80	188.84	10	155.50	2	65.00	238.58
White	41	4	975.00	19	334.12	12	240.33	5	189.00	1	100.00	345.83
Negro	86	1	250.00	11	273.45	68	179.75	5	122.00	1	30.00	187.45
Central Delta, Pine Bluff:												
Total	253	41	357.67	56	121.12	120	93.39	34	251.84	2	205.00	162.91
White	111	28	464.95	38	128.95	26	112.96	17	308.03	2	205.00	238.76
Negro	142	13	126.61	18	104.64	94	87.98	17	195.66	0	0	110.52
Coastal Plain, Hope:												
Total	156	17	388.82	8	295.00	15	163.93	114	179.60	2	235.00	207.52
White	57	13	468.07	3	320.00	2	125.00	39	224.87	0	0	285.85
Negro	99	4	131.25	5	280.00	13	169.92	75	156.05	2	235.00	164.73
Upland, Harrison: White	51	21	296.00	23	357.73	4	128.00	1	50.00	2	162.50	305.41

Source: Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Rural-Urban Migration Survey.

Table IV.—*Length of time before rural-urban migrants obtained employment in town, Arkansas, 1935–39*

Town	Obtained employment												Never had a steady job		Number giving data
	Before moving		At once		Within a month		Within 6 months		Within a year		Within 5 years				
	No.	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*	*Pct.*	*No.*
Forrest City:															
Total	15	11.4	18	13.7	21	16.0	13	9.9	5	3.8	7	5.3	52	39.9	131
White	6	14.6	10	24.4	7	17.1	3	7.3	0	0	2	4.9	13	31.7	41
Negro	9	10.0	8	8.9	14	15.5	10	11.1	5	5.6	5	5.6	39	43.3	90
Monticello:															
Total	16	23.2	8	11.6	9	13.0	9	13.0	2	2.9	1	1.5	24	34.8	69
White	16	29.1	4	7.3	6	10.9	8	14.5	1	1.8	1	1.8	19	34.6	55
Negro	0	0	4	28.5	3	21.4	1	7.2	1	7.2	0	0	5	35.7	14
Hope:															
Total	47	27.5	53	31.0	25	14.6	14	8.2	3	1.8	5	2.9	24	14.0	171
White	22	34.9	26	41.3	5	7.9	6	9.5	1	1.6	0	0	3	4.8	63
Negro	25	23.2	27	25.0	20	18.5	8	7.4	2	1.9	5	4.6	21	19.4	108
Harrison: White	19	25.7	9	12.2	7	9.4	2	2.7	3	4.0	2	2.7	32	43.3	74

Table V.—*Public assistance record of heads of migrant families from farms to Arkansas cities, 1935–39*

Place	Total families	Type of relief received							
		None		Work relief		Work relief and public assistance		Other public assistance	
	Number	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
North Delta, Blytheville:									
Total	247	149	60.3	48	19.4	25	10.2	25	10.1
White	146	76	52.1	43	29.4	12	8.2	15	10.3
Negro	101	73	72.3	5	4.9	13	12.9	10	9.9
South Delta, Helena:									
Total	148	83	56.1	12	8.1	28	18.9	25	16.9
White	50	23	46.0	6	12.0	16	32.0	5	10.0
Negro	98	60	61.3	6	6.1	12	12.2	20	20.4
Central Delta, Pine Bluff:									
Total	289	165	57.1	55	19.1	27	9.3	42	14.5
White	126	65	51.5	37	29.4	18	14.3	6	4.8
Negro	163	100	61.3	18	11.1	9	5.5	36	22.1
Coastal Plain, Hope:									
Total	171	119	69.6	40	23.4	4	2.3	8	4.7
White	63	38	60.3	22	34.9	1	1.6	2	3.2
Negro	108	81	75.0	18	16.6	3	2.8	6	5.6
Upland, Harrison: White	84	48	57.1	26	31.0	10	11.9	--------	--------

Source: Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Rural-Urban Migration Survey.

TABLE VI.—*Urban employment and income of heads of rural urban migrant families last year before schedule was taken*

Area and city	Employed		Odd jobs		W. P. A.		Unemployed		Average income
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Dollars*
North Delta, Blytheville: Total	129	45.7	74	26.1	46	16.2	20	7.1	--------
White	85	50.3	24	14.2	38	22.5	8	4.7	574.15
Colored	44	38.0	50	43.8	8	7.0	12	10.5	351.06
South Delta, Helena: Total	106	57.1	30	16.1	17	9.1	28	15.1	--------
White	38	63.3	5	8.3	12	20.0	4	6.7	700.96
Colored	68	54.0	25	19.8	5	4.0	24	19.0	262.41
Central Delta, Pine Bluff: Total	185	57.9	35	10.9	38	11.8	46	14.4	--------
White	93	6.6	3	2.1	26	18.4	10	7.1	702.78
Colored	92	51.4	32	17.9	12	6.7	36	20.1	343.22
Coastal Plain, Hope: Total	125	66.8	20	10.7	13	7.0	24	12.8	--------
White	50	70.4	0	0	9	12.7	11	15.5	782.68
Colored	75	64.7	20	17.2	4	3.4	13	11.2	348.42
Upland, Harrison: White	62	61.4	14	13.9	14	13.9	8	7.9	557.19

Source: Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station Rural-Urban Migration Survey.

POPULATION PRESSURE IN UPLAND AREAS OF ARKANSAS

Submitted by Wm. H. Metzler, University of Arkansas College of Agriculture

I. *Introduction.*—Migration from Arkansas to other States has been due to a variety of causes. The immediate cause as seen by most of the migrants themselves is drought and crop failure in the upland areas and displacement due to acreage reduction in the Delta. These situations have not only served as immediate causes but have also caused many of the migrating families to be so deficient in financial resources as to make it extremely difficult for them to gain a new start in some other part of the country.

Back of these situations, however, lie some background factors that are of primary importance. Settlers in the State included many people who were not skilled in agriculture but who made a large part of their livelihood by hunting, fishing, and timbering. They were gradually forced into agriculture by shortages of game and timber, and as they cleared off the land the soil soon washed down the hillside slopes. Productivity of the farms rapidly diminished and they became subject to drought. Birth rates among these people were quite high and all the easily tillable land was soon occupied. Many of the young people had to join the strong westward movement to find homes in Oklahoma, Texas, or on the Pacific coast. The first of the reverses that struck these upland farmers was the decline in price levels that followed the World War. Many of them could no longer farm their small hillside holdings at a profit. Industrial depression, drought, and displacement have made their economic position even more precarious.

II. *High birth rates.*—The underlying population situation that has resulted in emigration from the upland areas of the South is that of high birth rates, low standards of living, and inadequate agencies for cultural development. These constitute a complex which cannot be classified into cause and effect. They constitute instead a vicious circle which has been undermining the welfare and opportunities of these people at an increasing rate.

In terms of births in proportion to deaths, from 1924 to 1929, 7 upland counties had more than 4 births for every death, 14 more had from 3 to 4 births for every death, and all but 16 of the 75 counties in the State had more than 2 births for every death. Birth rates during previous decades had been even higher. The birth rates were highest in the upland counties in which resources were lowest. Table I indicates that the areas of high birth rates are also areas of low incomes, high relief rates, and high rates of migration from the area. Table III indicates that they are also the areas of lowest soil productivity.

A rough calculation from the Census would indicate that approximately 40,576 young people reached the age of 17 in Arkansas in 1930. In comparison with this number who arrived at working age only 11,161 people died. If the number who reached the age of 65 were used for comparison, instead, this was 15,585. In either case a rapid expansion of the economic structure in the State would be necessary year after year if all the young people were to be afforded a chance to make a livelihood. When they are unable to find such opportunities, it is in turn impossible for business and industry to expand.

Chart I presents comparative reproduction rates in the Nation at large, while table I presents the situation in Arkansas.

III. *Population pressure.*—The result of years of high birth rates in the southeast has been a congestion of population in that area. Population has piled up there in spite of emigration. A table showing index numbers of farm-population pressure on producing area, farm income, and farm wealth indicates a range of pressure in the United States from 309 in South Carolina to 28 in Nevada. The index number for Arkansas is 244, that is, there are approximately 2½ times as many farm people in relation to farming resources in this State as there are in the Nation as a whole.

When the same formula is applied to individual counties in Arkansas, it indicates that the highest pressure exists in the upland areas. The index of pressure in Stone County was 389 and there were 9 other counties with a farm population pressure 3 times the national average. Only 5 counties in the State had less than twice the national average.

Stated in terms of crop acres alone, which are a highly important part of the agricultural resources, there were 12.2 acres of cropland per farm person in the United States as a whole in 1930 and only 6.1 acres in Arkansas. Acreages ran much lower than this in the upland area of the State. The extreme was 3.2 acres per farm person in Garland County while there were 4 in Newton, and 4.4 in Hot Spring and Saline Counties. This meant from 17 to 23 acres per farm family.

There were 234 acres of cropland per farm family in North Dakota in 1935, 147 in Nebraska, 86 in Iowa, and 76 in Illinois. The average for the United States was 48 and for Arkansas 24. The farm situation in Arkansas is definitely different from that in the Northern States. The State has been overpopulated in relation to farm resources for some time and the overpopulation is increasing. Migration has not been rapid enough to keep population pressure from reducing the standards of living.

The data presented are averages for the counties and States and do not indicate the situation among the low-income groups. Acreages per family are considerably lower for them as there is considerable variation in farm size within the counties.

In 11 counties in the State in 1930, 9 of which were upland and 2 Delta, the census indicates that over half of the farms had incomes of less than $600. In 4 of these upland counties 1 farm family in 6 had incomes of less than $250.

It would seem from these data that, unless agriculture becomes more profitable, at least 450,000 of the existing population in the State should move elsewhere if resources, wealth, incomes, and standards of living of farm families in the State are to approximate those in the rest of the Nation. This is a very general estimate and seems modest compared to the estimate of some students that there are 9,000,000 too many people in the South. Population pressure, however, does not necessarily result in migration. In some situations, a constant or declining income on the farm may be divided among an increasing population. This is occurring in the South, as well as the process of migration. Resulting low standards of living have to be recognized as a national problem.

Table II presents figures and indexes of population pressure for the various States of the Union. Table III presents similar indexes for the high and low counties in the State. Chart II presents the indexes in graphic form.

IV. *Draining away of excess population by migration.*—Emigration from Arkansas to other States is not a new thing. Heavy emigration first began in the nineties. The census indicates that over 100,000 people born in the State have moved elsewhere during each decade since 1890. During the decade 1920 to 1930 the number was over 230,000.

Oklahoma and Texas have received the greatest number of these migrants. In 1930, 212,107 people living in Oklahoma and 116,392 living in Texas were natives of Arkansas. There were also over 30,000 native Arkansans living in Missouri, California, Louisiana, and Illinois.

Most of this emigration was from the upland northwestern half of the State. Three upland counties lost as much as one-third of their population during the decade; 19 upland counties and 1 Delta county lost more than one-fifth of their population. Only 15 counties in the State did not lose population by the migratory process, and these were either urban or located in the Delta.[1]

These areas of emigration have been areas of high birth rates and relatively low soil productivity. The desirable farm land has all been taken up and the excess sons and daughters have had to go elsewhere in order to obtain a living. This has been to the cities and toward the western frontier.

It should be understood that much of the so-called migration from Arkansas is really from North or South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, or some other Southeastern State. Census data indicate that more than one-fourth of the population in Arkansas in 1930 were born outside the State, most frequently in one of the States to the southeast. Population pressure in the entire area is being relieved by a westward and northward movement. When the migrants arrive in California, or in Michigan, they only give the last State of their residence, which is not the ultimate source of their migration. The State of nativity of the migrants likewise does not tell the entire story.

Chart IV indicates the States from which people moved to Arkansas prior to 1930 and chart V the States to which they moved from Arkansas.

V. *Closing of migration outlets.*—The decade 1930 to 1940 presents a movement back into the State. Of a sample of 6,164 rehabilitation clients studied, 1,647, or approximately one-fourth, had returned to Arkansas, their native State, to find some means of earning a living. The largest proportion of these returned from Oklahoma or Missouri. Texas, California, and Louisiana were next in order in number of people who returned to the State.[2]

These people had generally left the State during the period from 1925 to 1929. The movement back into the State started strongly in 1929 and was most marked in 1930.

The data all indicate that a strong movement out of the State had set in during the twenties. This was abruptly checked by the depression.

Judging by rehabilitation data and the 1935 census figures, the returning population tended again to settle in the counties from which migration had been strongest, that is, those in the northwestern upland part of the State.

VI. *The influence of the drought.*—This movement, however, was quite temporary. Economic opportunities in the State were materially reduced by a succession of droughts that started in 1929 and were particularly severe in 1930, 1934, and 1936. The shortage of rainfall was particularly great during the growing season, and crops burned up before they could mature. In 1936, 11 of the Ozark counties had a corn crop of less than 3 bushels to the acre. Only a few counties in the State had more than 6 bushels. This culminated a period of 7 years in which corn and other crops had been partially destroyed each year.

The effect of the drought was to throw the people on relief or rehabilitation rolls. Of 20,889 rehabilitation clients in the State in 1935 approximately 85 percent in the upland areas attributed their distress to crop failures due to drought. The proportion of the population that went on relief rolls in some of these upland counties during periods of crop failure ran as high as 75 percent. In 1935 approximately 15 percent of the farm families in the Ozark region were clients on the rehabilitation program. The latter group had dropped so low in farming resources that they were unable to continue farming without obtaining assistance.

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[1] "Population Trends and Adjustments in Arkansas," Wm. H. Metzler, Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 388.

[2] Characteristics of Rural Rehabilitation Clients, Wilson and Metzler, Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 348.

Migration from the State coincided largely with these drought periods. Heavy emigration began in 1934, was reduced in 1935, and set in in earnest in the fall of 1936. During the fall of 1936 many families were contacted in Madison County who were moving from the State to California. Migration was from the farms on the rocky mountain slopes. Soil on these farms was so thin that the crops burned up entirely after a few days of dry, hot weather. Farmers in the valleys frequently were able to weather the drought and were not so inclined to migrate.

In the mountain area investigated at that time, 68.3 percent of the farm families had cash incomes of less than $250, 26.7 percent had incomes of from $250 to $499, and only 5 percent had incomes of over $500.[3]

Chart VIII indicates the rainfall situation in the State from 1920 to 1939 and chart IX the corn yields per acre by counties in the State in 1936.

VII. *Sources and destination of migrants from this State.*—Since the various States have established systems of public welfare, they have become interested in sending indigent citizens back to the States of their origin. A total of 7,714 requests of this type were received by the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare between January 1, 1938, and May 15, 1940. A total of 3,792, or almost half, were received from California; 534 requests were received from Oklahoma, 381 from Michigan, 371 from Illinois, and 338 from Louisiana.

These are from the same States that showed a large amount of migration from Arkansas prior to 1930. California, however, has apparently become the mecca for many of them.

The State department of welfare has adopted the policy that they will not return migrants to the State unless the migrant voluntarily states that it is his desire to return. Accordingly only 14.8 percent of the requests have been granted. It is significant that 25.2 percent of these requests received from California were granted, as compared with 4.8 percent for all other States.

Tabulation of the migrants enumerated in California by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the California school system indicates also that the major proportion of all migrants from this State, both indigent and self-supporting, come from the northwestern part of the State. The only data from States other than California are on the number of requests received by the Arkansas State Department of Welfare. They also indicate a higher proportion of migrants from the upland counties.

Table V indicates the number of requests from other States for return of migrants to Arkansas. Chart VII presents the same material graphically. Chart VI indicates the proportion of Arkansas migrants to total population by counties in the State.

VIII. *Migration within the State.*—Population movement during the period 1930 to 1935 was in the direction of increasing the population in the upland areas and decreasing it in the Delta. A gain of 26.9 percent in farm population occurred in Saline County, while Marion had 24.4 percent, Boone 21.9, and Pike 20.5. These were all upland counties already highly overpopulated in terms of economic resources. On the other hand, the displacement process had commenced in the Delta counties, and most of them showed small losses in farm population.

A third movement was from cities to the country and was particularly marked in those counties in which urban centers were located. These migrants did not move far, and some have been contacted in a study of migrants to town. As many as one-fourth of the urban migrants interviewed had moved to the country at one time or another but had been unable to make a success of farming.

The 1940 census material indicates rather high increases in population in the southeastern and northeastern Delta counties. The increase of 24.5 percent in Desha County, 21.2 percent in Chicot, and 17.7 percent in Mississippi County indicates considerable movement to those areas. On the other hand, Delta counties in east-central Arkansas showed a decline in population.

There is considerable evidence to indicate that upland farmers are moving into the poorly drained and formerly unsettled areas of Delta counties. Of 219 new settlers in Desha County in 1937, the majority had come from Ouachita Mountain counties. Studies of the success of these migrants have been made in Mississippi and Louisiana. It seems, however, that if a heavy cycle of rainfall should occur many of these new settlers might be driven out by floodwaters.

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[3] Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas, Wilson and Metzler, Ark. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 353.

Chart X indicates the counties from which the migrants to Desha County moved.

IX. *Can Arkansas support its people?*—Economic conditions among Arkansas farmers have improved rapidly during the past several years. On the other hand, there is need for additional economic opportunity. Much of the land in the State is not being farmed. A careful survey might indicate which of these areas could be developed for farming purposes. In the Delta there are large acreages of fertile land that need to be cleared or drained, but the clearing and draining are too much of a financial burden for private individuals to undertake. It also seems possible that much of the tax-forfeited land, owned by the State or drainage districts, could be returned to production if suitable financing arrangements could be worked out.

The Farm Security Administration is successfully reestablishing many farmers in farming operations in the State. Through the supervision of members of its staff, clients are doing much more farming than they did before. They have more acres in crops, a wider diversity of enterprises, and much larger production for home use. Their success indicates the possibility that the State might support a larger population if farmers are taught how to utilize existing resources to the best advantage. An intensification of their program, together with a provision for the settlement and financing of young farm couples, might reduce considerably the emigration rate from farms.

Equally important is the development of industrial and commercial opportunities in the State. It seems possible that an industrial security program might be devised resembling the Farm Security which would set up means by which ex-farmers could develop industrial and business projects of their own. A program containing definitely more of the personal enterprise element, as compared with present work-relief programs, should fit many of these migrants, while others might fit more easily into a labor status. Such a program would be expected to promote more small private enterprises and operate on the basis of loans rather than of Government employment. The industrial projects of the British Special Area Commission should offer some suggestions.

TABLE I.—*Population increase related to per capita farm income, proportion of families on relief, and population change by migration, 1920 to 1930*

County	Births per 100 deaths, 1924–29	Per capita farm income 1929	Proportion of families on relief, 1935	Change by migration, 1920–30	County	Births per 100 deaths, 1924–29	Per capita farm income, 1929	Proportion of families on relief, 1935	Change by migration, 1920–30
	Number		*Percent*	*Percent*		*Number*		*Percent*	*Percent*
Montgomery	512	$146.72	15.3	−18.0	Conway	282	$178.69	24.3	−20.8
Madison	474	131.80	19.1	−24.0	Desha	276	249.15	10.2	1.8
Newton	457	113.93	35.4	−17.4	Logan	274	160.67	20.2	−26.8
Izard	451	162.69	19.4	−19.6	Little River	270	182.10	16.0	−13.1
Van Buren	424	145.10	30.9	−25.0	Crawford	269	154.20	31.3	−28.3
Scott	419	138.04	14.6	−29.0	Pope	265	173.16	23.3	−17.1
Fulton	412	158.70	17.3	−14.3	Independence	264	170.59	23.8	−13.3
Perry	380	143.32	33.2	−34.1	Randolph	255	211.66	20.1	−14.8
Pike	379	162.52	21.3	−12.5	Poinsett	252	274.78	9.3	33.5
Stone	378	102.76	45.0	−21.3	Hot Spring	251	131.48	20.0	−13.6
Sharp	376	184.72	28.4	−14.2	Drew	250	212.38	17.6	−15.8
Yell	376	165.21	17.4	−24.9	Nevada	249	167.20	13.6	−12.1
Cleburne	371	165.94	28.2	−23.0	Lafayette	247	230.51	16.4	2.7
Marion	371	158.77	30.1	−27.9	Lincoln	241	222.17	8.8	.8
Baxter	358	153.90	31.9	−22.4	Faulkner	240	178.97	20.1	−14.3
Franklin	343	145.82	35.1	−33.0	Polk	236	120.27	15.3	−20.9
Calhoun	341	169.01	24.3	−34.1	Ouachita	232	143.87	13.4	26.9
Searcy	341	110.12	25.8	−37.1	Sevier	232	165.28	16.0	−22.8
Grant	333	154.97	23.2	−22.4	Hempstead	231	165.39	10.4	−13.2
Cleveland	329	173.76	21.3	−12.4	Columbia	229	200.67	9.7	−9.4
Dallas	326	140.75	2.7	−11.3	White	229	199.82	16.3	−5.8
Woodruff	299	234.64	15.6	−3.3	Jackson	226	276.20	19.2	−2.7
Lawrence	298	220.78	23.1	−20.5	Saline	226	159.33	20.6	−22.9
Ashley	296	220.88	10.4	−5.7	Clay	225	219.34	19.8	−15.3
Johnson	295	141.41	28.0	−23.4	Mississippi	225	290.47	7.2	38.7
Howard	289	178.56	16.2	−16.5	Arkansas	221	414.56	14.1	−7.2
Bradley	285	192.14	18.4	−7.4	Cross	220	196.13	10.3	27.7

TABLE I.—*Population increase related to per capita farm income, proportion of families on relief, and population change by migration, 1920 to 1930*—Con.

County	Births per 100 deaths, 1924–29	Per capita farm income 1929	Proportion of families on relief, 1935	Change by migration, 1920–30	County	Births per 100 deaths, 1924–29	Per capita farm income, 1929	Proportion of families on relief, 1935	Change by migration, 1920–30
	Number		*Percent*	*Percent*		*Number*		*Percent*	*Percent*
Lonoke	219	$250. 45	10. 9	−7. 6	St. Francis	174	$214. 96	15. 0	12. 3
Carroll	211	218. 81	15. 8	−19. 5	Washington	174	201. 94	15. 4	−3. 2
Greene	209	186. 13	14. 8	−13. 4	Sebastian	165	173. 32	23. 5	−15. 2
Monroe	208	221. 88	17. 6	−9. 8	Crittenden	159	251. 89	8. 7	32. 1
Union	202	171. 98	10. 6	70. 7	Lee	154	191. 83	9. 2	−12. 3
Boone	198	189. 93	23. 4	−19. 5	Benton	148	187. 06	10. 3	−11. 1
Prairie	196	279. 48	23. 4	−20. 4	Phillips	141	191. 26	10. 7	−9. 3
Craighead	195	247. 13	4. 2	6. 9	Miller	137	196. 45	20. 0	18. 6
Clark	190	164. 72	16. 4	−13. 3	Garland	97	138. 35	13. 6	37. 2
Chicot	185	255. 12	8. 0	−. 6	Pulaski	93	216. 41	21. 6	21. 3
Jefferson	176	233. 21	13. 8	1. 4	Arkansas State	205	201. 24	16. 6	−4. 5

Source: Compiled by the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE II.—*Number of farm people in proportion to farm resources, by States, 1930*

State	Farm income per farm person	Farm wealth per farm person	Crop acres per farm person	Index of farm population pressure on [1]—			
				Farm income	Farm wealth	Agricultural area [2]	Income wealth and area [3]
			Acres				
South Carolina	$153. 42	$479. 75	4. 6	236	392	300	309
Alabama	158. 38	456. 10	5. 4	228	412	254	298
North Carolina	174. 06	603. 38	3. 7	208	312	357	292
Georgia	170. 03	481. 80	6. 0	213	390	231	278
Mississippi	201. 21	508. 36	4. 9	180	370	273	274
Louisiana	193. 93	604. 17	5. 1	186	311	273	257
Arkansas	201. 24	580. 52	6. 1	180	324	227	244
Tennessee	180. 39	735. 40	5. 1	200	256	250	235
West Virginia	180. 69	916. 89	3. 7	200	205	268	224
Kentucky	194. 38	875. 13	4. 7	186	215	250	217
Virginia	215. 25	1, 044. 25	4. 3	168	180	273	207
Florida	329. 80	1, 657. 66	5. 4	110	113	246	156
Rhode Island	601. 48	2, 495. 08	3. 5	60	75	326	154
Massachusetts	610. 11	2, 465. 11	3. 9	59	76	306	147
Connecticut	610. 91	2, 999. 52	4. 4	59	63	268	128
New Hampshire	454. 79	1, 584. 74	6. 1	80	119	185	137
Maryland	378. 30	1, 790. 85	7. 4	96	105	181	120
Pennsylvania	377. 67	1, 792. 34	7. 9	96	105	170	124
Maine	540. 21	1, 454. 41	7. 7	67	129	163	120
New Jersey	686. 66	2, 710. 90	6. 1	53	69	227	116
Michigan	340. 18	1, 826. 21	10. 1	106	103	134	114
Delaware	455. 66	1, 789. 64	8. 9	79	105	156	113
Oklahoma	299. 84	1, 443. 01	15. 9	121	130	82	111
Ohio	363. 01	1, 986. 66	10. 2	100	95	129	108
Missouri	348. 97	1, 928. 63	12. 5	104	98	103	102
Vermont	494. 87	1, 796. 56	9. 6	73	105	122	100
Indiana	377. 20	2, 063. 93	13. 0	96	91	106	98
Texas	318. 55	1, 800. 10	13. 8	114	104	74	97
Wisconsin	454. 12	2, 507. 91	11. 1	80	75	126	94
New York	533. 65	2, 377. 68	9. 9	68	79	129	92
New Mexico	385. 58	1, 847. 92	10. 0	94	102	34	77
Utah	558. 08	2, 498. 58	10. 4	65	75	91	77
Arizona	493. 81	2, 459. 29	5. 2	73	76	63	71
Washington	648. 90	2, 913. 44	12. 6	56	64	94	71
Minnesota	467. 75	2, 912. 97	20. 9	77	64	68	70
Illinois	510. 25	3, 789. 51	19. 7	71	50	72	64
Idaho	720. 95	2, 807. 92	17. 2	50	67	70	62
Oregon	612. 56	3, 379. 56	13. 5	59	56	68	61

See footnotes at end of table.

TABLE II.—*Number of farm people in proportion to farm resources, by States, 1930*—Continued

State	Farm income per farm person	Farm wealth per farm person	Crop acres per farm person	Index of farm population pressure on—			
				Farm income	Farm wealth	Agricultural area	Income wealth and area
			Acres				
Colorado	$662.24	$2,812.27	26.9	55	67	38	53
California	1,004.19	6,052.32	11.0	37	31	90	53
North Dakota	545.40	2,986.85	55.6	66	63	25	51
Iowa	705.90	5,105.28	23.0	51	37	61	50
Kansas	648.38	3,811.66	35.5	56	49	37	47
South Dakota	598.35	4,047.21	47.3	60	46	27	44
Montana	677.02	3,462.29	42.2	53	54	21	43
Nebraska	746.54	5,010.92	37.2	48	38	34	40
Wyoming	865.23	4,191.10	28.8	42	45	18	35
Nevada	1,208.89	5,911.41	27.3	30.	32	22	28
United States	361.68	1,880.27	12.2	100	100	100	100

[1] All index numbers are based on 100 as the average ratio of farm people in proportion to farm resources in the United States as a whole.

[2] Productive area is calculated in a general way in proportion to the productivity of the land itself: cropland has been weighted as 5 times as productive as pasture land and 20 times as productive as timerland Since actual productivity of these 3 types of land varies so widely, the result is still only an approximation but is much more accurate than if all land had been given the same weight.

[3] Ratios of farm population to farm income, farm wealth, and productive area are given equal weight.

Source: Compiled from the United States census of 1930 by the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE III.—*Pressure of farm population on cropland, productive area, wealth, income: 10 highest and 10 lowest counties in Arkansas, 1930*

County	Crop acres		Value of crops per crop acre	Index of farm population pressure—			
	Per farm	Per farm person		On productive area	On wealth	On income	On area wealth and income
	Number	*Number*					
Stone [1]	23.4	4.6	$16.80	273	542	352	389
Newton [1]	20.0	4.0	16.73	306	523	317	382
Hot Springs [1]	23.2	4.4	26.28	300	471	275	349
Polk [1]	22.8	4.7	19.58	268	450	301	340
Searcy [1]	23.0	4.8	16.40	263	428	328	340
Dallas [1]	24.8	4.9	25.07	273	468	257	333
Cleveland [1]	25.5	5.5	29.12	250	533	208	330
Garland [1]	17.6	3.2	23.83	385	331	261	326
Grant [1]	27.5	5.3	27.00	259	482	233	325
Montgomery [1]	27.4	5.6	18.75	234	446	246	309
Mississippi	28.1	6.1	54.30	246	255	124	208
Randolph	35.3	7.2	27.65	185	268	171	208
Boone [1]	27.2	5.7	15.44	190	239	190	206
Lawrence	37.6	7.4	30.72	190	257	164	204
Jackson	38.1	7.4	35.22	195	278	131	201
Carroll [1]	26.2	5.8	19.51	195	223	165	194
Washington [1]	30.6	6.5	20.12	200	194	179	191
Benton [1]	27.6	6.3	16.84	203	170	193	189
Prairie	46.0	9.2	29.98	150	250	129	176
Arkansas	67.4	11.9	34.31	119	166	87	124
Arkansas State	28.1	6.1	30.92	227	324	180	244
United States	59.1	12.2	22.12	100	100	100	100

[1] Upland.

Source: Compiled from United States census data by Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE IV.—*Requests for return of indigent families to Arkansas in proportion to total families, by regions, Arkansas, 1938–40* [1]

Region	Total families	Requests received, 1938–40 [1]			Percent of requests to number of families		
		California	Other States	Total	California	Other States	Total
	Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Northwestern Ozark	52, 783	995	776	1, 771	1. 88	1. 47	3. 35
Southeastern Ozark	47, 765	541	338	879	1. 13	. 70	1. 84
Ouachita	84, 111	1, 108	927	2, 035	. 25	. 21	. 46
Coastal Plain	94, 260	283	551	834	. 30	. 58	. 88
Delta	159, 720	857	1, 324	2, 181	. 53	. 82	1. 36
All regions	438, 639	3, 792	3, 923	7, 714	. 88	. 89	1. 75

[1] Requests received from Jan. 1. 1938, through May 15, 1940; total number of families in specified regions in Arkansas obtained from United States census, 1930

Source: Arkansas Department of Public Welfare. Compiled from office records of the social service division by Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE V.—*Migrant families from Arkansas: Requests for return to the State received and granted by the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare, by States,*[1] *1938–40* [2]

State	1938		1939		1940		Total, 1938–40 [2]		Percent of requests granted
	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	
California	2, 168	432	1, 255	401	369	126	3, 792	959	25. 2
Oklahoma	186	0	259	3	89	1	534	4	. 7
Michigan	221	16	116	11	44	4	381	31	8. 1
Illinois	170	12	140	3	61	1	371	16	4. 3
Louisiana	179	2	118	1	41	0	338	3	. 9
Missouri	132	2	113	4	43	2	291	8	2. 7
Kansas	107	4	131	4	54	2	291	10	3. 4
Texas	105	8	99	9	21	5	225	22	9. 8
New York	108	2	65	4	27	3	200	9	4. 5
Ohio	80	2	89	7	19	3	188	12	6. 4
Oregon	100	9	33	1	8	0	141	10	7. 1
Washington	75	3	41	1	21	0	137	4	2. 7
Tennessee	62	1	47	4	13	2	122	7	5. 7
Indiana	39	0	40	0	15	2	94	2	2. 1
Colorado	33	1	33	8	12	1	79	10	12. 7
Iowa	29	1	26	1	13	2	68	4	5. 9
Arizona	33	2	22	4	8	1	63	7	11. 1
Nebraska	33	1	20	0	4	0	57	1	1. 7
Minnesota	23	1	20	0	7	0	50	1	2. 0
New Mexico	20	1	13	0	7	1	40	2	5. 0
Alabama	13	1	15	0	10	1	38	2	5. 3
Pennsylvania	15	0	20	0	1	0	36	0	0
District of Columbia	15	0	7	0	3	0	25	0	0
Utah	8	0	6	0	4	0	18	0	0
Florida	7	0	5	0	5	1	17	1	5. 9
Georgia	5	0	3	2	1	0	9	2	22. 2
North Dakota	6	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	0
Mississippi	3	0	2	0	1	0	6	0	0
Idaho	0	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	0
Nevada	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
Others	34	0	45	10	13	2	92	12	13. 0
Unknown	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	--------
Total	4, 009	502	2, 790	478	915	160	7, 714	1, 140	14. 8

[1] The department of public welfare also received and granted requests which originated within the State: 1938, 12 received, 1 granted; 1939, 21 received, 3 granted; 1940, 5 received, none granted.

[2] Requests received and granted through May 15, 1940.

Source: Data from Arkansas Department of Public Welfare, compiled by Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE VI.—*Money income of all families in an upland area of high emigration, Arkansas, 1936*

Residence	Total families	Average family size	Income level				Median income	
			Under $250	$250 to $499	$500 to $749	$750 and over	Per family	Per person
	Number	*Number*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*		
Village	5[illegible]	3.7	32.1	26.8	10.7	30.4	$437.50	$118.22
Valley	51	3.7	39.2	19.6	21.6	19.6	375.00	101.25
Upland	155	4.0	52.9	26.4	11.0	9.7	240.00	60.00
Mountain	60	4.6	68.3	26.7	3.3	1.7	187.50	40.76

Source: Wilson and Metzler, Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas, p. 24.

TABLE VII.—*Major reasons for Arkansas rehabilitation applicants being on relief, 1934* [1]

Area	Crop failure	Household displaced	Closing of industry
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Northwest Arkansas	68.5	0.2	8.4
Northwest Ozark	86.9	.1	3.7
North-Central Ozark	92.9	.1	1.7
Upper Arkansas Valley	75.5	.2	8.0
Ouachita Mountain	74.9		7.7
Northeast Ozark	79.9	.3	2.2
Central Arkansas	67.5	.9	10.6
South Coastal Plain	61.4	3.2	17.8
Delta	38.1	15.7	11.1
State	65.0	4.2	10.1

[1] Data compiled from Characteristics of Arkansas Rehabilitation Clients, Wilson and Metzler, Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Bulletin 348.

TABLE VIII.—*Counties in Arkansas compared as to requests received for return to this State, 1938–40,*[1] *and migrants enumerated on Pacific coast* [2]

County	Requests from—		Migrant families	Number per thousand population		
				Requests from—		Migrant families
	California	Other States		California	Other States	
	Number	*Number*	*Number*			
Arkansas	17	33	43	0.7	1.4	1.9
Ashley	10	36	21	.4	1.4	.8
Baxter	49	51	48	4.9	5.1	5.0
Benton	145	184	237	4.0	5.1	6.7
Boone	77	59	66	4.8	3.7	4.4
Bradley	10	18	16	.6	1.0	.9
Calhoun	0	6	5	0	.6	.5
Carroll	86	72	140	5.8	4.8	8.9
Chicot	13	56	11	.5	2.0	.5
Clark	34	25	29	1.4	1.0	1.2
Clay	64	44	64	2.3	1.5	2.3
Cleburne	60	40	41	4.6	3.0	3.6
Cleveland	9	22	10	.7	1.7	.8
Columbia	9	35	6	.3	1.2	.2
Conway	44	18	25	2.0	.8	.1
Craighead	129	102	107	2.7	2.2	2.4
Crawford	145	77	78	6.1	3.2	3.5
Crittenden	10	83	10	.2	2.0	.2
Cross	14	37	18	.5	1.4	.7
Dallas	8	10	10	.6	.7	.7
Desha	26	51	10	1.0	.2	.4

For footnotes see end of table.

TABLE VIII.—*Counties in Arkansas compared as to requests received for return to this State, 1938–40, and migrants enumerated on Pacific coast*—Continued

County	Requests from—		Migrant families	Number per thousand population		
	California	Other States		Requests from—		Migrant families
				California	Other States	
	Number	*Number*	*Number*			
Drew	6	24	3	0.3	1.2	0.2
Faulkner	50	34	27	1.9	1.3	1.0
Franklin	68	29	64	4.4	1.8	4.0
Fulton	26	22	45	2.5	2.1	4.2
Garland	103	111	55	2.9	3.1	1.5
Grant	23	14	22	2.2	1.3	2.2
Greene	57	30	83	1.9	1.0	3.2
Hempstead	17	38	27	.5	1.2	.9
Hot Spring	51	29	91	2.7	.2	5.4
Howard	15	30	12	.9	1.8	.7
Independence	58	37	51	2.2	1.4	2.1
Izard	17	28	36	1.3	2.2	2.8
Jackson	54	49	37	1.9	1.8	1.3
Jefferson	90	175	57	1.4	2.7	.9
Johnson	45	28	46	2.4	1.5	2.4
Lafayette	13	33	6	.8	2.0	.4
Lawrence	54	34	47	2.4	1.5	2.2
Lee	12	52	10	.4	1.9	.4
Lincoln	9	17	17	.4	.8	.8
Little River	13	27	9	.8	1.7	.6
Logan	91	31	104	3.5	1.2	4.3
Lonoke	79	57	46	2.7	1.9	1.4
Madison	63	51	72	4.3	3.5	5.4
Marion	12	32	26	1.4	3.7	2.9
Miller	33	53	29	1.0	1.7	.9
Mississippi	113	156	60	1.4	1.9	.9
Monroe	13	28	7	.6	1.3	.3
Montgomery	29	10	37	3.2	1.1	3.4
Nevada	8	20	9	.4	1.0	.4
Newton	43	28	22	3.9	2.6	2.1
Ouachita	14	27	5	.4	.9	.2
Perry	23	9	28	2.4	1.0	3.6
Phillips	17	84	16	.4	1.8	.4
Pike	15	17	13	1.3	1.4	1.1
Poinsett	39	63	22	1.4	2.2	.7
Polk	44	57	59	2.8	3.6	4.0
Pope	104	30	82	4.0	1.2	3.1
Prairie	8	15	7	.5	1.0	.5
Pulaski	315	460	314	2.0	2.9	2.3
Randolph	21	28	18	1.1	1.5	1.1
St. Francis	19	119	24	.5	3.3	.7
Saline	31	13	17	1.9	.8	1.1
Scott	45	31	49	3.4	2.3	4.2
Searcy	38	19	48	3.1	1.6	4.3
Sebastian	292	149	291	4.6	2.4	5.3
Sevier	30	34	21	2.0	2.2	1.3
Sharp	18	24	36	1.2	2.1	3.4
Stone	15	22	17	1.7	2.6	2.1
Union	31	99	33	.6	2.0	.6
Van Buren	35	19	69	2.8	1.5	5.8
Washington	209	123	227	5.1	3.0	5.8
White	108	58	109	2.8	1.5	2.8
Woodruff	20	39	17	.9	1.8	.7
Yell	69	30	44	3.3	1.4	2.1

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[1] Requests from Jan. 1, 1938, through Jan. 15, 1940.

[2] Enumerated 1939 by U. S. Department of Agriculture and California State Department of Education cooperating.

Source: Data compiled from records of Arkansas State Department of Welfare and data from U. S. Department of Agriculture in California, by Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

TABLE IX.—*Crop acreages and net worth of Farm Security clients, by areas, Arkansas, 1935, 1936, 1937*

Area	Crop acreages per client			Net worth per client		
	1935	1936	1937	1935	1936	1937
	Number	*Number*	*Number*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
Northwest Ozark	22.9	28.6	53.7	231.70	268.33	634.24
Southeast Ozark	24.8	33.3	62.7	227.52	257.02	339.84
Coastal Plain	25.3	34.5	66.7	235.90	394.02	630.71
Delta	22.8	30.1	48.5	161.55	266.05	327.73
State	23.9	31.4	57.5	217.86	296.08	498.58

Source: Data compiled from records in the regional office of the Farm Security Administration by the Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station.

NONLOCAL LABOR DURING HARVEST SEASONS IN FRUIT, VEGETABLE, AND COTTON AREAS OF ARKANSAS

Submitted by J. L. Charlton, University of Arkansas, College of Agriculture

I. *Areas: Number of laborers.*—Nonlocal labor is used on farms in Arkansas primarily in four areas; for the picking of strawberries in a central county and in adjacent parts of two counties in the northwest; for peach picking in the concentrated orchards (10 square miles) of the south central; and for cotton picking in the delta. With the exception of that for the Negro cotton choppers transported from Memphis, the demand for outside farm labor is largely confined to harvest operations.

Nonlocal laborers and the accompanying members of their families who engage in the fruit and cotton harvests during a normal season probably exceed 15,000 persons.[1]

II. *Types.*—The nonlocal laborers found in these areas are of two general types. The first, migratory, travel from place to place and depend on itinerant types of work for a livelihood. The second type, casual laborers, have a base residence and supplement local employment by engaging in harvest work elsewhere. A majority of casual workers, at their place of residence, have some connection with the farm, either as laborers, renters, or owners. Some of the important differences between these types will be shown later in this report.

Several special types of nonlocal farm laborers come into the State for cotton picking. Kinship groups of persons of Mexican descent come from southern Texas, traveling by truck, to the two southeastern delta counties. The truck driver is usually the interpreter and manager for the kinship group, weighs the cotton in the field and hauls it to the gin for a payment of 10 to 15 cents per hundred pounds, which tends to meet the cost of transportation of the families.[2]

Another important special type is the Negro cotton pickers transported from Memphis. During the peak season more than 6,000 are transported daily into the northeastern counties of Arkansas and even as far as southeastern Missouri.[3]

III. *Origin and itinerary.*—The place of origin of the nonlocal laborers is confined mainly to the Southwestern States. A majority of casual laborers reside within Arkansas. The strawberry area in northwest Arkansas draws, in addition, casual workers from Kansas and Oklahoma; the peach area from Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma; and the cotton area primarily from the hill counties of Arkansas and Tennessee. A greater proportion of migratory than casual workers come from States other than Arkansas.

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[1] Estimate includes the Negro cotton pickers transported from Memphis but excludes those transported from local villages and towns. The term "nonlocal" refers to laborers who live too far away from the place of harvest work to return daily. The exception in this definition of nonlocal is the inclusion of the Memphis cotton pickers, who, by means of huge trucks and long-distance transportation, return daily to the city.

[2] Some planters gave as their reason for not employing Mexican pickers, in spite of the convenience of securing a group of pickers and a manager, that they did not usually pick as cleanly as local laborers.

[3] Usually the truck operators charge the employer 15 cents for each 100 pounds of cotton picked by the laborers transported. The practice of employing Memphis Negro laborers for both cotton chopping and cotton picking is becoming of increasing importance. Many of such laborers are displaced croppers, previously farming in the same area. The availability of these displaced croppers for chopping and picking cotton is a factor in the further increase of mechanization in the area.

Migratory workers do not tend to repeat a given itinerary year after year. Fifty-three percent of migratory laborers reported that last season was the first time they had come to the particular harvest area where interviewed, and 51 percent reported that they were not acquainted with any other migratory family working in the area at that time. It is clear that no considerable number of families move from area to area along a concurrent route. Naturally the general movement is northward following change of season, the migratory berry pickers of the central Arkansas area coming from Louisiana and moving to Kentucky; those of the northwest area coming from southern Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma, and moving into Missouri and to Michigan. The movement of migratory cotton pickers does not have even a general pattern.

IV. *Labor supply.*—One of the most obvious facts in connection with nonlocal labor in the harvest is the oversupply. Many laborers pass through the harvest without obtaining work at all, and, of those having work, only a minority spend the full season in the area. Those who remain during the entire season are employed, except for cotton picking, about half of the time.

Conditions giving rise to general unemployment are the principal causes of the oversupply of laborers. Some local practices, however, tend to cause the unnecessary travel of many laborers. The calls for laborers are mainly of "uncontrolled" types such as the radio and the notices sent out by the State employment services.[4] The employers, while general publicity is being given to the harvest, use individual methods of obtaining laborers.[5] The combined effort of the agencies and the employers and the need for work on the part of the laborer inevitably lead to a surplus supply. The migratory workers, though having been forewarned, may find that the harvest area is a part of their itinerary and the travel cannot be avoided in the search for other work.

While general conditions tend to produce unbalance in the supply and demand for harvest labor, several local practices are tending in the direction of stabilization. Some employers keep in contact with the casual laborers and reemploy them year after year; and, especially among growers of the more extensive acreages in the peach area, definite preference is expressed for the casual laborers who are organized into crews. It is simpler for the employer to maintain contact with the crew managers and inform them of the harvest labor needs. The laborer may thereby be informed of crop failure without leaving his residence.

V. *Variation in production.*—The most variable factor affecting the demand for nonlocal labor is production. Both berries and fruit are subject to frequent weather hazards, the berry crop failing in excess of 1 in 3 years; and the peach crop half of the time. (See attached chart.) The demand for nonlocal labor is either cut off entirely or the return at piece rates during low production years is not sufficient to provide subsistence expenses of the migrant families during the harvest season. Cotton growing is more stable than fruit and berry, although during an average of 1 in 4 years production is reduced to the point to which no considerable demand exists for nonlocal labor.

VI. *Income.*—The modal wage rate in strawberry picking is 2 cents per quart; in peach picking, 12½ cents per hour, plus a bonus of 2½ cents per hour to be paid if the worker remains until the end of the season. The modal rate for cotton picking in the southern part of the Delta is 65 cents per hundredweight and in the northern Delta 75 cents.

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[4] These notices specified that a given number of workers were wanted at a particular time, but admonished that they should not come without particular items of living equipment and only after receiving a response to an inquiry addressed to the employment service.

[5] Employers prefer an oversupply of laborers for strawberry picking that makes it possible to hold the pay rate at 2 cents per quart and to pick over the fields after the morning dew and in time for transporting the berries for shipment in the early afternoon. This oversupply during the 1939 harvest reduced the earning power of the individual laborer to approximately 60 cents per day of some employment.

The average number of hours of work per day, based on days worked rather than days in the area, approximated 5 in the strawberry area, 8 in the peach area, and 10 in the cotton-growing area. Average earnings last season for days employed were 60 cents in the strawberry area and about $1 in both peach and cotton picking.

Unemployment is, of course, another factor in the relatively low annual income of casual and migratory-worker families. The family head was completely unemployed nearly 30 percent of the time. This refers to total unemployment since partial unemployment could not be ascertained. Workers frequently reported spending a considerable portion of the year in such makeshift types of work as collecting and selling junk, salvaging and selling wood, or picking wild berries for sale and engaging in odd jobs that might practically be considered unemployment.

About 90 percent of the cash income of the migratory workers comes from labor earnings, primarily in migratory types of work. Only about 3 percent of the cash income of the migratory workers comes from work relief. On the other hand, more than 20 percent of the cash income of the casual workers is from work relief. Wage work comprises the chief source of the casual laborers' income and this, with the possible exception of work in the northern Delta cotton area, is primarily earned in the area of permanent residence. Only 10 percent of the casual workers' income is net cash income from farming. However, the casual workers' production of food is an important aspect of their income. The mean cash income during the year for migratory families approximated $450 and that of the families of casual workers $300.

The difference is not so great if consideration is given to the higher cost of travel of migratory workers and to the fact that casual workers receive perquisites as farm laborers or farm tenants, and are able to produce a considerable part of the food consumed. No attempt is made to set a monetary value on food produced and consumed by the casual workers for which they make no direct money payment, but the number of families producing a part of family living was ascertained in two areas. Less than 5 percent of migratory workers reported remaining in one place long enough to have a garden. In the two areas in which home production was reported, about 75 percent of casual workers had some kind of garden. Fifty percent reported having hogs, 75 percent chickens, 65 percent a cow, and more than 75 percent canned either fruit or vegetables or both. Therefore, in terms of total value of consumption, the annual income of the casual workers probably equaled or exceeded that of the migratory workers.

VII. *Living level.*—In consequence of low income the level of living of nonlocal laborers is low. Itinerant laborers lack the community status that makes it possible to secure medical services and adequate relief during periods of unemployment. In spite of a lower cash income, the casual workers have somewhat better security, producing some of the food consumed and receiving medical care and relief at the place of residence.

The migratory workers provide their own mobile shelter, usually an auto trailer or covered truck. If the farms are scattered, as the larger strawberry and cotton fields, the migratory workers camp on the property of the employer. If concentrated, as the peach-growing area, he uses the roadsides and tends to congregate at a central point. Both casual and migratory workers, unless prior contact has been made with the employer, remain in the squatters' camp until work has been engaged.

The in-harvest housing arrangement for the casual workers (since they rarely have adequate equipment) is more makeshift than the mobile shelter of the itinerants—sheds without floors or windows, barns and chicken houses, abandoned tenant houses, as provided by employers; or school and church buildings, camping without shelter, if no provision is made by employers.

Crowding of families in the shelter provided at camp sites and the use of common sources of water—open wells, springs, creeks—without sanitary precautions are a hazard to health, both of workers and of local residents.

Among the families of the workers, both sickness and mortality rates are high. Though the sample in this respect is small, it is indicated that the casual workers have lower sickness and death rates than the families of the migratory workers. Conditions of health being at least partly the result of long-time factors, the indications have primary significance as representative of low-income and socially disadvantaged groups. However, the laborers reported many cases of influenza, chills or malaria, tuberculosis, heart trouble, and "sores" as being prevalent in the families during the preceding 12 months. The casual workers, at least at their residential base, were usually able to secure a physician for serious illness. The migratory workers, even at childbirth, with only several exceptions, were not able to secure the services of a physician.

The educational attainment of the children of migratory families is low—the fourth grade for those who have already stopped school, the fifth for those who attended school a part of the preceding session. School attainment of casual workers is only slightly higher than that of migratory.[6] The average grade completed by the children of both the casual and migratory workers is lower than that of the parents.

VIII. *Conclusion.*—The data indicate the existence of two distinct types of nonlocal laborers—those who are characteristically itinerant; and those who have a base residence and supplement annual income through outside harvest work. The present oversupply of nonlocal laborers and the pressure of population in hill areas indicate that the demand for nonlocal harvest labor in Arkansas could be met entirely by casual workers. The organization of casual laborers in local working crews with a leader maintaining contact with the employers and informed of crop conditions portending probable labor demand, establishment of the minimal housing requirements, provision of transportation to the harvest area, are possible lines of approach. But of primary importance is the establishment of some security at a base residence where the worker is identified with a community and through part-time farming or other means may meet the essentials of higher living standards. Implementing that type of adjustment by the public agencies would be consistent with a trend that has already shown considerable headway among the nonlocal laborers employed for the harvest in several areas of Arkansas.

PANEL TESTIMONY OF C. O. BRANNEN, WILLIAM H. METZLER, AND J. L. CHARLTON, OF THE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, FAYETTEVILLE, ARK.

FARM POPULATION DECREASE IN ARKANSAS 1932–38

The CHAIRMAN. You have made an extensive study, Dr. Brannen, of changes of labor used in cotton farming in upland and lowland areas in Arkansas. What changes occurred and to what extent did these changes affect migration?

Dr. BRANNEN. The sample study for the study included three lowland counties and three upland or what we call hill counties. The farms studied, I think, were typical of the counties from which they were selected. In those counties we have found that from 1932 to 1938, a 7-year period, the number of families residing on those farms tended to decrease year by year and over the entire period. The average for the six counties showed that there were from about 8 percent to a little over 20 percent fewer farmers living on those farms in 1938 than in 1932. In other words, out of every 100 families, there had disappeared from those farms, residents on those farms in any capacity, whether laborers or sharecroppers or renters, and there were from eight to slightly over twenty fewer families in some counties in 1938 than in 1932.

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[6] The harvests of both strawberries and cotton occur during the school session. In the strawberry area more than half of the children between 5 and 9 years of age and 90 percent between 10 and 14 years are engaged in strawberry picking.

The CHAIRMAN. That is borne out by the released population figures showing that there are 1,000,000 less people on farms in the Great Plains States today than there were 10 years ago?

Dr. BRANNEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you haven't finished?

MIGRATION FROM ARKANSAS: NUMBER AND DIRECTION

Dr. BRANNEN. Well, I should like to say that certainly those families had to migrate somewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems so hard to attract the necessary attention to the points involved, that there will come a time when you just can't make a good year, drought, soil erosion, or whatever it may be. We understand there has been a considerable shifting of population in Arkansas, both in the form of interstate and intrastate migration. What has been the extent of that migration and in what direction?

Dr. METZLER. There have been over 100,000 people migrating from Arkansas every decade since 1890, and that has been largely to Texas, Oklahoma, and California. There has been a certain amount of migration to the southeast, but that has been offset by movements into Arkansas. Arkansas itself is congested.

The CHAIRMAN. In what part of Arkansas is this population pressure and to what extent was this pressure relieved by out-migration?

Dr. METZLER. It has been in the upland area—that is, instead of the delta. In the uplands we have had the greater amount of population pressure in the past, but at the present time the coastal plains show about as much population pressure as the hills; there are about 10 times as many people in proportion to resources in these areas in Arkansas as there are in some States in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you are professor of rural economics at the University of Arkansas, at Fayetteville, Ark.?

Dr. BRANNEN. Yes.

NONRESIDENT LABOR IN ARKANSAS

The CHAIRMAN. Arkansas depends, to some extent, on nonresident labor during harvest; is that largely migratory labor?

Dr. BRANNEN. It is, largely; they have a bunch move in during the fruit season and then move out again, but we do have a smaller percent that are definitely migratory coming from out of the Southwest.

The CHAIRMAN. How much nonresident labor is usually employed?

Dr. BRANNEN. I have a study by Mr. Charlton and he says there are about 15,000 nonresident laborers in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. From what States do they come?

Dr. BRANNEN. From all over the Southwest; it seems to be no one particular place and there seems to be no pattern or movement that they follow.

Mr. CURTIS. The number of farms has decreased in Arkansas for the last 10 or 20 years, would you say?

FARM INCREASE IN UPLAND AREAS

Dr. METZLER. The number varies from one county to another; we have had a large increase in farms in the upland areas which are already overcrowded, probably due to people coming back.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you mean by upland areas?

Dr. METZLER. The State could be divided into two sections by a line running from the northeast to the southwest corner, and it is in that northwest upland half where the population is dense in relation to the amount of land and the amount of production they can get out of their farms. In that area we have population pressure. We find that farmers have to divide their farms in order to take care of excess population.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think the soil of Arkansas is supporting all the farmers that it should support, or is it supporting too many?

Dr. METZLER. I have an estimate that I prepared on the basis of comparison with other States which indicates we have probably 450,000 more farm people than our proportion in relation to our resources; that is, as compared with the United States. That is rather a conservative estimate because it has been estimated that there are probably 9,000,000 too many farm people in the Southeastern States.

Mr. CURTIS. You say you have lost population for several decades?

Dr. BRANNEN. From 1920 to 1930 we lost over 230,000 by migration.

Mr. CURTIS. You don't know what the 1940 Census will show?

Dr. BRANNEN. I haven't checked it, but we show an increase of approximately 1½ percent, and that is an increase from migration back from urban centers, from Oklahoma and other States.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, gentlemen. We have your reports and everything in the record and I am sure they will be very valuable to us.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF BROOKS HAYS, REGIONAL ATTORNEY, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You may state your name and whom you represent.

Mr. HAYS. Brooks Hays, regional attorney for the Farm Security Administration, Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Hays, we do not have any prepared statement from you, but we happen to know of your great interest in this matter and particularly in the farm-tenure condition and we would like to have you talk to us just as you see fit, but in the course of your testimony we should like for you to tell us something about the farm-tenure situation in Arkansas.

Mr. HAYS. I presume you would like to know something about the Land Policy Act.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes.

LAND POLICY ACT

Mr. HAYS. The Land Policy Act grew out of the Farm Tenancy Commission, which has been in existence about 4 years, as I recall.

and has been interested in two things. First, in the encouragement of land ownership and doing everything in its power to establish families on land which they can expect to come to own, and in improving tenure where ownership is not feasible for one reason or another. First, I think this work is significant because it shows that Arkansas is trying to work out its problem as a State without calling on the Federal Government, and then it has a great educational significance. We have been able to establish an atmosphere in which the problem can be approached with a chance to work it out. We have land owners, businessmen, newspaper editors, public officials, social workers, educators, and I should say a very fine cross section of the State leadership and it has attempted to bring public opinion to the point of adopting some of these things from the social side, and that is of tremendous significance, I think. We have studied not only such problems as Dr. Brannen and Dr. Metzler have presented here, and incidentally they are both connected with the work, but we have gone into the related problem of health and education, those problems that are closely tied in with the whole problem of farm tenancy.

The most outstanding achievement was the passing in 1939 of this Land Policy Act, which you referred to. We found when we first got into this proposition that we had a surplus farm population in Arkansas, and while I do not recall the exact figures we know there are thousands of families in Arkansas that are definitely surplus farm labor. There are two solutions, if we are going to anchor them to the land; that would be to take the land that is now being used and make it more productive from the human standpoint; and then actually to bring additional land into the use of that group. We found almost a million and a half acres of what is called tax forfeited land, land that had gotten on the State tax books. That was a State resource and could be handled by the State and it didn't involve such complication from a human standpoint. We could go to the legislature and say here is a vast resource that the State controls and that is being used now in a way that isn't socially desirable—that means it was sold in a haphazard way for $1 an acre and anybody could come up and put $40 on the table and buy 40 acres of farm land. Much of that land was suitable for agriculture, and a lot of it was potentially suitable for agriculture, so that we could hope to hold a lot of these people that had been going west and keep them on the land. We did that by setting up a procedure that we called land classification, and it is the very heart of this plan, and means that no land can be disposed of by the State until it has been classified as suitable to be returned to private ownership through sale or donation and the person who buys it, if it is to be used in farming, is a suitable person to occupy that land. There are other angles to it that don't interest us so much here; the use of land for industrial sites, close to industrial or urban centers, but from an agricultural standpoint the act seems to be of great significance.

I don't want to burden you with details, but I will introduce a statement which gives a summary of the act.[1] It seems to be that at least we have a scientific approach to the using of the land that the State has. At one time Arkansas owned 2,000,000 acres and we now have 1,300,000 acres. We adopted in that plan an old procedure that had been of little use because the speculator had gotten the benefit of this land, and that is called the donation procedure. It is important now, because we can get some good land as well as poor land, and we divided the State into two sections, that which is suitable for farming and that which isn't at the present time. We have been handicapped by lack of funds, but I think the legislature will fix that. We have been handicapped by a lack of a good tax title law. In other words, you can't get a man on that land if you can't give him security. We have perhaps 1,300,000 acres, much of which is suitable for a homestead program and we are giving these people a chance now that they wouldn't have had otherwise. In section 6 of that law you will find a provision for the transfer to any Federal agency of large tracts suitable for farming. That is desirable because a lot of times you cannot find the facilities for social services, schools, and churches, unless you can get a large enough tract available that gives them the resources for that sort of thing, and then, too, they would have the agricultural facilities themselves that go with large operation, and we believe that that has possibilities. We believe this also ought to be taken into account, it shows how important these safeguards are against land speculation. The things that the Federal Government is doing to control land in the South are opening up a vast amount of land that has heretofore been swampland of no value, that was on the tax books, and we have large tracts of land now with the drainage problem solved and it is as fine as any land in the world.

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[1] See p. 2020.

I happen to know of one tract of 21,000 acres in Arkansas County, where an effort was made to handle it individually without reference to this type of planning I am speaking of, but because we have this set-up it is now in the hands of the land-use committee and the planning board and men who know land and understand the problems. We knew it wasn't desirable for that 21,000 acres to get into the flow of speculation, that it should be used for homestead purposes. You can settle a lot of families on that much land, and it is our desire to do these things to improve conditions and foster the things that the State has done to use its resources wisely.

Mr. Sparkman. In the statement you will leave with us, have you gone into detail in the explanation of this law and how it has worked?

Mr. Hays. I believe this statement covers everything you would be interested in.

Mr. Sparkman. I hope it does, because I am very much interested in it and we know it will be a very valuable addition to our record in this case; if it does, fine, and if not we may call on you for further information.

Mr. Hays. You may be interested in knowing that the Farm Tenancy Commission is composed of representatives of the College of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Soil Conservation Service, State Planning Board, two representatives of the public at large—that is all in the statement. That is important because this isn't a problem of whether the Federal

Government will occupy a particular administrative area or whether the State will occupy that area; we know there are places, of course, on account of legislative concepts where that is true, but one of the interesting outgrowths of this experiment is that you are occupying this overlapping territory with a cooperative effort.

It hasn't required an act of Congress; you have this agency in the field, and I happen to represent one of the governmental agencies, but I speak more as a member of the State commission than I do as a Federal officer. The thing is that the two have worked together and occupied that overlapping territory together; for example, in planning the location of a family on land owned by the State a man comes in and files an application and we send an inspector out there; he goes to a committee of land planners who have a Federal agency in the field that does that, and they have their maps that show the type of soil and other factors that go into the determination of whether or not that is a desirable homestead, and that is the first facility he uses, a Federal land-planning committee set up by the Federal Government but composed of local people who know land and know local problems. These local committees are a vital part of it, and the plan has proved to be very workable in the experience we have already had. We have had many more applications than we could handle because of limited appropriations.

Mr. Parsons. This applies, as I understand it, simply to State-owned land?

Mr. Hays. Right.

Mr. Parsons. It does not deal with privately owned land at all?

Mr. Hays. That is right.

Mr. Parsons. You don't touch the land until it comes into ownership of the State?

Mr. Hays. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What portion of those lands that are usable have you disposed of?

Mr. Hays. I wonder if Dr. Brannen could answer that question better than I could.

Dr. Brannen. I think it would be a small percentage at the moment, because we just started operating about 8 months ago, and a few homestead donations have been made, but the percentage would be low.

Mr. Parsons. It has been met with the proper response?

Dr. Brannen. May I emphasize, if I might, Mr. Brooks Hays' statement in regard to the opportunity of further settlement. In the eastern part of the State there are considerable areas of State-owned land which are just as good as any we have that will be usable when they are granted and homesteads of colony types, 50 or 100 families, and I expect that we could settle possibly 50,000 families in eastern Arkansas on as good land as we have after the drainage problem has been worked out.

The Chairman. Thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

(The statement by Brooks Hays, submitted to the committee, is as follows:)

STATEMENT ON THE ARKANSAS LAND POLICY ACT, BY BROOKS HAYS, REGIONAL ATTORNEY, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

The Arkansas Farm Tenancy Commission is an honorary body appointed by Gov. Carl E. Bailey in 1936. Its outstanding achievement is the successful sponsorship of the State land policy act (act 331 of the acts of 1939).

The commission conducted surveys and authorized studies of the problem of farm tenancy and the related problems of migration, low educational standards, inadequate health facilities, etc., and unanimously recommended to the general assembly the type of legislation now in force in Arkansas. Finding about a million and a half acres of tax forfeited lands in State ownership the commission worked out a plan of using these lands for homesteads for tenants and sharecroppers lacking farm opportunities. The commission concluded, on the basis of its research, that a beginning could be made in the long-range program of land ownership by adopting sound principles in the use of State lands, displacing a haphazard and outmoded plan of selling these lands indiscriminately for $1 an acre.

Results to date have been satisfactory, though administration of the act has been handicapped by lack of funds for field and technical services. There has been considerable public interest in the general plan of the farm tenancy commission to encourage the anchoring of farm people upon land which will provide an adequate standard of living.

The basic policy of this legislation is well expressed by section 1 of the act which declared it to be the policy of the State of Arkansas to provide for the development and conservation of the human and soil resources of the State; to protect the lands owned by the State, and to provide for their classification and best use in the interests of the future general welfare and agricultural well-being of the State; to encourage the settlement of the farm families of the State upon family-sized tracts under conditions conducive to successful farming; to preserve land in public ownership suited for public use as forests, parks, or other purposes; to cooperate with Federal agencies having similar and allied objectives; and to protect and promote the health, safety, and general welfare of the people of Arkansas.

The administration of the act is vested in two State agencies: (1) The commissioner of State lands and (2) the land use committee of the State planning board. The commissioner is the administrative officer but the land use committee is charged with the duty of classifying the tax-forfeited lands and supervising the inspection, appraisal and classification of the lands according to the most appropriate use. The present land use committee is composed of: Three representatives of the College of Agriculture of the State university (including the dean and director of extension), two representatives of the Farm Security Administration, two representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, one representative of each of the following: The State forestry commission, the State parks commission, the State game and fish commission, the State agricultural and industrial commission, and the Soil Conservation Service; the director of the State planning board, the chairman of the State farm tenancy commission, the commissioner of State lands (ex officio) and two representative citizens.

State lands are to be classified as to whether they should be retained in public ownership, allocated for agricultural settlement through cooperation with Federal agencies or returned to private ownership through sale or donation. No lands shall be sold to private individuals except in accordance with classifications made by the committee. Conveyances of land returned to private ownership shall contain such restrictive covenants on alienation as the committee deems necessary to insure the use of the land in a beneficial manner and the act further provides that all mineral rights shall be reserved to the State.

The act provides for outright donation of lands properly classified as agricultural lands to those individuals demonstrating their fitness for agricultural pursuits and lands to be so conveyed shall be in family-sized tracts. Final certificates of donation are not issued until the prospective donee establishes residence on the land and engages in farming operations on it for a period of 2 years. The encouragement of settlement in isolated sections where social services are not available is prohibited. The land-use committee is authorized to determine what constitutes a family-sized farm considering location, fertility, and type of farming. The commissioner of State lands is given authority to allocate lands suitable for disposition by the United States Government or by individuals or organizations approved by Federal agencies and cooperating with the Federal program and is authorized to enter into contracts with the Government for the handling of the State's lands in accordance with the declared policies of the act.

Isolated tracts not large enough to provide a suitable farm unit may be sold to adjacent land owners where such sales do not result in the purchaser having a farm greater in area than a family-sized farm considering the location of the tract.

The land use committee is given wide powers in administering the act and is authorized to promulgate rules and regulations governing not only the classification of lands, but the determination of eligibility of applicants under the donation procedure and, in substance, is authorized to develop sound principles governing the use of State-owned lands.

The general assembly failed to appropriate any money for the special service to be rendered by the land office under the land policy act but a transfer of $1,000 from another State agency has enabled the deputy land commissioner to make field trips for the purpose of inspecting the lands to be donated and interviewing the applicants. Prior to passage of the act no inspections of any kind were authorized and donation certificates were issued as a matter of course. Under the present procedure it is possible to determine the qualification of applicants for homestead certificates and to fit the size of the proposed homestead to the particular family needs.

In carrying out the act the land commissioner's staff has had the cooperation of local offices of other governmental agencies, both State and Federal, participating in the program. In this connection, it should be noted that the maps and other facilities of the county land planning committees have proved to be an indispensable aid to proper administration. It is believed that the authority contained in section 6 for the transfer of land in large tracts to Federal agencies will enable the Farm Security Administration to expand its service where it appears that settlement in groups is more desirable than individual homesteading. Such planning would embrace community services and loans for improvement which are often not available in individual cases.

In the opinion of Tenancy Commission members, the land policy act should be supplemented by legislation strengthening the title to tax-forfeited lands so that loans for improvements may be supported by good security.

TESTIMONY OF J. C. RAPP, McGEHEE, ARK.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name and address.

Mr. RAPP. J. C. Rapp, McGehee, Ark.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't filed a statement with the committee, have you?

Mr. RAPP. I have a brief statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you prefer to read your statement?

Mr. RAPP. No, sir; I don't prefer to read it, but I will brief it to save time.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and put your statement in the record and afterward make such comments on it as you may wish.

(The statement mentioned is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF J. C. RAPP, MCGEHEE, ARK., ON BEHALF OF AGRICULTURAL COUNCIL OF ARKANSAS

The Agricultural Council of Arkansas through its officers selected a committee to make investigation and report to the House Committee on Interstate Migration at its hearing at Oklahoma City, Okla., on September 19 and 20, 1940. This committee is composed of C. N. Houck, residing at Marianna, Lee County, Ark., and operating a farm in St. Francis County, Ark., president of the association and chairman of the committee, and the following members: Rufus Branch, Pecan Point, Mississippi County, Ark.; J. C. Rapp, McGehee, Desha County, Ark.; Harold Young, Little Rock, Pulaski County, Ark.; Fred A. Isgrig, Little Rock, Pulaski County, Ark.

It will be noted that the various members of the committee reside in different areas and sections of the delta country, and therefore their combined information covers the entire area of approximately 30 counties, which produce approximately 80 percent of the cotton raised in the State of Arkansas. Each member of the committee is the operator of a cotton farm, and the combined operation of the members of the committee is in excess of 10,000 acres. This statement, to be delivered by one member of the committee, is the combined statement of the entire committee made after conference and investigation.

First, it is the opinion of the committee that the question of migratory labor as it affects Arkansas is of negligible importance and probably is not even a problem in this area. There has been a shift of labor from the farms during the period from 1930 to 1940. There are probably two contributing causes:

First, in 1930 cotton farming became exceedingly unprofitable, and some labor on the farms sought work elsewhere in an effort to better their financial condition.

Second, there has been some shift of labor due to the change of farming methods, there being some change from sharecroppers to day labor. However, it is not probable that more than 25 percent of the delta farming region is farmed by day labor, the remaining 75 percent still being farmed by tenants or sharecroppers.

Not all of the estimated 25 percent of labor changing from sharecroppers to day labor has left the farm. It is probable that one-half of this number have remained on the farm, preferring to work for day wages rather than to assume the hazard of tenant or sharecrop farming. Some who have left the farms have gone to the cities, severing a farm connection for the purpose of getting employment upon Work Projects Administration, where the wages paid are much better than the day wages paid on the farm.

Mechanization of the farms has played but small part in the shift of labor, and the reduction of cotton acreage has had but small influence upon this situation; while fewer acres of land were cultivated in cotton, cotton farming methods have assumed the form of intensified farming, and more work is used upon an acre of cotton under reduced acreage than was formerly used per acre. As a result, this has required an increased amount of labor per acre in the cultivating season, and the result has been an increase in production, and there is almost as much cotton to be harvested under the restricted or reduced acreage as was produced under a larger acreage so that the number of people employed in the harvesting of a cotton crop and acreage of other crops, such as corn and feedstuffs, which has been increased proportionately to the decrease of cotton land, makes it necessary to employ about as much labor as ever was employed on the farm.

In the season of cultivation it is necessary for the operators of good-sized farms to bring in outside labor to supplement the farm labor in the chopping or hoeing of the cotton, and in the fall, or harvesting season, outside labor is now, as it has always been in the past, necessary to harvest the crop.

There exists upon the farms in the delta section of Arkansas a shortage of labor, which shortage has existed for the past several years, and a larger population of labor could find places and homes upon the land than are now doing so.

The committee is not unmindful of the fact that the migratory-labor problem does exist elsewhere and that in some sections of the country it is a problem of serious import, and we are in sympathy with any effort to improve or better the condition of the migrant laborer. In this connection it is necessary to know that the supply of labor needed at peak times, that is, during the cotton-chopping period and the cotton-picking period, is available in the nearby villages and towns in the delta section of Arkansas. This labor is made up largely of the Negro population of the villages and towns referred to, from labor temporarily unemployed in the cities and from the women who leave their household duties during the peak periods referred to and go to the farm to engage in the chopping of cotton and in the picking of cotton—this to supplement a family income.

This labor is transported in trucks of the farmer and is carried from the homes of the workers to the fields in the morning and back to their homes again at night at the end of the day's labor. The expense of this transportation is borne by the farmer or the person who uses the labor. Transportation is furnished free to the laborer.

Another source of labor for the delta is the adjoining hill section where families engaged in farming on a small scale in the hills leave their small farms and go to the larger farms in the delta sections for employment. In some sections of the delta, Mexicans are brought from Mexico to work during the heavy cotton-picking season. These people always return to their homes when the season is over—invariably declining any offer of the landlords to give them crops and homes to induce them to stay.

With reference to the suggestion that the cutting up of the large farms into small farms will solve the problem of labor, we do not agree. It is our experience and observation that a great percent of the labor employed in the delta section has no desire to own or operate a farm, many of them preferring to engage in day labor which has a fixed earning without hazard. Furthermore, the equipment and stock necessary to proper farming is too great a burden upon a small unit of land.

With reference to the shift of population, or the change in the status of farm labor, the committee desires to call attention to the fact that in the years from 1930 to 1936 millions of acres of land in Arkansas were forfeited to the State for nonpayment of taxes. The State acquired title to much of this land and after the State had acquired title to this land it was sold at $1 per acre, much of it of the rich delta type of land. Many former renters availed themselves of the opportunity to acquire the land at this small cost of $1 per acre and became farmers and are engaged in farming upon their own land.

The population of the farms in the delta section has not been materially reduced, approximately the same number of people living upon the land and subsisting since the reduction of acreage of cotton and the change of farming methods as lived upon or populated the same farms before the change came.

TESTIMONY OF J. C. RAPP—Resumed

MIGRATORY LABOR IN ARKANSAS DELTA SECTION

Mr. Rapp. The Agricultural Council of Arkansas represents the delta section of the State. It has a membership in 30 counties, 18 of which are practically entirely of a delta-type soil. The remaining counties are partly delta and partly hill land. The problems in the delta counties of Arkansas are so different from the problems in the hill sections that the farmers in the delta decided it would be well for them to have an organization to study their own problems, which are peculiar to their situation, and that was the cause of the founding of this agricultural council. The agricultural council learned of this meeting and they got together a committee of their members over the State and have submitted a written statement of which you have a copy. I am merely going to brief that statement in order to save time. At a meeting in Little Rock every phase of the agricultural problem was discussed. It was admitted there was a decrease in the number of farms in the delta section, it was admitted that tractor farming had had something to do with it, it was admitted that our farming is more or less seasonal, that we have two peaks at which we need more labor than at any other times, and that is the time of chopping cotton and the time of picking cotton. In picking cotton, we in the delta section are rather fortunate because of the fact that in the hill section of Arkansas the crops are usually small and the families there can pick their crops early in the season and then come to the delta and help with the crops there.

In addition to this help we get from the hill section in harvesting our crops we have available a number of Negro families who live in the small towns and who will come out to pick cotton during the picking season and will help with chopping, both the men and women, and that almost meets our needs for labor. However, just recently we have begun to import or bring in a few Mexicans and the Mexican labor has proven very satisfactory. We have been so impressed with the type of work they have done that we have offered them homes, tried to make tenant farmers out of them, but they have refused, saying they didn't care to spend the full year there, but they have come back from time to time to help in the crops and a few are now drifting in. The agricultural council went on record as heartily favoring the efforts of this committee in passing some legislation which will help in the migratory labor problem. You have our best wishes, we shall be glad to be of service to you in anything we can do, and while there is not much of a migratory labor problem there now, probably there will be later on. If I may be permitted to express an opinion I should like to say a few words on my own if I am permitted to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You surely are, Mr. Rapp.

INEVITABLE EXTINCTION OF SMALL FARMS

Mr. RAPP. In the first place I myself have been a migratory laborer. I originated in Kentucky, went to Missouri, then Tennessee, then California, and wound up in Arkansas. I am heartily in sympathy with the migratory problems and I am very glad I was not interfered with in my travels because I am very glad that I am where I am now located. As someone testified at this hearing the income is so very low at the present on the farms that it is my opinion after considerable thought and considerable investigation that the individual farm, the 40-acre or 80-acre farm, is almost certainly doomed to extinction under present conditions and it is going to go the way of the cross-roads shoemaker, the cross-roads blacksmith, and the small-town tailor.

The CHAIRMAN. And the independent store?

Mr. RAPP. That is right, and the independent store. The income is so very small that no man, regardless of his ability, frugality, and industry and good judgment and everything that goes to make up a good businessman, can at present prices make enough money to have the standard of living that we feel a man is entitled to on a 40-acre farm. There is no way, on 80 acres, that a man can make a living like a man in a large industry can make; his income is around $1,200 a year. There is no man in this house that can make enough money to educate his family, keep a car, radio, and other conveniences that we feel necessary. Unless conditions change the small farms will disappear.

The CHAIRMAN. On that point our attitude toward farms has changed. In the early days 80 percent of the people lived on farms and they tell me they lived there and didn't really enter into the life with the idea of making a lot of money, but they raised their food and fed their family. Now, you are down to 25 percent of the people living on the farms and they don't even raise a vegetable patch, so the attitude has changed?

Mr. RAPP. Yes; the 40-acre farm cannot be handled economically because small farmers, if they would go in and buy the equipment necessary, such as equipment for putting up hay, which costs approximately $2,000 whether you have 40 acres or 400 acres, and there is other equipment you need, and the 40-acre farm will not yield enough to enable the individual to buy the equipment he needs, and he is in competition with the large farmer.

The homesteader referred to a moment ago by Mr. Brooks Hays has my utmost sympathy. Sometimes men have gone on those places and built the best house they could and started to clear; I saw one man day before yesterday, he has worked faithfully and done his best, his children have worked as well as his wife, and his allotment of cotton is very small because you can't get an allotment of cotton on a new farm. The result is the man sold his old farm and applied the proceeds to this farm and when he got ready to prove up his title he came to me and asked if he could borrow some money, if I could possibly let him have $50 or $60 to get his title to this land, but on investigation he found it would take $560 to pay improvement taxes and back taxes and all; $560 was twice the present sale value of the land.

RECOMMENDS COMPULSORY EDUCATION

There is a man who has made every effort and he is going to be a migrant, and on that subject I want to say a few words too. In looking at these pictures around here, hearing the witnesses that have been before you today, I have been impressed with one thing that should be included in your migratory labor bill, which I haven't heard mentioned, and that is facilities for educating the children of these migrants. Those children that you see in those pictures on the wall of those men and women probably are children of families who did the best they could with the earnings they had. They didn't know how to protect their health and they didn't know what sanitation meant; they were not educated to meet the problems of everyday life. We had one man here today, an educated man, he was a migrant, he was getting along very nicely because that man had the opportunity in his childhood to be educated. Any law that you may pass for the protection and aid of the migrant should include a compulsory education for his children until they are at least past the eighth grade. If you want to stop a thing at its source, if you want to help the tenant farmer and the migrant help him by saying that his children must be educated.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Rapp. The report of your council will be received and made a part of our record.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

(Whereupon at 5 p. m., the hearing was adjourned until 9:30 a. m., Friday, September 20, 1940.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate
the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., September 20, 1940, in the State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City, Okla., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding.

Present were Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Carl T. Curtis, Claude V. Parsons, and John J. Sparkman.

Also present were Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; George Wolf, chief field investigator; Creekmore Fath, field investigator; Irene Hageman, field secretary.

TESTIMONY OF GOV. LEON C. PHILLIPS, OF OKLAHOMA

The Chairman. The committee will please come to order. Governor Phillips will be the first witness.

Governor, I noticed in the Daily Oklahoman this morning that this committee was nervously awaiting your appearance; well, we have had governors and mayors all over the country and we find that governors are just about like everybody else and just as human.

Governor Phillips. I didn't see the paper, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. The migrants make us just about as nervous as the governors. Governor, you may proceed with your presentation in any way you see fit. This is a very important hearing in Oklahoma, and Oklahoma is a very important State, and we shall leave it to your own good judgment. Governor, would you like to make your presentation before being interrupted or not?

Governor Phillips. Well, it is immaterial to me—whatever you, as chairman of the committee, or the members of the committee, desire.

The Chairman. I think you should proceed in any way you see fit, Governor.

Governor Phillips. I have here a report which has been prepared by a committee composed of State officials, men from the university and the agricultural schools, and representatives of industry, and farmers, which in a way sums up what we think has been the trouble with our ability here to furnish employment to our people, and we tell you the thing that we think is destroying the possibility of the small man to make a living in agriculture under present conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we want to know, Governor; you just proceed as you wish and your full report will be inserted in the record.

Governor PHILLIPS. I have it here and will present it for your report. I have sufficient copies to give to each of you. Of course, the exhibits which are attached to this report, graphs and detailed information, are available only for the original which I, of course, will file with the committee. I might read a page or two of it, and then, if the cursory examination which you will be able to give this report calls for an explanation or verification of the items in the report, I have the men here who will be willing to go on the stand and give details of the things that I refer to in the report itself.

(Statement of Governor Phillips appears below:)

REPORT OF HON. LEON C. PHILLIPS, GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, we in Oklahoma are fully aware of the serious problem confronting the various States brought about by migrating populations. The problem has become acute in a number of our States, and particularly so in California.

This attempt by the Federal Government to establish the causes and take remedial measures is a step in the right direction and meets with our hearty approval.

We Oklahomans, who still believe this to be a good place to live, welcome an investigation as to our arrival here and our intentions to stay here.

Volumes could be written and hours spent in recounting the advantages and virtues of Oklahoma and her citizens.

Our vast—almost inexhaustible—coal beds; our huge deposits of oil, lead, zinc, and other minerals; our range in climatic conditions permitting an unparalleled diversification of crops, ranging from cotton, melons, peanuts, corn, and vegetables in the south to fruits, wheat, and other small grains in the central and northern areas; our increased production of livestock, including hogs, sheep, dairy, and beef cattle; the fighting spirit of our pioneers; the contribution of our citizens to literature, art, and culture; our skyscrapers, beautiful homes, and educational institutions—all these and many other things too numerous to mention make Oklahomans very proud of their great State. But you are here for the purpose of investigating the migration problem, and we will confine our remarks to that subject.

Upon receiving notice of this meeting, I appointed a special committee, consisting of educators, businessmen, industrialists, and farmers, to make a study of the problem and submit remedial suggestions to your committee.

The local committee has made a comprehensive study of the problem and in all good faith asks that the corrective measures suggested in the report be given your sympathetic and earnest consideration.

For the sake of brevity and continuity, the report which I shall submit sets out the problem, suggests the causes and remedies.

An appendix to this written statement, containing bulletins, documents, maps, graphs, etc., supporting the statements made herein, has been prepared for your further study.

THE PROBLEM

During recent years the migration of dependent classes of people has been brought to public attention. Looking back a hundred years, when the west coast country was uninhabited for the most part by white people, this migration would have been hailed with great acclaim. But times have changed, and now it presents grave social and economic problems both at its origin and at its destination.

The present westward migration is largely a continuation or renewal of a movement that began when the Europeans came to the New World, and which continued in great volume with a greater or a lesser degree of regularity until just before the World War.

In earlier years it was encouraged and fostered by every possible means, because there were virgin lands of great fertility, rich mines of lead, silver, copper, and gold, and later fields of oil to be exploited. In those days manpower was needed in the great West. Now the picture is different. The alluring flush production from those resources has ended. The need, except for unsteady, seasonal, and relatively cheap agricultural labor, has subsided greatly, and we are becoming aware that such unlimited movements of population are fraught with distressing consequences.

Migration is a thing which, in the course of everyday affairs, must be expected continually. Unhappy would be the people who by law or by other circumstances were forbidden to move from one place to another. Motion, or mobility, is a law of the universe, and as such it is a necessity for man.

Most migration is in some measure a search for opportunity, an attempt to find new resources from which a livelihood may be gained, an effort to make new adjustments to the exigencies of life, and a quest for new experiences and for security. However, there are those who migrate to get away from a real opportunity and honest toil.

There are some who are naturally shiftless, hate work and will go to most any length to avoid it. Some of those boys came over to Jamestown and learned a fair lesson from Capt. John Smith when he issued the decree that those who would not work would not eat. I am afraid that all the States have a number of these folk left and the State that hands out the most money, food, and clothing free will find its population ever increased by the indolent and lazy. Let us bear in mind that we cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves. You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative and independence.

For these reasons it is desirable that we take a sane view of it and refrain from any ill-considered judgments or actions until we have studied the problem thoroughly in all of its cause-effect relationships.

Migration of dependent classes is not a new thing. The Israelites were impoverished by drought when they went to Egypt. Georgia was settled in 1732 by refugees from England. The poor, the oppressed, the disfranchised, and the rich as well, have always been highly migratory. Also, it may be observed from history that, while there are exceptions to be sure, the migration of wretched peoples in times past has often resulted in improvement in their situation, and not infrequently in their transformation into a prosperous society.

The seriousness of the migration now going on in this country grows not out of the fact that people are moving so much as that the conditions exist in the country which make moving a necessity. This in turn is largely a result of the stage of maturity which has been reached in America.

In Oklahoma, as a special case, the transition of the last 10 years or so has been great in its extent and harsh in its effect. Agriculture has been curtailed by the national policy, by soil depletion, and by climatic conditions. In addition to these forces, mechanization of farm production and industry has assumed large proportions. The extractions of minerals and petroleum has been restricted drastically by far-reaching international, political, and economic developments and by internal economic conditions. Unquestionably, the decline of oil and mineral production in Oklahoma has left workers idle. The timber industry in Oklahoma, like agriculture, has begun to suffer great disadvantages because of limitation of supply and market factors. The processing industries have never become highly developed in Oklahoma because of many circumstances, among them being an unfortunate geographic location in respect to markets, and discriminatory transportation rates. The inevitable result of all this is that Oklahoma has a very limited capacity for absorbing in other fields workers who have been displaced in one field. Oil-field workers and agricultural laborers, for example, cannot shift easily from one of those occupations to the other, because both are overcrowded. Hence, we have an economic situation of limited alternative uses for human labor which, with the advent of these conditions, has resulted in a large unemployed population whose only apparent hope of being able to make a living for themselves is to move in search of some form of employment.

The problem is especially severe in Oklahoma at this time, because the State was built upon a succession of booms, rushes, and runs, if not for free land, then for the oil fields, the construction camps, the spawning cities and towns.

All populations have their flotsam and jetsam. The man and woman who came to these uninhabited prairies 50 years ago with the noble purpose and determination to have a home generally succeeded; and his and her successes are today the enduring foundations of this typical American State. Pioneering has no easy jobs. The man looking for "soft snaps," little work and big pay, drifts from place to place. He is, as a fact, a perpetual refugee from labor.

Then again, in the mining and oil sections, the discovery of gold, silver, or oil always causes a sudden heavy inrush of population; and the history of all such booms is the same—an exodus of population, a drifting away of those who had rushed in—when the treasures of nature in that particular place have been exhausted. Oklahoma has had all of these experiences, but now Oklahoma has matured and is becoming saturated with people. The population is small, relative to the area of the State, but is large relative to the opportunity for remunerative employment either on the farms or in the towns and cities.

In the last decade the State of Oklahoma has lost 74,679 residents. The western half of the State alone has lost 71,413 persons.

In the 5 years just passed, the State has lost 33,274 farms. Yet in the 10 years since 1930 only 24,890 farm units have been lost—a factual situation which clearly proclaims an increase in farms and population between 1930 and 1935, only to see a violent reverse, resulting in a net loss to the State in the last 5 years of more than 30,000 farms and more than 100,000 citizens.

In beginning a study or consideration of emigration from this State, it must be always kept clearly in mind that Oklahoma constituted one of the last frontiers of free land, open to a settlement and accessible to that great migrant band—the American pioneer. In 1907 Oklahoma was admitted to the Union. In the 33 years that have passed since Oklahoma became an integral part of the Union, the State has witnessed a growth—economically, socially, and in populace—which all but defies human imagination. Certainly it defies parallel by any neighboring State whose resources, geographic location, and size is comparable to what was once the Indian country.

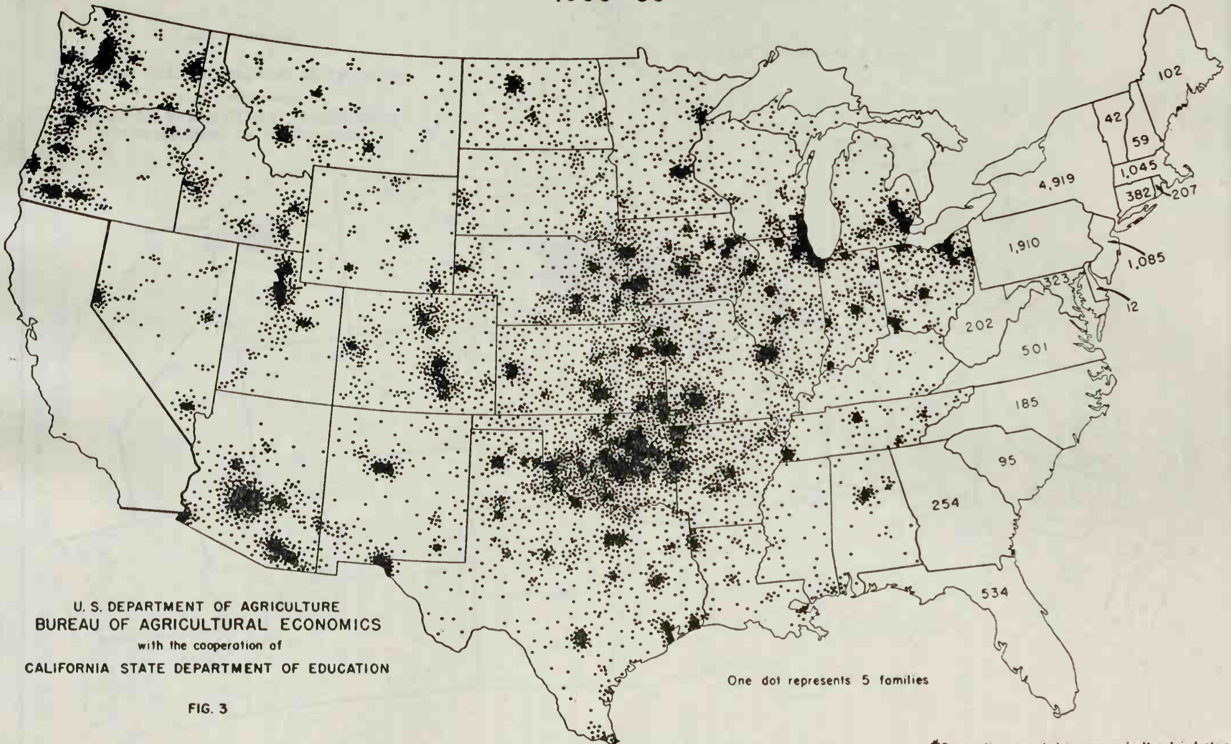
Oklahoma, admitted as a State in 1907, today has a population of 2,334,437. Kansas, on the north, admitted as a State in 1861, has today a population of 1,779,137; Arkansas, on the east, admitted as a State in 1836, has a population of 1,947,268. It is well for us to realize that Oklahoma today has a total population greater than Kansas, Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Nebraska, Louisiana, or Mississippi—States comparable in geographic location and size to Oklahoma. We must realize, too, in seeking an answer, that but for the difference in area, the population of Oklahoma would be far greater than that of the State of Texas, bordering on the south and west.

The youth of Oklahoma and its rapid growth are facts of great significance. We must not lose sight of these realities.

When, but a relatively short time ago, the broad, rolling prairies of the Indian Territory were opened to settlement, we found, pressing from every side, north, south, east, and west, a migrant band of American pioneers, seeking new lands, seeking greater opportunities than were to be found in the older States where all lands had been taken and opportunities were less apparent. For many years, as one of the last frontiers, Oklahoma to the whole Nation stood forth as the land of opportunity. It was but natural that the land hungry should crowd in. To the allurement of free lands, this great pioneer band responded, and Oklahoma, as a State, became a child of migration.

The settlement of Oklahoma differed but little from that of many other States, except that whereas the older States had gradually, almost imperceptibly, been settled by the advancement of the pioneer with his covered wagon and his sod plow, great sections of Oklahoma were settled almost overnight by an influx from every side of land-hungry pioneers, a citizenship adventuresome in spirit, mobile by habit and heritage. It is natural that a State with such a background should, as to its citizenship, go through a period of flux. Other States were populated by the gradual extension of settlement. In Oklahoma, on the other hand, a rapid growth of population, as it now appears, resulted in a maladjustment of citizenship to economic and natural resources. Prior to 1935 the State was an area of absorption; then, under the existing economic conditions, it became, in effect, an area of dispersion. Oklahoma has now gone through the "growing pains" of youth to adulthood. It is now ready to settle down, and since its period of absorption was of much shorter duration, since the movement of peoples into Oklahoma was more floodlike in its aspect than that of any other State of the Union, it is

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 69,896 NON-AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO CALIFORNIA
1930–39


102
42
59
1,045
382
207
4,919
1,910
1,085
323
12
202
501
185
95
254
534

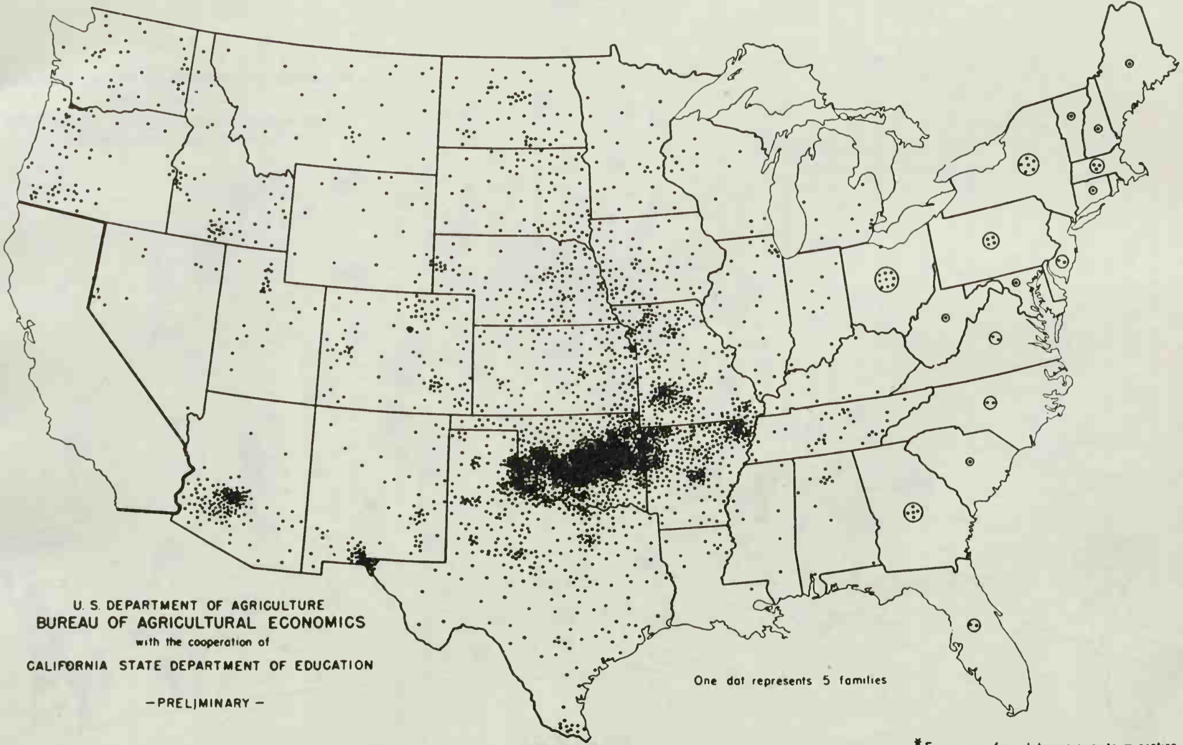
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
with the cooperation of
CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

FIG. 3

One dot represents 5 families

*Occupation reported in non-agricultural industries

RESIDENCE IN 1930 OF 16,681 AGRICULTURAL FAMILIES* MOVING TO CALIFORNIA
1930–39



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CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

—PRELIMINARY—

One dot represents 5 families

* Farmers or farm laborers prior to migration

but natural that in entering upon this new era of dispersion its emigration should partake of the characteristics of its immigration, as to suddenness and volume.

But having so recognized the realities of the situation, it is well that consideration be given to the causes which have contributed and are yet contributing to this need of a readjustment. Only by discovering these causes, only by ascertaining why, for a period of years ending in 1935, Oklahoma was able to maintain a tolerable balance between populace and resources can we hope to take the remedial steps necessary to again bring into a happy equilibrium the peoples and the resources of this State.

(Appendixes Nos. 1, 6, 7, and 20, held in committee files.)

(Appendixes 2 and 3 are maps shown on pp. 2031–2032.)

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION

In stating the conditions which have contributed to this great movement of citizens from Oklahoma, it cannot be said that this is the cause for a particular move or that this is the cause in another instance. The truth of the matter is that a vast portion of Oklahoma migrants of today have simply followed and are now following the honorable tradition of moving. Yet there can be no question but that most of the more recent and excessive emigration of Oklahomans is attributable to one, or a combination, of the following factors:

1. *Equitable freight rates for Oklahoma.*—One of the controlling factors causing migrants from Oklahoma is the discriminatory freight-rate adjustment as applied to manufactured commodities from Oklahoma.

The Federal regulating body has continued the high discriminatory freight-rate adjustment on manufactured commodities against Oklahoma that were applicable when it was an Indian nation and during Territorial days and has not recognized the settlement of the State. Such an adjustment is but the outgrowth of tradition. The natural result of the maintenance of this railroad freight-rate plateau against Oklahoma on manufactured products has been to stifle manufacturing enterprises in Oklahoma and has tended to enlarge the manufacturing industries located upon waterways and in the more favored freight-rate territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers.

The lack of an adequate and nondiscriminatory basis of railroad freight rates from Oklahoma on manufactured products has required the people of Oklahoma to depend upon the marketing of the raw products of the soil.

Any depressing of foreign markets tends to be felt more quickly in those areas depending solely upon products of the soil than upon areas also engaged in manufacturing. It is a matter of common knowledge that the foreign markets have been practically closed to shipments of products of the soil from the United States for the last few years, and this is especially true as to grains, cotton, livestock, and petroleum products, and this has resulted in the people of Oklahoma migrating to those areas depending less upon the exportation of products of the soil.

The withdrawal of regional freight rate discriminations will materially tend to encourage the expansion and diversification of industries in Oklahoma. The Federal regulating body has continued the high discriminatory freight rate adjustment on manufactured commodities against Oklahoma which were applicable during Territorial days. The reducing of the present unfair regional freight rates will encourage materially the expansion and diversification of industries for which Oklahoma has a natural advantage; and will remove, automatically, one of the principal causes of migration from the State.

For a more complete study of the actual freight rate conditions as prescribed by the Federal regulating body, applicable to Oklahoma and the industrial centers of the East, I respectfully refer you to a report attached hereto, prepared by C. B. Bee, who has spent the last 33 years as traffic adviser and special counsel to the freight rate regulating commissions of the States of Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri, and who is now attached to the staff of the Corporation Commission of Oklahoma.

(See appendix No. 4 held in committee files.)

2. *Agricultural and industrial mechanization.*—The mechanization of farm production has been, since 1925, a potent force in releasing laborers and farm tenants, particularly in western areas of the State by virtue of its direct influence, and in other parts because of its indirect repercussions upon the agricultural systems. In most of our studies, the weight of this factor must be measured in terms of unemployment. Not often is the displaced farm laborer,

especially in eastern Oklahoma, told that he has been displaced by machines. He finds himself without a job and is left to wonder why. Little does he know that highly mechanized farms elsewhere have made it hard for him to secure employment in Oklahoma.

(See summary below.)

Summary of tractor registrations, by calendar years, in Oklahoma

	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Total	28, 414	26, 155	24, 861	25, 782	27, 155	29, 326	32, 504	37, 928	38, 999	41, 335	44, 184
Totals for industrial tractors where not included in calendar years	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	228	1, 109	1, 282	------
Total	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	38, 256	40, 108	42, 617	------

3. *Depletion of the soil.*—No State has a larger proportion of its arable land devastated by erosion than Oklahoma. Cropping systems have been mostly exploitative and soil-mining processes. Oklahoma farmers did not become "soil conscious" until many of their best fields had been depleted of their fertility, some of them hopelessly. In the Panhandle area, certain agricultural practices were placed in operation in disregard of the known hazards of the high plains, short-grass region, which, upon the advent of a prolonged dry cycle, resulted in widespread wind erosion of the open fields.

In the basins of the Arkansas and Red Rivers running water and the pull of gravity have played a major role in depopulating the farms of this State. Throughout the State generally, the short-term landowner-tenant agreements have resulted in exploitation of soil fertility; and now the Federal Government, with its dam projects at Denison and Disney, moves into Oklahoma, inundates more than a hundred thousand acres of our most fertile soil, destroys its productivity forever, removes it from our tax rolls, and brings about another exodus of our farm population.

The Resettlement Administration has bought 32,000 acres of land in the Cookson Hills area, and in addition other thousands of acres have been purchased by the Government and taken from the tax rolls of the State of Oklahoma, and the people who have lived on the land are being moved off to find new homes. (See appendices Nos. 5, 6, and 20.[1])

4. *Drouth.*—Drouth has been a cause of dislodgment of thousands of people in Oklahoma. The most devastating drouth, as far as the movement of dependent population is concerned, has not been that of the Dust Bowl area, but rather the acute and unprecedented drouths which prevailed in southwestern Oklahoma for the greater part of the past decade, and particularly the blistering drouths of 1934 and 1936 in parts of the State normally accustomed to ample rainfall.

(See appendix No. 20.[1])

5. *National policy of agricultural curtailment.*—The national policy of agricultural curtailment has reduced cultivation of the usual cash crops in Oklahoma by approximately one-third. Reduced acreages and payments for idle land has tended to increase owner-farming and mechanical farming, thus releasing a large number of tenant farmers in all sections of the State.

In addition, Government subsidies and the manner of the administration of this program has made large-scale farming profitable, and has likewise resulted in wholesale elimination of tenant farmers.

Government records disclose that for the 5-year period ending with 1932, the United States produced 73,324,000 bales of cotton while, during the past 5 years under operation of the national agricultural program, we produced only 66,599,000 bales, a reduction of 6,735,000 bales. However, excluding the States of Oklahoma and Texas, the amount of American cotton produced during the past 5 years exceeded the production during the 5-year period ending in 1932. For the 5-year period ending with 1932, there was produced, outside the States of Texas and Oklahoma, 44,726,000 bales, while within the past 5 years, during the operation of the national farm program, the amount of cotton produced outside the States of Oklahoma and Texas increased to 46,866,000 bales.

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[1] Held in committee files, not printed.

These figures disclose that in spite of the drastic reduction of cotton acreage, the production of American cotton, outside the States of Oklahoma and Texas, during the past 5 years, amounted to 2,140,000 bales more than during the 5-year period immediately preceding the advent of the farm program.

Government figures on acreage and production for the State of Oklahoma for the 7 years preceding the farm program, as compared to acreage and production for the 7 years of the farm program, reveal an amazing loss to this State. For the 7-year period preceding the farm program, Oklahoma maintained an annual acreage planted to cotton of 3,804,000 acres, and an average annual production of 1,178,222 bales. For the 7 years of the national farm program, Oklahoma's average annual allotment in acres planted to cotton has been 2,327,430 acres, and the average annual production has been 604,505 bales. This shows a decrease in acreage in Oklahoma, under the Government cotton program, of approximately 38 percent, and a decrease in production of approximately 48 percent. (See official Government reports as issued by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

While this was taking place in Oklahoma, the cotton-growing sections outside the States of Oklahoma and Texas, notwithstanding the reduction in cotton acreage, were showing an increase in production. These figures conclusively show that Oklahoma, along with the adjoining State of Texas, is unjustly bearing all of the actual reduction of cotton production under this program.

The explanation is that, in the cotton-growing sections of the South where rainfall is plentiful, the reduction benefits paid by the Government may be used for the purchase of fertilizer; and by more intensive cultivation of smaller acreage, the production may be held at or above the former level; while in the semiarid regions of Oklahoma and Texas, where rainfall, rather than fertilizer, is the needed element, the reduction benefits may not be used to supply the needed moisture. (See official Government Reports of Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

6. *Low income.*—Low farm income is often stated as a reason why farmers have to move. This applies, also, to nonagricultural workers and to the classes dependent upon some form of Government relief. An income below that required to sustain life is a legitimate reason, in any man's country, for moving.

Information secured from the Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Public Assistance Research bulletins, shows that the average amount paid to families as of May 1940, on all types of direct relief, amount to twice as much in most instances and more than that in some instances, in the State of California than in the State of Oklahoma.

Direct relief payments in Oklahoma are similar to those in Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina, while six other States have no plan at all as to aid for dependent children and the blind.

(For maps and supporting statistics see appendix No. 14.)[1]

Factors which may be considered in discussing Oklahoma migration

[Migratory tendencies of applicants and recipients of public assistance may be shown by the number of cases closed because of removal from State and rejected applicants for lack of State residence]

Closed cases

	Total	Removal from State	
		Number	Percent
Total	11,588	809	7.0
Old-age assistance	7,114	261	3.7
Aid to dependent children	4,180	538	12.9
Aid to the blind	294	10	3.4

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[1] Held in committee files—not printed.

Rejected applications

	Total	Lack of State residence	
		Number	Percent
Total	5, 653	225	4. 0
Old-age assistance	2, 840	153	5. 4
Aid to dependent children	2, 527	61	2. 4
Aid to the blind	282	11	3. 9

NOTE.—The attached group of maps show size of average payment for public assistance categories and general relief.

7. *Fluctuations in oil and mineral production.*—Fluctuations in oil and mineral production have contributed much to migration of late years. The decade of 1920–30 was the hey-day of oil production in Oklahoma. During that period the State was absorbing laborers from the older oil fields of Pennsylvania, Kansas, and elsewhere. Between 1930 and 1940, Oklahoma oil-field development passed its crest and began to decline. California, Texas, and more recently, Illinois, have become areas of absorption of this class of workers.

The production of coal was at one time one of Oklahoma's leading industries, but has been considerably depressed during the past decade. Production fell from 3,818,054 tons in 1927 to 1,540,303 tons in 1936, with a drop in value of $8,000,000. The high point of 4,849,288 tons, worth $23,294,000 was reached in 1920. The decrease was due largely to competition from cheap oil and gas.

There are vast deposits of coal in this State, largely land locked by adverse freight rates. The trend of Oklahoma coal production since 1930 has been downward. In 1930, 4,716 miners produced $10,789,776 worth of coal or $2,280 per man. By 1935 a total of 3,130 miners produced $2,878,999, or but $920 per man. In 1939 employment dropped to 1,896 part-time workers.

In 1930 an average of 4,370 miners produced 216,000 tons of zinc in this State. By 1939 employment had dropped to an average of 2,149 miners. In the same period Oklahoma lost half of its zinc-smelting capacity. Like losses were recorded in glass plants, though there are mountains of glass sand in this State. A study of freight differentials will reveal some reasons for these losses.

(For supporting data see appendices Nos. 4, 15, 16, and 20.)[1]

(Appendix 17 is as follows:)

APPENDIX 17

REPORT ON INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION IN AND OUT OF OKLAHOMA

No discussion of industrial-population losses in this State can be undertaken without discussing also some reasons for loss of agriculture population. There are, in general, two types of agriculture; one is the raising of crops largely dependent on world markets, the other is the production of farm products largely dependent on urban American consumption. Well-balanced agricultural communities must produce a large percentage of this latter type of crop.

Unfortunately, agriculture in Oklahoma is overwhelmingly dependent on world market crops. This is particularly unfortunate for the east side of the State where farms are small and not suitable for modern-production methods. This condition exists because Oklahoma has a comparatively small urban industrial population and because adverse transport costs for perishable urban-consumer goods from Oklahoma to out-of-State urban centers are adverse.

In the year 1939 Oklahoma produced agriculture crops valued at $242,424,000. Of this amount $195,281,000 was in world crops and $47,143,000 in perishable urban-consumer goods.

Between the year 1910 to 1930 emigration of Oklahomans was largely intrastate. This consisted of the movement of oil-field workers going to new fields about the State and of east side Oklahoma farmers attracted to the broad acres of western Oklahoma by World War grain prices. In the decade between 1930 and 1940 the demand for oil-field workers in this State saw a steady decline. In 1929 a total of 2,003 new wells were drilled, in 1931 the total was but 498 wells, in 1935 but 1,321, in 1938 but 986, and in 1939, 1,240 new wells were drilled in this State.

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[1] One table given herewith, the balance are held in committee files, not printed.

From the standpoint of employment even these figures do not tell the real story because there were few new fields brought in. As most wells were drilled in proven locations, fewer men were necessary. No new oil field of major proportions has been discovered in Oklahoma since the Oklahoma City field came in in 1928. Moreover, the method of close and costly drilling has been in later years succeeded by scientific spacing and orderly drilling so there will probably never again be wild oil-field scenes as were so attractive to population shift in the past. Thus many Oklahomans dependent on oil-field work and who were footloose, by the very nature of their calling have turned elsewhere for employment.

Drop in grain prices, drought, and dust likewise affected our farm population, though many did return to the eastern Oklahoma timber regions of poor land but good water and free fuel. For the past several decades there has been a movement from the farm to industry, but Oklahoma farmers could not turn to industry in Oklahoma because it was not only limited in scope but was drying up in many lines. Most of the people thus lost to Oklahoma were of the younger generation and valuable to this State if we could have used them. It is as much our misfortune that they have gone for the reasons they went as it is the misfortune of the States to which they emigrated.

When Oklahoma became a State in 1907 it was proclaimed a land of milk and honey. It did have vast natural resources; had it been possible to balance these resources with industry in the ensuing years, there would have been little if any loss in population. To our inability to effect this balance is due largely our share of the problem at hand.

During 33 years as a State Oklahoma has lived mostly from disappearing natural resources. In 1929 Oklahoma produced 216,000,000 barrels of oil; by 1939 this had dropped to 160,000,000 barrels. In the years since inception to January 1, 1940, this State has taken from its capital resources 4,674,615,000 barrels of oil.

There are vast deposits of coal in this State, largely land locked by adverse freight rates. The trend of Oklahoma coal production since 1930 has been downward. In 1930, 4,716 miners produced $10,789,776 worth of coal or $2,280 per man. By 1935 a total of 3,130 miners produced $2,878,999, or but $920 per man. In 1939 employment dropped to 1,896 part-time workers.

In 1930 an average of 4,370 miners produced 216,000 tons of zinc in this State. By 1939 employment had dropped to an average of 2,149 miners. In the same period Oklahoma lost half of its zinc-smelting capacity. Like losses were recorded in glass plants, though there are mountains of glass sand in this State. A study of freight differentials will reveal some reasons for these losses.

In the year 1925 in excess of 10 percent of the oil-refining capacity of the United States was located in Oklahoma. On January 1, 1932, there were 59 refineries in this State using 277,220 barrels of crude oil daily. On January 1, 1936, there were but 50 refineries using 232,420 barrels of crude daily. By January 1, 1940, there were but 31 refineries in Oklahoma and they were using but 189,100 barrels of crude daily.

Thus in 1940, having reduced its natural resource capital in vast amount and having lost much of our industry for processing these resources, Oklahoma finds itself with a limited industrial plant and an unbalanced agriculture. During all these years government, as well as individuals, has largely lived off this diminishing capital structure. Indication of their decline is found in the fact that the State has not balanced its budget in 10 years. This is true in spite of the fact that the State has not balanced its budget in 10 years. This is true in spite of the fact that during the past 2 years State and local governmental spending has been drastically reduced.

Thus Oklahoma has lost many of its younger generation and has left to care for, by pensions and other forms of relief, a very large group of ineffectives.

There yet remains for solution the building of industry in this State to balance its economy. Unless and until this is done it is probable that the process of emigration will continue and that the inability of the people to earn money for taxes will also continue.

Industry in Oklahoma is tragically limited in its employment possibilities. In 1929, 31,549 people were employed in fabrication industry; by 1937, the last available figures, it had been reduced to 29,551. This, of course, does not include miners or oil-field workers. These figures make quite evident the reasons why Oklahoma industry could not absorb workers thrown out of work in other fields and why they turned to other States for work.

While the record of the past 10 years has been bad, yet there are some hopeful signs. There has been a distinct spread in the types of industrial endeavor in the State. Twenty years ago when refineries, glass plants, and smelters were supporting many towns there was little other industry in the State aside from milling and local consumer-goods industries such as bakeries, ice plants, print shops, etc.

Today there are many pilot plants that have large possibilities. For instance, one plant packs 40 kinds of food products and employs 700 people. There are several small paint and chemical plants; the State has a splendid precision tool and oil well supply industry; it has one large and several small furniture plants; there is one small steel mill, and one airplane factory is doubling capacity through war orders.

While we have lost large glass-works capacity, yet there has been a variation in this work until now plate glass and tableware are being produced as well as glass bottles, jars, and lamp chimneys. Oklahoma has one large cotton mill consuming approximately 1 percent of the cotton produced in this State. Progress has been made in processing such farm products as peanuts and pecans as well as garden products. The State dairy industry has increased to a point where it more nearly supplies the State's requirements. Meat packing has made distinct progress, as has cotton and grain milling, and there is a beginning in the clothing industry. Then, too, this decade has seen a pleasing increase in products for the building trade. Certainly the State has a much wider variety of industrial production than it had in 1920.

We have vast natural resources calling for industrial use. These are probably as extensive and varied as can be found in any State of the Union. From time to time interest in Oklahoma has been indicated by various large manufacturers. In each case, however, no plant has been located following investigation, principally because unbalanced freight costs made it impossible for them to operate in this State for shipment especially north and east. We suggest your committee could find one of the reasons why Oklahoma has drastically exported population if you can obtain a copy of investigations made by the larger industries of the United States, many of whom have investigated desirability of locating plants in this State. For the same reasons plants now located here, with the exception of refineries having pipe-line outlet, are restricted to nearby consumption except in very rare instances. If you will study transport differentials against this area you will find interesting facts that bear on the failure of Oklahoma to develop industry and balance its economy.

The State has done much to induce industry to our land. This is especially true as to ad valorem taxes; such taxes have been reduced 50 percent in the past 10 years. Parts of this State have plenty of industrial water, our power resources are varied and about unlimited, consisting of ample and cheap electric power, both private and public; natural gas industrial rates lower than in any other State and plenty of cheap-cost semianthracite coal. Surely there is plenty of manpower, as indicated by our large subsistence rolls. Then, too, there are the thousands who have left the State, many of whom would like to live here could they find employment.

What can the Federal Government do to help stabilize Oklahoma?

First, they can equalize transport costs as between various sections of this country. For 30 years our corporation commission and other interests have advocated such readjustment. Except in rare instances there has been little change. Such readjustment can be given this State in two ways. It can come from action of the Interstate Commerce Commission or it can come in part at least by navigation of the Arkansas River. Many of our people scoff at this and yet the Arkansas is the only tributary of the Mississippi River not now navigated. As a result we see wheat from Chicago, Minneapolis, and Kansas City transported to the Gulf for a third the transport price our farmers pay for like service. The Corps of Engineers of the United States Army is now engaged in a final study of this subject. When their report is made to Congress it may be that a major solution to the "Okie" problem will be presented.

The United States, through Public Works Administration and the Army, has built one $23,000,000 hydroelectric plant in this State and is now building a $54,000,000 such project. Congress has authorized the spending of $700,000,000 for new war plants. The President has said these should be located in the interior. If these spendings could be tied together it might help solve many problems. If they are not tied together and this power is not used to create new industry but only to supplant power now produced in this State, the sum total may bring small savings to this area but it will not create new wealth or new employment.

This suggestion is the only immediate way we see in which the Federal Government can really help toward a permanent solution of the economic problems that are hurting not alone the States who must receive our exported population but also Oklahoma. If the Government seriously desires to move industry inland they have in northeast Oklahoma, southeast Missouri, and northwest Arkansas within a radius of 100 miles potential water power half the possible production of the Tennessee Valley Authority. In this region are vast stores of lead and zinc, bauxite, the basis of aluminum, billions of tons of high-test coal and iron ore. Here is a vast storehouse of potential industrial production. Proper development wherein new uses for power are found would balance the economy of the whole region.

[Prepared by N. R. Graham, president, Arkansas Valley Association, Tulsa, Okla.]

8. *Loss of revenue from Indian land.*—For many years all lands within the State of Oklahoma which were owned by restricted Indians were tax free. This constituted in excess of 5,000,000 acres. At the present time more than 3,000,000 acres of Indian-owned lands within the State are nontaxable. To the owners of this land the State of Oklahoma has maintained and provided all of the benefits of government, without the benefit of tax revenue from such lands.

9. *Depletion of forest reserves.*—Oklahoma has 13,000,000 acres of forest land lying in the central and eastern portions of the State. The general forest conditions in the State are becoming poorer each year. Only one major timberland owner is holding and operating his property with a perpetual operation in mind. Conditions which keep our forests from full production are:

1. Fires (practically all of them man-caused, and a large proportion of them set intentionally—even maliciously.)
2. A timber-cutting policy of taking everything that is merchantable, and leaving nothing to perpetuate the stand.
3. Theft of standing timber.
4. A taxation policy that favors liquidation of forest resources and gives no encouragement to holding and managing timberland for permanent operation.

This is in a large measure a State problem which we expect to remedy, but I cite it here as one of the causes of migration. (See appendix No. 20.)[1]

10. *Advertising.*—Advertising has done its part as a spark to set off much of this emigration from Oklahoma. Carnivals, fairs, newspapers, public sales, and all such channels have been utilized as baiting traps for unemployed laborers. California has in the past been responsible for much of this overadvertising, but has recently caused a "No Jobs in California" sign to be erected on Highway No. 66 near Tulsa. Climate, vineyards, wages, opportunities are illusions which have beguiled many a luckless soul to a dismal fate. The idea of an earthly

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[1] Appendixes 4, 15, 16, and 20 are held in committee files, not printed. Appendix 17 begins on p. 2036.

paradise, a land of milk and honey, has seduced impoverished mankind from the beginning of time till now.

(See p. 2047, this volume.)

11. *Foreign Markets.*—One of the principal causes of migration of people from an agricultural State such as Oklahoma has been the fact that this State has depended so largely upon foreign markets for its most important agricultural products. Wheat, corn, and cotton are among the most important agricultural products in Oklahoma.

A large foreign market was sustained for these products from 1920 to 1930 by vast loans abroad made by American financial institutions. These loans averaged a little less than $2,000,000,000 a year. About 1928 foreign loans diminished because of the big stock-market boom in Wall Street, because interest rates were high in the United States, and because American lenders lost confidence in foreign borrowers. To add to this trouble was the increase in foreign tariffs and quota systems developed partly by the totalitarian states because they wanted to make themselves self-sufficient.

These two causes resulted in an almost complete loss of foreign markets for agricultural products. From 1920 to 1930 the United States sold approximately half of her cotton abroad, about 40 percent of her corn products, and about 20 percent of her wheat and wheat products. When those markets diminished, as shown by the statistics of our exports for the years 1929–30, the purchasing power of agriculture diminished; the price of wheat in Oklahoma sank to 35 cents a bushel in 1932; the cost of production was far above the market price, and farmers lost their farms and sought employment in industrial areas.

If the totalitarian states are successful in the war in Europe which exists today, there is no doubt but that they will attempt an economic penetration of South America. Principally, the South Americans have to sell the same things that the agricultural States of the United States have to sell.

The victors in the present European war will attempt to make trade agreements, trading manufactured products to South America for their agricultural products.

Much has been done by Secretary Hull toward meeting this situation, but more should be done if our agricultural States are not to be still more severely affected.

IMMEDIATE REMEDIAL STEPS NEEDED

In effecting a solution to the problems of migration in Oklahoma, it is necessary that action programs be timed carefully. This migration cannot be stopped instantly, if American democracy is to last. Neither can that democracy be preserved in its historic form if opportunities are not sought out which will offer these dependent people a chance to earn an American standard of living for themselves and their families.

There are several steps which appear to hold promise of at least partial relief to the problem of migration at the present time:

1. *Equitable freight rates for Oklahoma.*—The remedy for our most urgent problem is an immediate readjustment of freight rates for Oklahoma. Both our agricultural and industrial problems are vitally affected by the present freight rates, which we hold are highly discriminatory. This is a matter that can only be adjusted by the Federal regulating body. (See appendix No. 4 of C. B. Bee.)[1]

2. *Soil and water conservation, and reclamation.*—A complete and comprehensive plan of soil and water conservation, to include the entire State of Oklahoma, should be set up. This should give employment to thousands of both agricultural and nonagricultural laborers in every section of the State, and at the same time would save Oklahoma a tremendous amount in precious water and rich soil. Not only would the benefits of such a program become immediately apparent, but its fruits would remain for future generations.

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[1] Held in committee file, not printed.

This type of program, coupled with specialized agriculture and the promotion of industries related thereto and naturally adapted to Oklahoma conditions, would materially stabilize the mobility of the population.

The State of Oklahoma has evolved a comprehensive scheme for water storage and utilization development. In the western half of the State the impounded waters may be economically applied to irrigation purposes.

Indian allotment areas call for special consideration as regards methods, procedures, and financing of soil-saving, waterholding works. The annual lease renewal system in vogue on these lands is inherently wasteful; the lessee is inclined to get all he can out of the land with the least possible effort; hence, conservation in all its aspects suffers.

The proposed plan of reservoirs for developing the water resources of Oklahoma includes protection of the bottom lands from flood and the storing of water for beneficial uses. Irrigation to supplement rainfall in the western part of Oklahoma is essential. Water can be stored that otherwise would be wasted in the form of destructive floods. Eastern Oklahoma generally receives adequate rainfall for crop production, but the bottom lands need protection, and selective supplemental irrigation will prove effective and economical in many instances. In addition, water stored in eastern Oklahoma will stabilize flow for the generation of power, elimination of pollution, creation of park and recreational facilities, and aid navigation.

To be at once economical and effective, a program of water conservation and incident flood prevention must have its beginning at the headwaters. Selective vegetation and forestation of the areas devastated of covering and soil; effective contour farming and terracing of the areas suitable for cultivation; ample construction of pasture ponds, all of which will provide a sponge, as it were, sufficient to absorb the average rainfall.

Studied economies of construction, land use, water use, and community welfare, individual and collective, must condemn sporadic location and construction of excessively expensive impounding basins. Pioneering in any avenue is usually expensive and it would appear that flood control via impounding basins is no exception. (See appendix No. 5, below.)[1]

APPENDIX 5

A SOMEWHERE ELSE

A human behavior is as fascinating as it is baffling when we set out to find explanation, cause, and effect.

There are three classifications of the people composing the army of destitute migrants: (1) The inherently lazy, shiftless, shifting loafer; (2) the adventurer; (3) the victim of economic upheaval.

The first classification comprises subject material for the sociologist.

Recruits of the second classification seldom need help and are, perhaps, the purest American in existence today. They might be termed victims of passing frontiers or misconstrued visions of succor beyond the horizon.

The ranks of the third classification have been considerably augmented during the current decade, and possibly the recruit in most instances was only partially or remotely or unwittingly responsible for his relegation to the ranks of the roving. In this group will be found men of will and worth who deserve encouragement and assistance on to the threshold of opportunity, whence they may beat back to normal living.

Economic cataclysms are not induced through the misguided efforts of one or two divisions of human endeavor, but are the results of a formula made up of widespread misconception, miscalculation, and mismanagement born of greed, ignorance, and indulgence in varying proportions, coupled with peculiar quirks of nature.

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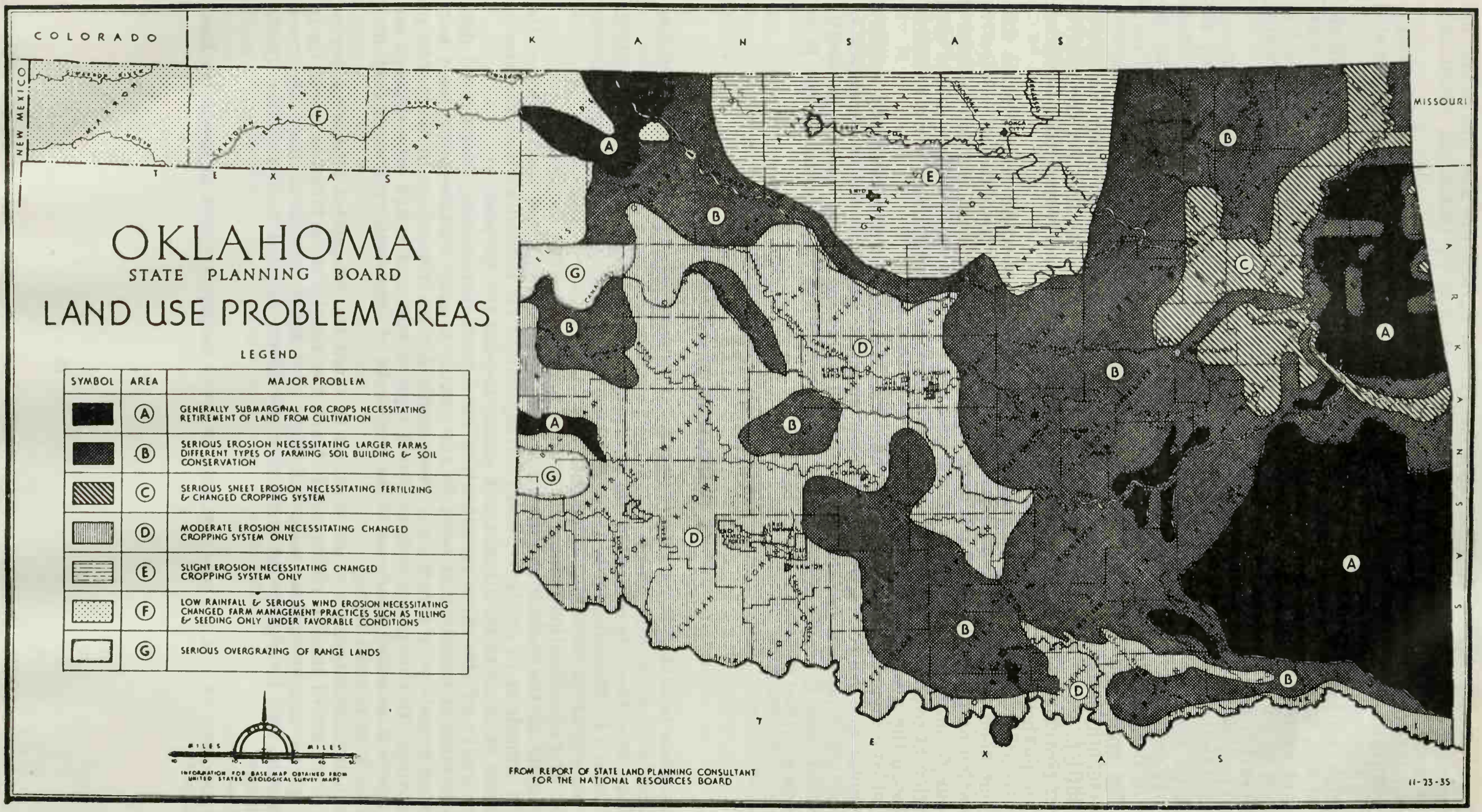
[1] Appendixes 18 and 20, also referring to above subject, are held in committee files; not printed.


OKLAHOMA
STATE PLANNING BOARD
LAND USE PROBLEM AREAS
COLORADO
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
TEXAS
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
MILES
MILES
INFORMATION FOR BASE MAP OBTAINED FROM UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS
11-23-35

LEGEND

SYMBOL	AREA	MAJOR PROBLEM
■	Ⓐ	GENERALLY SUBMARGINAL FOR CROPS NECESSITATING RETIREMENT OF LAND FROM CULTIVATION
▩	Ⓑ	SERIOUS EROSION NECESSITATING LARGER FARMS DIFFERENT TYPES OF FARMING SOIL BUILDING & SOIL CONSERVATION
▨	Ⓒ	SERIOUS SHEET EROSION NECESSITATING FERTILIZING & CHANGED CROPPING SYSTEM
▥	Ⓓ	MODERATE EROSION NECESSITATING CHANGED CROPPING SYSTEM ONLY
▤	Ⓔ	SLIGHT EROSION NECESSITATING CHANGED CROPPING SYSTEM ONLY
░	Ⓕ	LOW RAINFALL & SERIOUS WIND EROSION NECESSITATING CHANGED FARM MANAGEMENT PRACTICES SUCH AS TILLING & SEEDING ONLY UNDER FAVORABLE CONDITIONS
□	Ⓖ	SERIOUS OVERGRAZING OF RANGE LANDS

FROM REPORT OF STATE LAND PLANNING CONSULTANT FOR THE NATIONAL RESOURCES BOARD

In the panorama of the problem at hand may be seen, in the setting, desolate, wasted homesteads and acres; desolation, brought about by progressive exploitation and prostitution of our inherent basic wealth. It is not necessary to narrate in detail the gradual, sometimes brazen, sometimes subtle mulcting of natural resources that follows in the wake of the pioneer. The indictment is indelibly carved on the expansive prairie terrain, gullied hillsides, denuded forests, brush swamps, flooded valleys, gaping mine shafts in ruin, polluted streams, all mute testimony of careless and wasteful methods.

Further analysis of cause would direct us to believe that migration of destitute citizens in the classification under discussion may be increased by some of the following causes or combination of them; loss of soil fertility on our uplands and hillsides, prolonged drought, unbalanced, prejudicial prices of commodity sale and purchase, curtailment in production of oil, mineral, and forest products, and a trend toward elimination of the sharecropper by mechanization and operation by big land operators. This in turn leads to the conclusion that these people have been tenant farmers, farm laborers, workers in oil fields and lumber camps and mines. The vast majority probably have some agricultural background.

Granting that our diagnosis of contributory causes is correct, and we believe it is, then is it not patent that we should forthwith formulate policies and plans designed to remove these causes?

Panaceas are easily concocted but effective remedies must be carefully compounded from pure basic materials of known reaction and after exact formulas. We submit as an antidote for "forced wanderlust," intensive orderly culture of our soil and conservation of moisture; specialization in agriculture if you please. For some years past it appears that we have soiled the man, now let us man the soil, methodically.

We are not unmindful of "agricultural surpluses"; our remedy is to be compounded of the rarer foodstuffs with subsistence as a base and cultured markets as a vehicle. Our economic ills are not the fruits of overproduction; rather they are the penalties of unwise production, faulty distribution, and forced underconsumption.

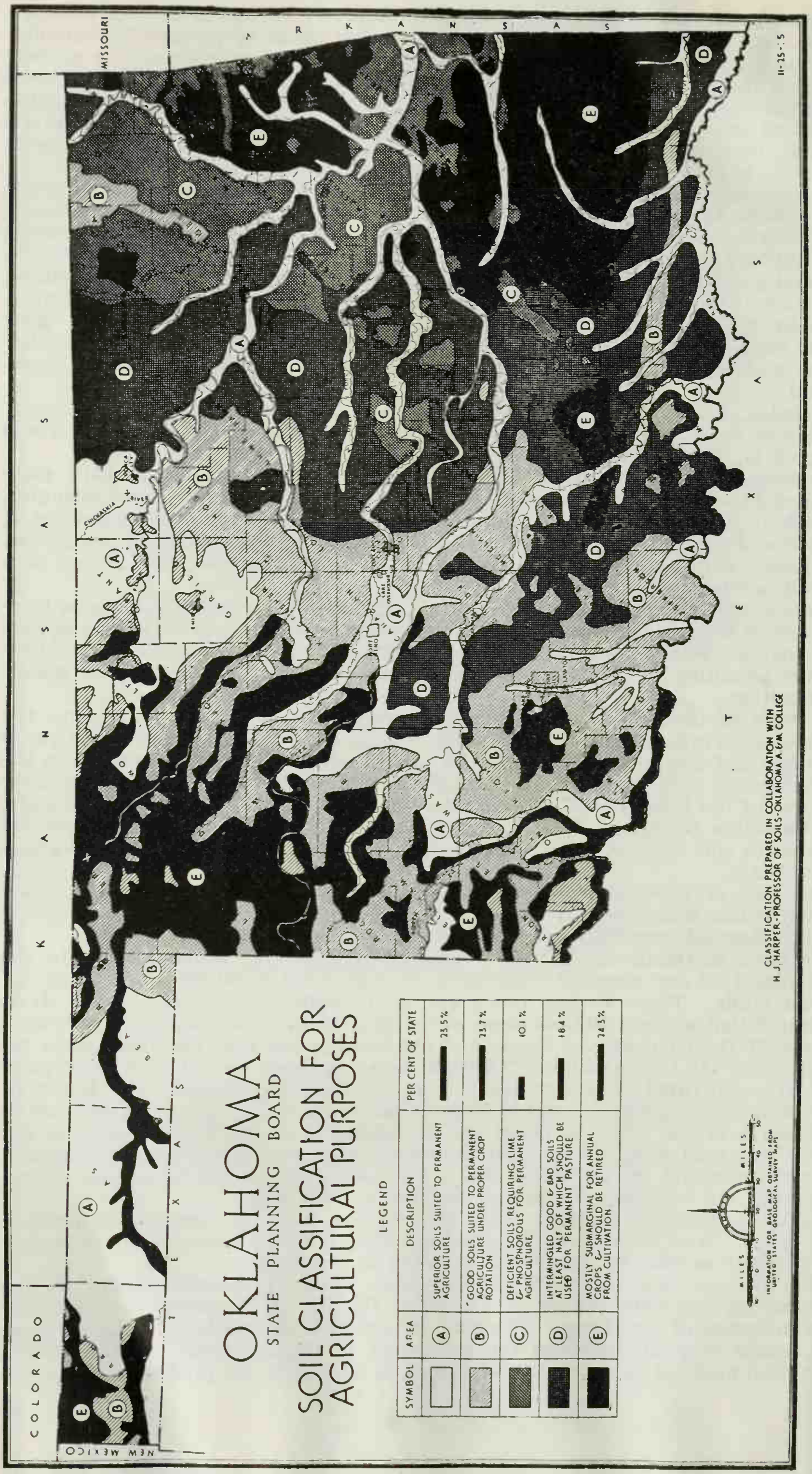
A study of the soil classifications for agricultural purposes reveals that the superior soils are the alluvial lands adjacent to our streams, commonly referred to as our first and second bottom lands. Other areas of superior soils are in the north central part of the State—Alfalfa, Grant, Kay, and Garfield Counties; portions of the three Panhandle counties; and parts of Custer, Washita, Caddo, and Canadian Counties. It is, however, particularly noticeable that the outline of superior soil types on a soil classification map clearly defines the river valleys of our State.

The area of good soils suitable for agriculture under proper crop rotation (which is our second-best lands, surpassed only by the superior soils classification) is located, generally speaking, in the western half of Oklahoma.

We have in Oklahoma 2,810,000 acres of rich, fertile, alluvial lands in the flood plains of our streams. We have an additional 1,300,000 acres of second bottom lands. These bottom lands are all classified as superior soils. It is estimated that at least 500,000 acres of the land in the flood plain is not farmed because of the frequency of floods and not because the soils are inadequate for agriculture. If the remaining 2,300,000 acres of land now in the flood plain that are cultivated were protected from floods, their productivity would be materially increased and could be farmed more intensely. The flood damage to agriculture in the State of Oklahoma is estimated to aggregate $6,000,000 per year. This neat sum, if expended in orderly selective construction of impounding and protective works would deal a knockout blow to migration and bolster materially the resources of the boys sticking to their land.

Rainfall generally, in the eastern part of the State, is adequate to produce good crops. West of the ninety-eighth meridian, it would be necessary to supplement erratic rainfall by run-off water stored in reservoirs.

The average rainfall in Oklahoma varies from 17 inches annually in the extreme northwestern corner of Cimarron County to 55 inches in the southeastern corner of Oklahoma. The rate of variation is distributed between these two means very evenly from the northwest to the southeast. Many studies have been made of the climatic conditions of our State, all producing about the


MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
KANSAS
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
CHICKASKIA RIVER
MILES
INFORMATION FOR BASE MAP OBTAINED FROM UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS
11-25-5

OKLAHOMA
STATE PLANNING BOARD

SOIL CLASSIFICATION FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES

LEGEND

SYMBOL	AREA	DESCRIPTION	PER CENT OF STATE
☐	Ⓐ	SUPERIOR SOILS SUITED TO PERMANENT AGRICULTURE	23.5%
▨	Ⓑ	GOOD SOILS SUITED TO PERMANENT AGRICULTURE UNDER PROPER CROP ROTATION	23.7%
▩	Ⓒ	DEFICIENT SOILS REQUIRING LIME & PHOSPHOROUS FOR PERMANENT AGRICULTURE	10.1%
▦	Ⓓ	INTERMINGLED GOOD & BAD SOILS AT LEAST HALF OF WHICH SHOULD BE USED FOR PERMANENT PASTURE	18.4%
■	Ⓔ	MOSTLY SUBMARGINAL FOR ANNUAL CROPS & SHOULD BE RETIRED FROM CULTIVATION	24.3%

CLASSIFICATION PREPARED IN COLLABORATION WITH
H. J. HARPER-PROFESSOR OF SOILS-OKLAHOMA A & M COLLEGE

same results as to rainfall and its distribution. We find that rainfall in the western half of the State, or the area west of the ninety-eighth meridian, although amounting to about 25 inches a year, which under normal conditions is ample to produce crops, is so poorly distributed as to render much of the annual total of little value to growing crops. In other words, torrential rains of high intensity run off to produce flash floods and therefore are not benefits and often are detrimental to crop production.

A study of the frequent occurence of droughts in the State of Oklahoma has revealed that the southwestern section of Oklahoma has suffered most severely from droughts and that the entire area of the State west of the ninety-eighth meridian probably could be classified as a chronic drought area. Droughts have occurred 13 times in the past 30 years serious enough to damage crops 50 percent or more in the southwest portion of Oklahoma. The remaining portion of the chronic drought area has suffered 11 drought occurrences in the past 30 years. From this summary of our rainfall, it is recognized that if the rain which falls could be properly utilized, it would be sufficient to produce a good crop yield.

A glance at the map of Oklahoma reveals a well-drained area. Conversely, we may add that this very same identical drainage system, by and through skilled manipulation, may become an equally efficient watering system with which to dampen, so to speak, the floating, shifting tenantry and migratory masses.

Out of the upper tributaries of the Red River, Elm Fork, Salt Fork, North Fork, Washita, Cache, and Beaver flow annually about 2,000,000 acre-feet of unused water. Likewise, out of Arkansas River tributaries, North Canadian, Cimarron, and South Canadian, flow a million and a half unused acre-feet of water, unused and uncontrolled, causing damage because of their erratic nature, from flood stage to low stagnant pools.

In the light of this review of rainfall, run-off, flood, and drought patterns for Oklahoma, does not our antidote for "forced wanderlust" appear more potent? The soil is here, excepting the millions of tons which have been carried to and toward the Gulf since '89; the water is here in sufficient quantity to produce crops, supply municipal and domestic needs, and to generate a little power if we but impound and harness the torrents; other climatic conditions—temperature, growing season, etc.—are suitable for producing the base materials of our remedy—"rarer foodstuffs of all kinds"; and as to the vehicle of the remedy—markets and cultured markets—let us consider for a moment some facts and figures appearing in the Report of the Department of the Interior on the Altus Project. From page 24 of this report, we quote:

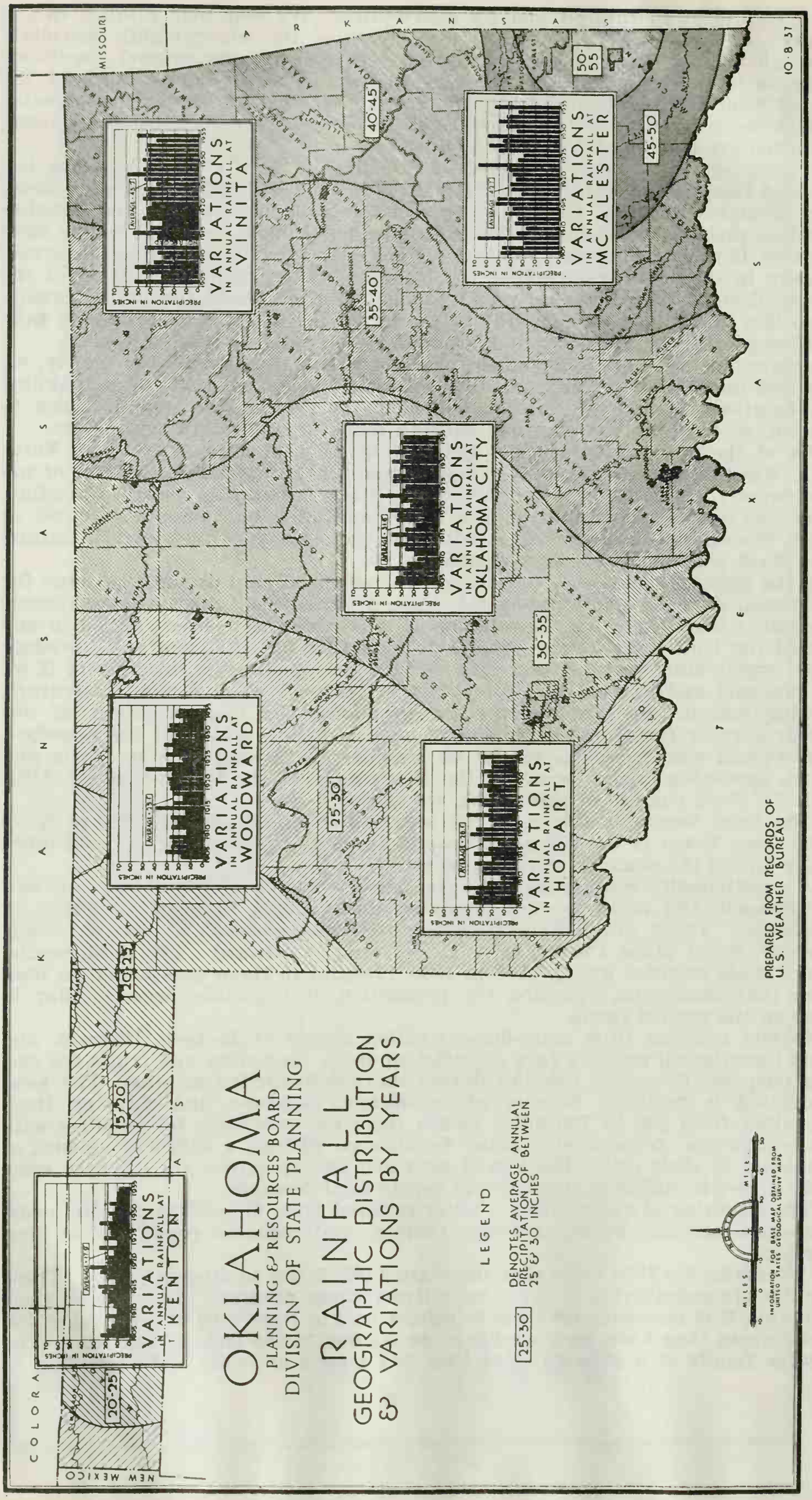
"The fresh vegetable supply of the project towns and project farmers is secured from Texas in the early spring, and from Arkansas, Colorado, and other States during the summer and later months.

"A questionnaire was prepared by the Altus Chamber of Commerce and sent to wholesale and retail grocers supplying the trade in 12 nearby counties in Oklahoma. These are Tillman, Jackson, Harmon, Greer, Kiowa, Beckham, Washita, Roger Mills, Custer, Ellis, Dewey, and Woodward. The total population of these counties was 256,788 in 1930. Replies to these questionnaires indicated that conditions regarding the production of vegetables were similar to those on the project farms.

"Letters received from home-demonstration agents of Jackson, Harmon, and Greer Counties all report a lack of sufficient fresh vegetables and fruits for canning purposes to supply families during the nonproductive months. The local production is curtailed because of insufficient moisture, and shipping fresh vegetables from 200 to 700 miles makes them too expensive for families with limited incomes; consequently, many families go without a sufficient amount of vegetables in their diet. Black-eyed peas and sweetpotatoes are the only vegetables grown in sufficient quantities to supply local demands.

"The following is quoted from a letter received from Miss Elizabeth McCurdy, home-demonstration agent of Greer County, and explains conditions in that county:

" 'Statistics for 1935 show that there are 1,985 farms in Greer County. These families are endeavoring to carry out a live-at-home program. In order for them to do this, it is necessary for them to raise a part of their food at home. For the past 5 years they have been unable to do so, due to the lack of moisture. The average family of 5 should can at least 517 quarts of fruits and vegetables to



OKLAHOMA
PLANNING & RESOURCES BOARD
DIVISION OF STATE PLANNING

RAINFALL
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION
& VARIATIONS BY YEARS

LEGEND

25-30 DENOTES AVERAGE ANNUAL PRECIPITATION OF BETWEEN 25 & 30 INCHES

PREPARED FROM RECORDS OF U. S. WEATHER BUREAU

INFORMATION FOR BASE MAP OBTAINED FROM UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS

10-8-37

COLORADO
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
NEW MEXICO
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT KENTON
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT WOODWARD
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT HOBART
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT OKLAHOMA CITY
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT VINITA
VARIATIONS IN ANNUAL RAINFALL AT MC ALESTER
PRECIPITATION IN INCHES
AVERAGE
1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935
15-20
20-25
25-30
30-35
35-40
40-45
45-50
50-55
MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50

supply them during the nonproductive months. For 1 year's supply there should have been 1,025,735 quarts of fruit and vegetables canned to supply Greer County farmers through the nonproductive months of the year.

Year	Number enrolled in home demonstration clubs	Number quarts fruits and vegetables canned	Number that should have been canned
1935	603	58, 966	311, 751
1936	597	12, 032	305, 349

" 'If it had been possible for these families to have irrigated their gardens, they would have been able to can the food needed for their families, or if they had been near a market where they could purchase fruits and vegetables at a reasonable price and high quality, they could buy and can their fruits and vegetables.'

"From the foregoing letter, it is computed that only 19 percent of the estimated food requirements was canned in 1935 and only 4 percent in 1936."

Many of you read the editorial in the Oklahoma City Times of August 15 from which we quote:

"Oklahoma in 1939 imported 2,719 carloads of fruits and vegetables, of which 2,219 could have been grown in the State. Oklahoma City took 1,500 carloads."

Add to these rail shipments the thousands of tons of foodstuffs brought into the State by truck, which defy classification and tabulation, but are daily in evidence on the road, by suburban street corners, or at the market places, and you have unimpeachable evidence of the efficacy of the compound remedy herein proposed.

Consider also some of the potential agricultural industrial opportunities of Oklahoma, such as alfalfa mills, milk product plants, corn-starch factories, broom factories, peanut oil mills, cotton textile factories, new processing plants, springing from chemurgic research, canneries, meat packing plants, cereal foods factory, flour mills, brown paper mills, gypsum plaster mills, cement mills, commercial poultry and cattle feed manufacturing plants, commercial fertilizer plants, pecan and peanut candy factories, mattress factories, and many others.

We spoke of "desolate, wasted homesteads" in the preamble to our problem. It would be enlightening and valuable to know just how many persons left a desolate hillside farm to "take the road" and for what? It would be equally valuable to an economic solution and adjustment of this problem to know what percent of these "floaters" would consider rehabilitation on a 20-80 acre tract of what might be classed as "livelihood soil."

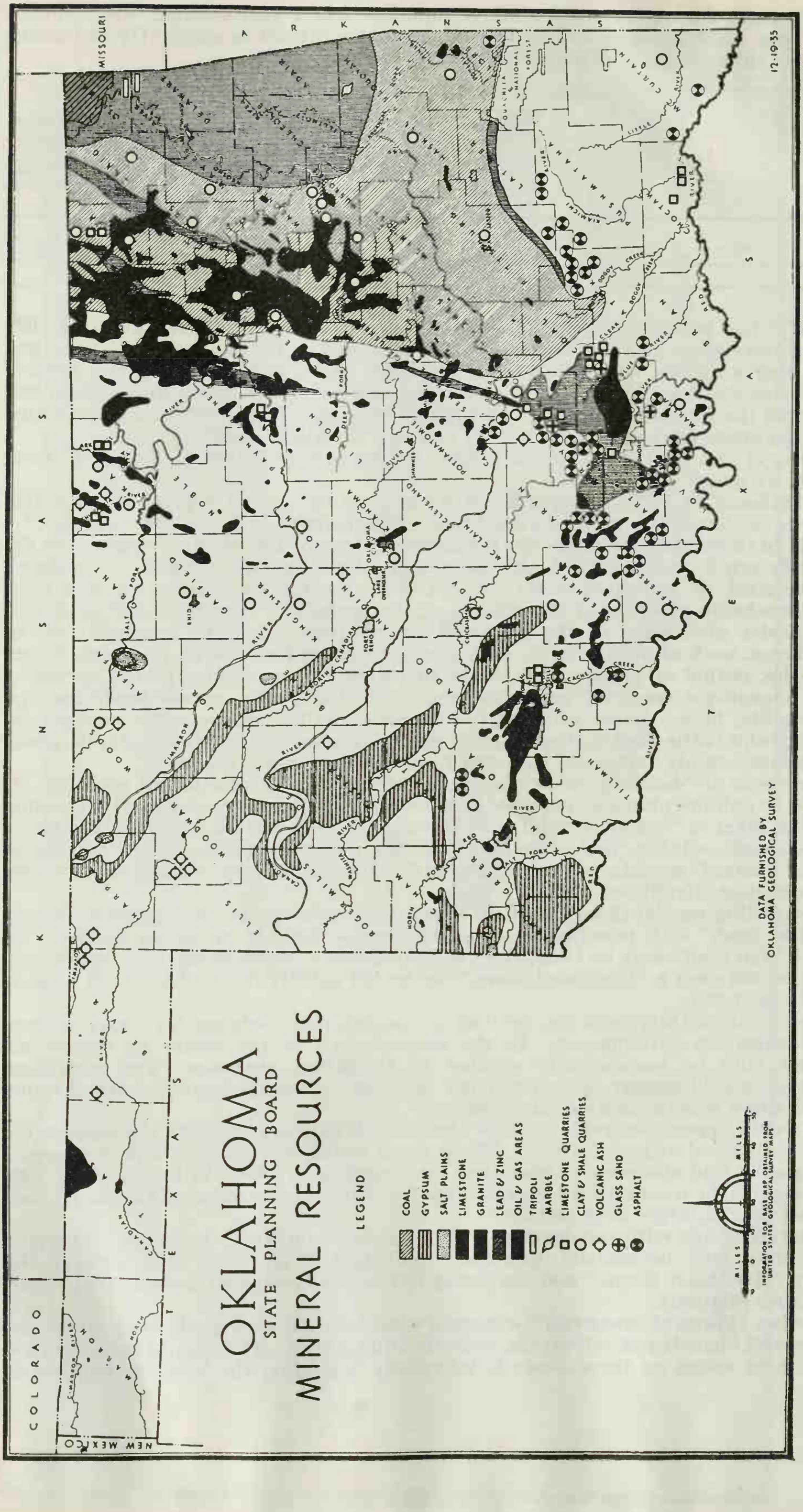
Proceeding on the theory that an appreciable number of the families already "on the road," and, possibly, an equal or greater number of tenant farmers for whom "the road" may be beckoning, would embrace, successfully the opportunity to earn and own a "livelihood farm," we would submit the antidote and remedy herein set forth.

The State of Oklahoma has evolved a comprehensive scheme for water storage and utilization development. In the western half of the State the impounded waters may be economically applied to irrigation purposes. The maximum economy would appear to accrue from intensive, diversified subsistence farming under small acreage individual allotment.

It would appear desirable to filter these small subsistence units throughout the flood plains and adjacent areas. These areas would be most desirable because of soil quality and minimum expenditure for irrigation works. Filtering of the subsistence tracts would afford opportunity for some employment of the small area farmer by the larger area owners.

Contemporary with the development of our soil and water resources, industrial enterprise will necessarily increase. Coordinated planning will undoubtedly group "livelihood farms" and springing industries to mutual advantage in market-labor relations.

Indian allotment areas call for special consideration as regards methods, procedures and financing of soil-saving, waterholding works. The annual lease renewal system in vogue on these lands is inherently wasteful; the lessee is inclined to


OKLAHOMA
STATE PLANNING BOARD
MINERAL RESOURCES
LEGEND
COAL
GYPSUM
SALT PLAINS
LIMESTONE
GRANITE
LEAD & ZINC
OIL & GAS AREAS
TRIPOLI
MARBLE
LIMESTONE QUARRIES
CLAY & SHALE QUARRIES
VOLCANIC ASH
GLASS SAND
ASPHALT
MILES
INFORMATION FOR BASE MAP OBTAINED FROM UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS
DATA FURNISHED BY OKLAHOMA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
12-19-35
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO

get all he can out of the land with the least possible effort; hence, conservation in all its aspects suffers. Certain industries peculiar to the traditions and talents of the distinctive tribes could well be fostered in the interest of employment and cultural development.

The proposed plan of reservoirs for developing the water resources of Oklahoma includes protection of the bottom lands from flood and the storing of water for beneficial uses. Irrigation to supplement rainfall in the western part of Oklahoma is essential. Water can be stored that otherwise would be wasted in the form of destructive floods. Eastern Oklahoma generally receives adequate rainfall for crop production, but the bottom lands need protection, and selective supplemental irrigation will prove effective and economical in many instances. In addition, water stored in eastern Oklahoma will stabilize flow for the generation of power, elimination of pollution, creation of park and recreational facilities, and aid navigation.

To be at once economical and effective, a program of water conservation and incident flood prevention must have its beginning at the "head waters." Selective vegetation and forestation of the areas devastated of covering and soil; effective contour farming and terracing of the areas suitable for cultivation; ample construction of pasture ponds, all of which will provide a sponge, as it were, sufficient to absorb the average rainfall.

Attention should be directed next toward providing a series of larger ponds and lakes which will provide community water supply and recreation. Up to this point the cost of construction and maintenance reposes mainly in the land owner and the community, the State aiding in the manner of technical advice and minor financial cooperation.

Next come the storage reservoirs proper—designed to fit into the general basin-wide scheme of controlled flood flows. It will be obvious to all clear-thinking people that these reservoirs should be progressively spotted on the tributaries of a general drainage shed so as to give maximum benefit to each community progressively downstream.

Studied economies of construction, land use, water use, and community welfare, individual and collective, must condemn sporadic location and construction of excessively expensive impounding basins. Pioneering in any avenue is usually expensive and it would appear that flood control via impounding basins is no exception.

While recognizing interstate and national phases of interest in, and proprietary right to, certain waters and water courses, the inherent right of the States to develop and utilize to the utmost, intrastate waters must be acceded. Also recognition must be given to complete riparian rights and privileges in regard to waters of interstate and national aspect if the ultimate in public benefit and public weal is to be attained.

A new phase of riparian right is being created in regard to the shore rights and privileges surrounding artificial lakes, detention, and impounding basins. Policies and procedures in administration of the shore lines of impounding basins constructed from public funds should be thoughtfully analyzed and definitely formulated lest faulty and troublesome precedent become established.

Destruction of tax income, disruption of local transportation patterns, and submergence of natural undeveloped wealth and resource cannot be condoned unless it be clearly evident that the new civic pattern and created wealth outshine and outweigh the old.

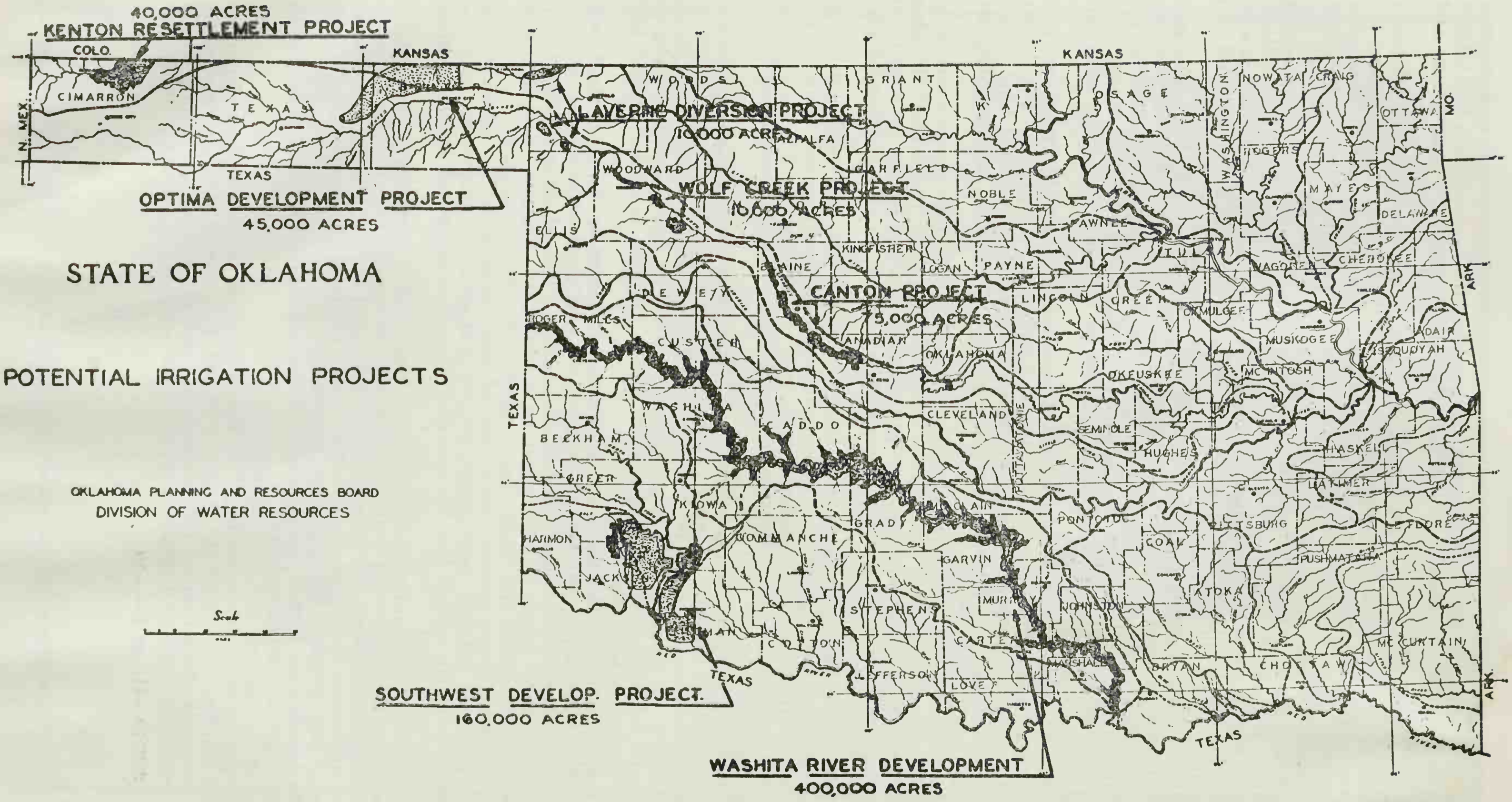
The Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board is cooperating with national bureaus and with adjoining State organizations to the end that our State scheme of development shall properly mesh in the Mississippi River Basin control scheme.

Soil and water development and conservation commanded the attention of both national conventions. We hear from Philadelphia:

"We approve the orderly development of reclamation and irrigation, project by project, and as conditions justify."

And from Chicago:

"We pledge ourselves to continue the broad program launched by this administration for the coordinated development of our river basins through reclamation and irrigation, flood control, reforestation and soil conservation, stream purification, recreation, fish and game protection, low-cost power, and rural industry."


STATE OF OKLAHOMA
POTENTIAL IRRIGATION PROJECTS
OKLAHOMA PLANNING AND RESOURCES BOARD
DIVISION OF WATER RESOURCES
Scale
KENTON RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
40,000 ACRES
OPTIMA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
45,000 ACRES
LAVERNE DIVERSION PROJECT
10,000 ACRES
WOLF CREEK PROJECT
10,000 ACRES
CANTON PROJECT
75,000 ACRES
SOUTHWEST DEVELOP. PROJECT.
160,000 ACRES
WASHITA RIVER DEVELOPMENT
400,000 ACRES
COLO.
KANSAS
N. MEX.
TEXAS
MO.
ARK.
CIMARRON
TEXAS
WOODS
ALFALFA
GRANT
KAY
OSAGE
NOWATA
CRAIG
OTTAWA
WASHINGTON
ROGERS
MAYES
DELAWARE
WOODWARD
GARFIELD
NOBLE
PAWNEE
TULSA
WAGONER
CHEROKEE
ELLIS
MAJOR
KINGFISHER
LOGAN
PAYNE
CREEK
OKMULGEE
MUSKOGEE
ADAIR
SEQUOYAH
DEWEY
BLAINE
LINCOLN
ROGER MILLS
CUSTER
CANADIAN
OKLAHOMA
OKFUSKEE
MC INTOSH
WASHITA
CADDO
CLEVELAND
POTTAWATOMIE
SEMINOLE
HUGHES
HASKELL
BECKHAM
GREER
KIOWA
GRADY
MC CLAIN
PONTOTOC
LATIMER
LE FLORE
HARMON
JACKSON
COMANCHE
GARVIN
COAL
PITTSBURG
PUSHMATAHA
TILLMAN
COTTON
STEPHENS
MURRAY
JOHNSTON
ATOKA
JEFFERSON
CARTER
LOVE
MARSHALL
BRYAN
CHOCTAW
MC CURTAIN
RED RIVER

The crux of development is financing; we have diagnosed the case, prescribed the antidote and remedy, substantiating our prescription with facts and figures that cannot be controverted; someone "must pay."

Well, the theory of financing is predicated on two general principles—benefits accruing and ability to pay. Let us review the avenues of benefit and enumerate the benefactors incident to selective soil culture; ample diversified food production; effective flood reduction; economic power distribution; intensified industrial and commercial enterprise; bolstered and extended navigation, and with all, enhanced park and recreation facilities. It appears that benefits are all-pervading in scope; therefore, the benefactors are all-inclusive.

The tax burden is already staggering. Yes? Well, there is plenty of cause and effect on which to base extended argument as to what is a "staggering tax burden"; however, we'll not start that argument. We must admit without argument that bona fide increased valuation and increased assets will yield increased revenue without increasing rates. We cannot definitely state the increments on property values and the increased assets incident to a program of development such as herein proposed, but they will be certain and appreciable; therefore, the ability to pay will be hereby enhanced.

We have mentioned the estimated $6,000,000 annual loss to farmers occasioned by floods which this program, pursued to the ultimate, will nullify. To this $6,000,000 annual saving let us add the $4,000,000 estimated annual loss to transportation, utilities, industry, and commerce of the State, and mention without attempt at evaluation the human inconvenience, suffering, and loss of life occasioned annually by disastrous floods. Capitalize this annual loss at 3 percent over a 40-year period, interest compounded annually, and we have a justifiable expenditure of $231,100,000, or cut the estimated annual loss in half and capitalize at 6 percent over a 20-year period, with compound interest, and we have a justifiable expenditure of $57,350,000.

These calculations are indicative only; neither may be assumed as correct basis of expenditure, since unabated flood damage will not cease in 20 years nor 40 years but continue indefinitely.

We have not mentioned in this financial analysis the inherent value to the Commonwealth of the widespread "going concerns" inuring annually from this proposed development, to which must be added the blessings of home and thrift attained by the thousands of once discouraged, destitute, roving humanity, which brings us back to where we started, but, like Rip Van Winkle, we don't recognize the scene.

3. *Readjustment of cotton acreage allotment.*—An immediate readjustment under the national farm program of the cotton acreage allotment to this State should be placed into effect as a means of equalizing this State's share of the burden of the cotton-reduction program. Only by such an adjustment may the present discrimination against this State be rectified.

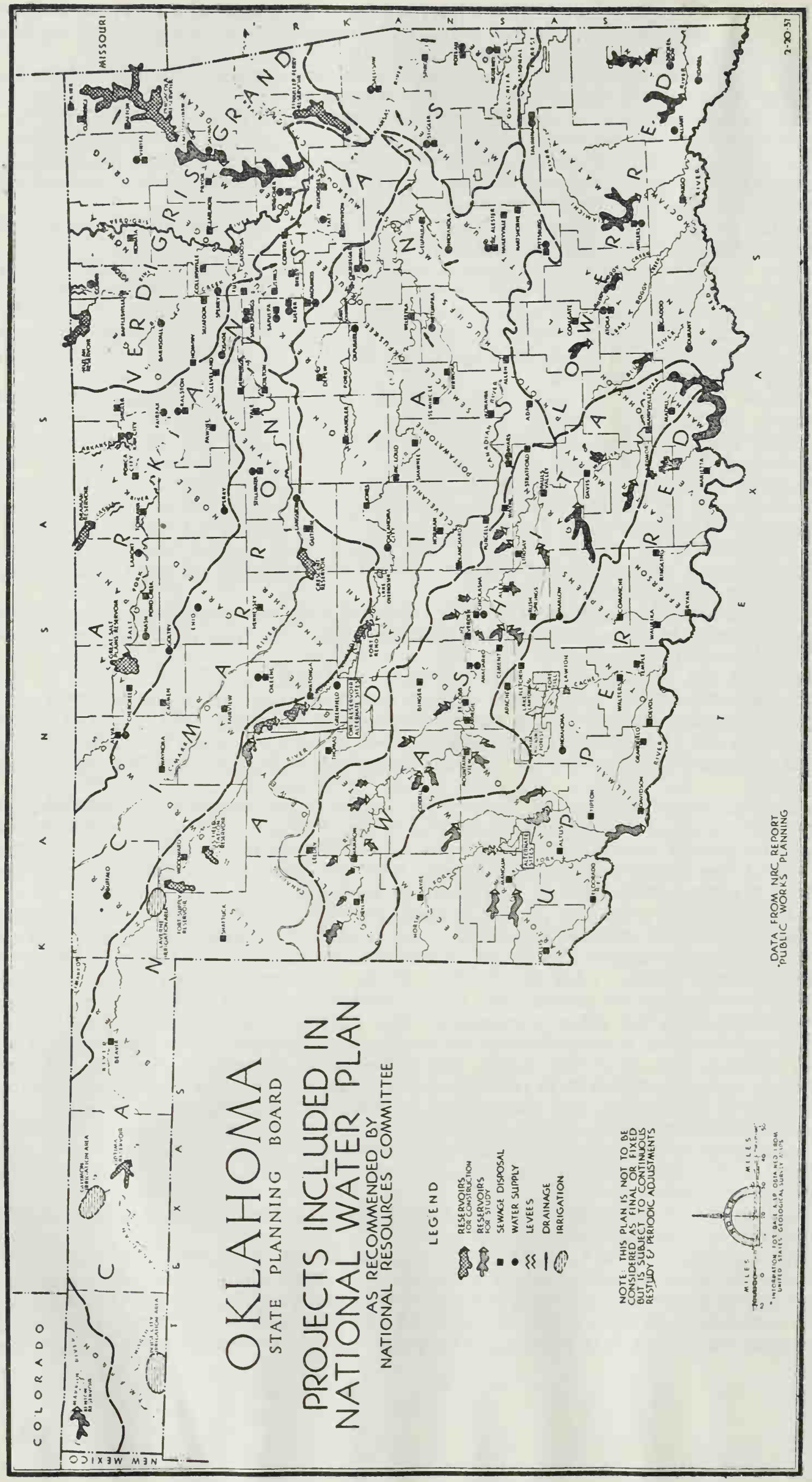
4. *Resettlement plan for public lands.*—The State and Federal governments should adopt more widely a revised homestead and resettlement plan such as that incorporated under the recent Arkansas statute on the rehomesteading of publicly owned lands. (Act 331, 1939, S. B., No. 312, entitled "An act to establish a State land policy, to provide for the administration and disposition of State-owned lands, and for other purposes.) The outstanding feature of this law is that it provides for a classification of public lands available for reoccupation so as to restrict sale to farms which are believed by competent appraisers to be economic units on which it is possible for a farmer to make a living, considering the needs of his family, and the type of farming to which the land is suited.

5. *Added industrial research.*—There is an immediate need for added research for industrial utilization, to determine possibilities for the industrial use of our mineral and other natural resources, by the Federal and State Governments cooperating jointly.

Here, again, development of our industries is hampered, if not completely choked off, by discriminating freight rates.

(See Appendices Nos. 4, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 20, attached hereto.)

6. *Development of waterways for navigation.*—There should be an immediate development of the navigable waterways in Oklahoma by the Federal Government. This would include both the Arkansas and the Red Rivers. It is the opinion of competent engineers that this is not only desirable but entirely feasible. If this


OKLAHOMA
STATE PLANNING BOARD
PROJECTS INCLUDED IN NATIONAL WATER PLAN
AS RECOMMENDED BY NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE
LEGEND
RESERVOIRS FOR CONSTRUCTION
RESERVOIRS FOR STUDY
SEWAGE DISPOSAL
WATER SUPPLY
LEVEES
DRAINAGE
IRRIGATION
NOTE: THIS PLAN IS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED AS FINAL OR FIXED BUT IS SUBJECT TO CONTINUOUS RESTUDY & PERIODIC ADJUSTMENTS
MILES
NORTH
DATA FROM NRC REPORT PUBLIC WORKS PLANNING
2-20-37
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
CIMARRON
ARKANSAS
VERDIGRIS
GRAND
NORTH CANADIAN
CANADIAN
WASHITA
LOWER RED
UPPER RED

were done, thereby granting water rates for the raw materials and commodities produced in adjacent sections of the State of Oklahoma, it would greatly encourage small industries which would give permanent employment to many industrial workers in our State.

Time will not permit a lengthy discussion of the effects of this development on this region. Some idea, however, may be had when it is realized that wheat last year moved out of Kansas City by barge for the Gulf at 3 mills a ton-mile, while grain farmers of Oklahoma paid in excess of 15 mills to transport their grain to the seaports. Our cotton likewise meets the same adverse situation in competition with cotton moved on the navigable streams of the South; also our manufactured products.

In 10 years, between 1930 and 1940, Oklahoma lost 20 refineries. During the same period many new refineries were built along the waterways of the Nation, in most cases by the same concerns that abandoned plants in this State.

The Corps of Engineers of the United States Army is now engaged in a final study of the feasibility of navigation of the Arkansas River. Considering the fact that Federal policy over a long period has resulted in the improvement of all other inland and coastal streams for water transport, it would seem that the Arkansas River, located as it is in the region of highest freight rates in the Nation, deserves equal attention.

7. *Development and protection of forest resources.*—Improved forest conditions will materially stabilize population.

Suggested remedies for improvement are adequate State and Federal appropriations for fire-prevention work, revision of our laws to make possible some protection to the owner against timber theft, and taxation based on the productive capacity of the land with deferred taxes to be paid as a severance tax when the timber is cut. A revised policy of handling tax-reverted lands is indicated. State and Federal ownership and operation of some forest lands is also indicated.

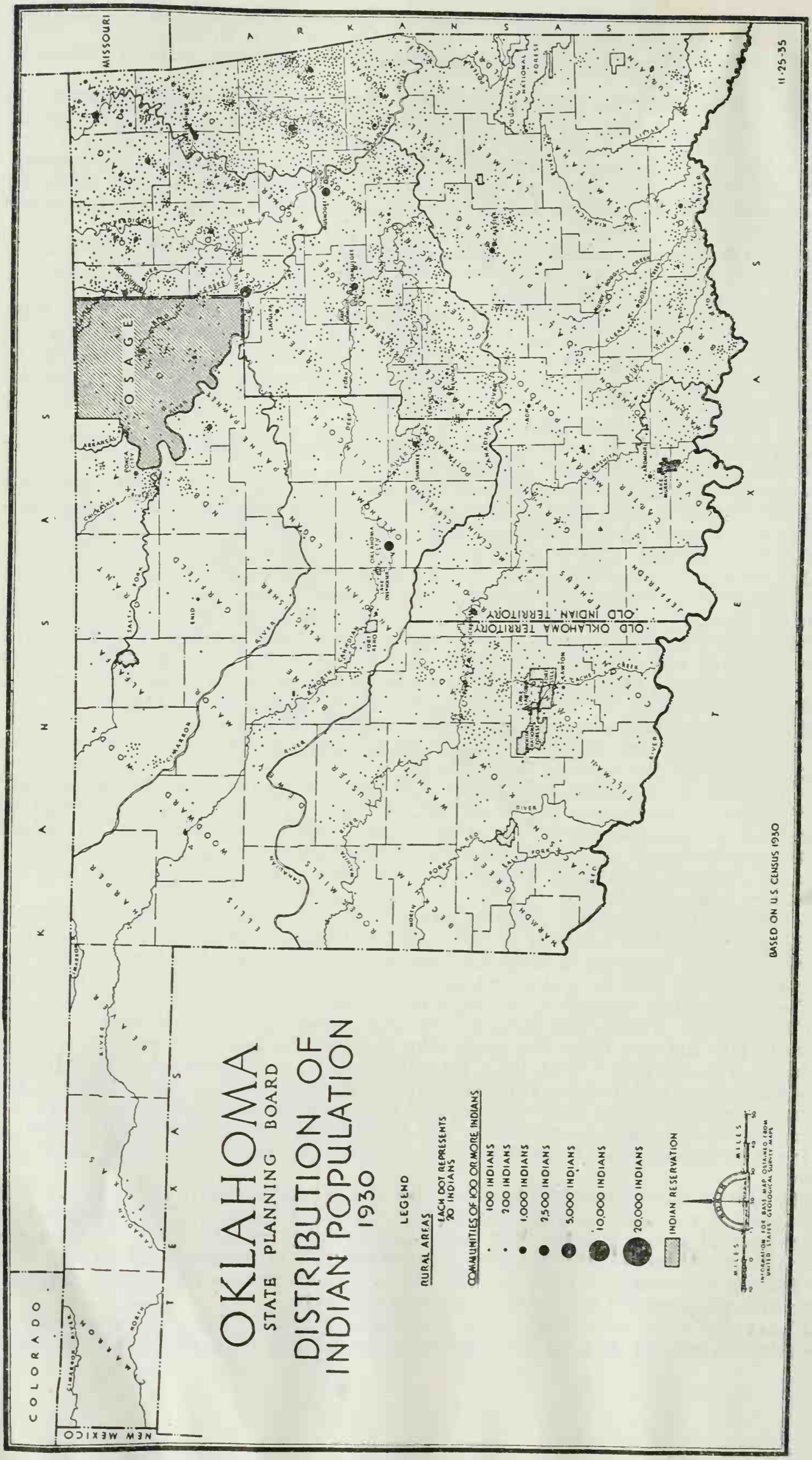
In the farming sections of our State, forestry can contribute to a live-at-home economy. Forest plantings will yield many of the wood products needed on the farm, such as posts, poles, structural material, and fuel, and protection from wind for crops and livestock. Surpluses can be sold to increase the farm income. Technical assistance to the farmer in the care, management, harvesting, and utilization of his tree crop should be the major public contribution to this work, and is now being provided in a small way through the Division of Forestry in cooperation with the Federal Government.

8. *National-defense industries.*—The national-defense program should not only include the establishment of industries for war but also the establishment of industries for peace in the State of Oklahoma. Oklahoma is favorably located for the establishment of these defense industries from the standpoint of geographic location, climatic conditions, and the availability of labor, cheap power, and the necessary raw materials.

National defense depends upon the great bulk of our people's having something to defend. The best possible civilian national-defense program is to establish every citizen of America in something he can call his own. We must extend the private property base to wider and wider limits, if we would avoid the mistakes of the totalitarian countries, and especially if we would escape the fates of the small neutrals. People will defend with their lives what is their own; but who cares to give his own blood for something in which he knows he can never have, at least, a small part? This is a principle which is impregnable. Bringing it into fulfillment will require the very best brains this Nation can produce. We cannot create happiness, contentment, and peace-loving ideals by legislative enactment, but we can set into motion by law certain machinery which will enable us to lay a foundation for these things upon which our people can build for themselves.

The law of life is growth. A nation that deliberately tries to stop expansion is not going to rest in a comfortable status of perfect balance. This applies to a State as well as the Nation. Oklahoma must expand within itself. This means new industries and better farming. A continuation of programs by either State or Federal Governments that permits the tenant farmer to purchase a farm on long-time payments at low interest rates is desirable.

Undoubtedly, we must begin soon to exercise a greater degree of systematized distribution of land than we have had in the past. Not until we secure the rights


OKLAHOMA
STATE PLANNING BOARD
DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN POPULATION
1930
LEGEND
RURAL AREAS
EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 INDIANS
COMMUNITIES OF 100 OR MORE INDIANS
100 INDIANS
200 INDIANS
1,000 INDIANS
2,500 INDIANS
5,000 INDIANS
10,000 INDIANS
20,000 INDIANS
INDIAN RESERVATION
MILES
INFORMATION FOR BASE MAP OBTAINED FROM UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY MAPS
BASED ON U S CENSUS 1930
11-25-35
KANSAS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
TEXAS
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
OSAGE
OLD INDIAN TERRITORY
OLD OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

of farmers in the land they till can we hope to have a larger agricultural society with settled modes of life. The migratory behavior of people in all the ages has been intimately associated with their land tillage and land-holding systems. Since a relatively stable society is economically desirable, and as an excessively high degree of mobility is needlessly expensive to the individual, disruptive to the community, and burdensome to the State, and as mobility and stability of the population are closely related to land systems, this certainly constitutes a crucial, if difficult, point of attack on a serious problem.

(See Appendices 5, 15, 16, 17, and 20).[1]

9. *Adjustment of tax losses from exemption of Indian lands.*—Oklahoma has borne the burden of the restricted Indian lands since Statehood. More than 5,000,000 acres of the State's most valuable land have, at one time or another, been tax free.

Constant efforts have been made to persuade the Federal Government that this is an unfair burden to our State. At the present time we have more than 3,000,000 acres of tax-free Indian-owned lands in Oklahoma. To the owners of this land the State has maintained and provided all the benefits of Government.

Surely, the State of Oklahoma should be compensated for this service by the assumption by the Federal Government of what should be, and in justice is, a Federal duty to maintain our Indian citizenship—a burden which heretofore has been and is now carried solely by the State of Oklahoma.

In addition to remuneration for this service in the past, provision should be forthwith made by which the State of Oklahoma may place these lands upon the tax rolls, and the payment of such taxes be assumed by the proper parties.

This adjustment would immediately reduce the tax burden of the other landowners of the State and materially affect our migration problem.

10. *Readjustment of leasing policy of Indian lands.*—A readjustment of the leasing policy of Indian lands is highly desirable and will materially decrease the mobility of Indian land tenants.

Under the present policy of 1-year leases, the tenant assumes the whole-hog attitude of getting as much out of the farm as possible with the least expense, paying no attention to the effect upon the fertility of the soil or the conserving of either soil or moisture.

If, in the management of Indian lands, long-term lease agreements were set up, giving the tenant certain credits for soil and moisture conservation practices and the improvement of the general conditions of the farm, both the owner and the tenant would benefit; and at the same time, it would not be necessary for the tenant to move every year. It is not uncommon to hear a farmer boast of the fact that he has worn out one farm and has started on the second. This attitude is traceable to the type of agreement now in vogue between operator and tenant.

Conclusion.—It should be remembered that Oklahoma is not to be singled out as a special case in this migration. Recent data assembled by California official sources, as well as more recent releases from the 1940 census, indicate that migrations from practically all the Great Plains States, and from the industrial classes of the East, are equally as great relative to the sizes of populations and the distances traversed as those from Oklahoma. In fact, the migration of agricultural families is relatively small in the period 1930–39 as compared to the nonagricultural emigrants of the same period, as evidenced by maps appended hereto as Nos. 2 and 3. Moreover, there is no adequate proof that the untoward effects of these migrations have been leveled especially upon the West Coast States. Other areas are being their own respective shares of this problem.

There is no one cause which explains human migration. There is no one thing that can be done by way of controlling it. There is no one thing to which we can say it always leads. Men have always migrated, and they always will unless absolutely forbidden to do so. Even when in prison they will try the most dangerous methods of escape, knowing that escape is hopeless. We must not seek to bring population movements to a complete stop. Rebellion would follow such an attempt. Besides that, nothing could be gained by it. Migration is a method of seeking equilibrium when economic, political, or other forms of pressure become too great in one place and seem to be less stringent in another. Human beings are like liquids in tubes. They seek to find the level at which pressure is reduced to the minimum. To try to stop that tendency in one place would be to increase the pressure to the danger point in another.

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[1] See Appendix 17, on p. 2036. Others held in committee files, not printed.

The only measures which can be successful, and then only in part, are those designed to help people to make their own adjustments voluntarily. Migrations often proceed in the same manner as runs on banks. They are the results of rumors, of misinformation, and of partial information. With the coming of social security programs and the growth of public responsibility for dependent classes, the problem of migration is brought more forcefully to public attention. Unless we want a worse distribution of our population than we now have, we must seek to control subversive publicity and racketeering in human misery and secure a more uniform national distribution of both direct relief and work relief to the wholly or partially dependent classes.

It is my belief that we cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. We cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. We cannot lift the wage earner up by pulling the wage payer down. We cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than our income. We must adjust our out-go to our income.

TESTIMONY OF GOV. LEON C. PHILLIPS—Resumed

Governor Phillips. We are of the opinion, I might say by way of introduction, that in some ways the business affairs of Oklahoma, which include commerce and agriculture, have been getting the little end of the stick. To put it briefly, the A. A. A. program has been murder to our farmers instead of assistance, and it is begging the question to say that tractors are driving the little farmers off the farm when the program as it has operated in this State has given an opportunity to speculators to go out and rent up the land and get the benefits of that program, and buy tractors and take the small farmer off the soil.

The Chairman. We had testimony from North Dakota along that line, too, Governor Phillips; you are probably not the only one that has that view, you see?

STIFLING EFFECTS ON OKLAHOMA INDUSTRY OF FREIGHT RATES

Governor Phillips. Yes; a great deal in a great many parts of western and southwestern parts of the State and even on up into the northwestern, the Panhandle or arid section, that contention is true. The thing that has made us unable to compete in other lines of industry is the intolerable freight schedule which has been promulgated under the Interstate Commerce Commission, which we have been hoping some day Congress would see fit to adjust to give us some relief from those freight rates.

Mr. Parsons. Are you still paying the Pittsburgh plus out here?

Governor Phillips. Yes; and every time we talk about it somebody calls us a native or something like that, and yet it has the effect of absolutely stifling industry in this State so that we cannot commingle industrial activity with agricultural activity.

Mr. Curtis. Governor, I am very much interested in that point. I come from Nebraska and my district would be near the geographical center of the United States.

Governor Phillips. Yes; but you are not hurt as bad as we are.

Mr. Curtis. We are struggling with this transportation problem, too. Any way we move anything we have a long haul to add to the cost, and with the waterway transportation through the Panama Canal made public—and by referring to that I am not an enemy of progress in any means.

Governor PHILLIPS. No; I am not either.

Mr. CURTIS. But it has meant that travel from the Middle West has had to pay the burden of the transportation outward and has not had an even break on the part of the railroads.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right; and I have here to present to the committee, Mr. C. B. Bee, who will be able to give you, I think, authentic information about the injustice that happens in Nebraska in a small part and of which we have a large part. To make a graphic illustration, we can't ship wheat from Enid, Okla., to Memphis, Tenn., and compete with the wheat from Oregon and Washington and Canada. Our coal fields here, which are a part of our industrial life—or used to be until stagnated by the freight rates and a reduction in the use of coal by the development of oil fuel and thus doing away with the necessity of consuming coal in some parts—Arkansas—I presume this came in the testimony over there—and eastern Oklahoma can't ship coal to Memphis, Tenn., because of the injustice and limitations on freight rates. We have in our State a considerable coal-field area, and the population in that area hasn't been able to make a living because of the burden that has been placed on the coal industry located in this section of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, did you ever have a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission on it?

Governor PHILLIPS. Oh, yes; you file a lawsuit there and hope to God you will live long enough to see it ended—that is the way it goes up there—and a lot of you don't. I would like to present Mr. Bee at the conclusion of the few statements I make, who, I think, will present that fact very clearly. Our people here, and the people of Oklahoma on the whole, are above the average in many States—and I don't say that to get in an argument with the gentleman from Nebraska—they have some good points up there, because the whole of the people up there have been sensible enough not to get into debt further than they could get out, and my hat is off to them.

Mr. CURTIS. Thank you.

Governor PHILLIPS. The people here—we have had people, of course, that have shifted; every State has them. We have a great many people on different forms of relief; that was necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, in regard to this freight-rate business, if I understand you, you hold to the view which many others share, that by the control and manipulation of rates of transportation you can control the channels of commerce and place industry in one point and remove it from another most effectively?

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right, we can't develop industry down here because we are suffering from that burden; we can't develop even the dairy industry in this State and compete with our near neighbors by reason of the discrimination against us by reason of freight rates.

Mr. CURTIS. I think on that very subject it would be well for the American people to investigate the freight rates of ocean-going traffic.

Great Britain having been the mistress of the seas for a long, long time, the things that we export as an agricultural nation have been very greatly handicapped, and the rates are such that other things flow in here at a much lower rate.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right; you can, I am sure, being from Nebraska, pretty well understand our problem. We have made advances here, not to get in a controversy between the States of Nebraska and Oklahoma, which Nebraska does not have. Until recently we know they had not developed the oil industry. The oil industry is one which in the very nature of it causes people to shift from one State to another; men are trained in that industry, and they follow its development.

Mr. PARSONS. I know that very well, Governor; I have about twelve or fifteen hundred of your citizens of Oklahoma in my oil fields now.

Governor PHILLIPS. Where is that?

Mr. PARSONS. In the Illinois field, southern Illinois.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right, they shifted from Oklahoma to Illinois. Originally they shifted from Pennsylvania to Oklahoma and Texas and Louisiana, and now a small part of the over-all loss which Oklahoma has sustained in the last 10 years is accounted for by the fact that in southern Illinois there are a great many Oklahoma people.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, Governor, this is the first testimony we have had on freight-rate discrimination, and it will be very valuable to our report.

Governor PHILLIPS. I am very happy if it is. We don't all have entirely the same opinion, but we tried to make it a composite view of practical people from Oklahoma, and you can't get into any field of activity, either agricultural or industrial, in Oklahoma that you don't immediately just go right up to this freight-rate barrier, which interferes with our developing the full possibilities of the natural resources and the natural courage and industry of the people of this State.

Mr. CURTIS. Governor, may I ask another question? In your detailed written report on this freight-rate proposition, do you offer a suggestion or just point out the problem and request that a solution be found, or do you set up a summary of determination of our freight-rate policy?

Governor PHILLIPS. I do; I prefer, if the committee will, to let Mr. Bee cover that as much as he can. Of course, I have possibly been following or thinking about the vain hope of Congress just taking the bull by the horns and bringing it to a solution. I don't know whether that can be done.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble is, Governor, they have a good many bulls to take by the horns.

Governor PHILLIPS. I know they do.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Governor, in connection with that, I want to say that is a subject in which I am very much interested. I live in Alabama and that subject is of much interest to us and, in fact, to all the Southern States.

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes; I would have been down in Alabama this last week if I hadn't been trying to get this ready.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I understand you are a member of the Southern Governors Conference, which is working on that?

Governor PHILLIPS. I am.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if you are familiar with the provisions of the recently enacted transportation act which the President signed this week requiring the Interstate Commerce Commission to go into this very thing?

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes; that may be the solution of it, but I am not too hopeful that it is.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, neither am I; I wonder what you thought of it.

Governor PHILLIPS. I don't want to criticize an act of Congress.

Mr. CURTIS. That is very kind of you; most people do.

Governor PHILLIPS. I think it will hurt more than it will help, to be frank about it. That is my reaction to it. You see, the Interstate Commerce Commission started out as a good thing, and it got to be an oppressor, and I think that under this act you refer to—I am not familiar with all the details of the bill—but I think it might be diverted from its proper course or subverted from its wholesome objective to hurt us even worse than the other one has.

Mr. CURTIS. There is a possibility of that?

Governor PHILLIPS. Of course, the gentleman from Illinois, they have been feeling it some along with many others in the northeast section.

Mr. CURTIS. They are in the Northeast Territory, are they?

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. We have been finding that we have been helped with the mechanization of some of our waterways, but this bill probably sings the death knell on our cheap waterways.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is the thing that I think myself, that it will not help you but will hurt you. That is going to depend on how a personnel, entrusted with work that gives them power over the destinies of other men, will work. It could be good or it could be bad.

Mr. CURTIS. It is a power unto itself?

Governor PHILLIPS. It could be like the Labor Relations Board, if you gentlemen agree with us southern Governors.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble is that instead of 48 States we have practically got 48 nations on these rates?

Governor PHILLIPS. I don't know; the question in my mind is whether we have got a State left.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got a good State here, haven't you?

Governor PHILLIPS. Well, yes; but the tendencies lately have been not to let us operate as a State. For instance, I have been enjoined by a board of Federal judges from prosecuting a lawsuit which I have a right to file, and then I have a lot of back talk from some of your bureaus that say I don't have a right to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the plaintiff in this action?

Governor PHILLIPS. John Carmody.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you intervene?

Governor PHILLIPS. I filed a lawsuit on certain rights of the State in one of the courts of this State, as the Constitution gave me the power to do, and was met by a three-judge injunction in the Federal court saying I couldn't do that.

The Chairman. The House just passed an act providing that a State shall have the right to intervene in any suit where the Federal Government is plaintiff and where the State's rights are involved.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT OF STATE OF OKLAHOMA

Governor Phillips. That may be of value to me later on down here in the southern end of the State; you see, we have got some other problems that affect our ability to develop and to have an industry that will support our people. Oklahoma was settled, as many of you know, by a series of openings in the western part of the State which brought an influx of people in from all States in the Union.

Mr. Parsons. What was the reason that Oklahoma was so lately settled, more than the surrounding territory?

Governor Phillips. The reason was the control of the Federal Government in regulating the Indian affairs.

Mr. Parsons. They kept taking the Indians off the surrounding territory and concentrating them here?

Governor Phillips. They traded the Indians out of their land in Illinois and everywhere else and brought them to Oklahoma. The eastern part of the State, formerly known as Indian Territory, was largely granted to remnants of the Five Civilized Tribes brought from Florida and Georgia and Alabama and those other States, the Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Cherokees.

The Chairman. What is your Indian population, Governor?

Governor Phillips. I can't tell you that. Dr. Bennett, see if that can be furnished as a detail. In Oklahoma the Oklahoma section was the place where what are called the Plains tribes, the Kiowas, Comanches, and a lot of other small tribes that were separated, were settled; they were operated as a number of small territories, and later it become what was originally the Oklahoma Territory. The first opening of the Oklahoma Territory was 1889, followed by another one in 1892, and another one in 1893.

The Chairman. Wasn't the rush in 1870, when it was first opened?

Governor Phillips. Oh, no; '89 was the first opening, when they had the big run into what was originally called old Oklahoma. That was followed by the Cheyenne and Cherokee openings and Arapaho and a number of others. Now, the western opening, most of that land was opened during those years to homesteading to people from everywhere. In the eastern part of the State the land was divided up into allotments.

The Indian population, according to the estimate furnished here by my committee, is 150,000. In eastern Oklahoma these allotments were put in the hands of Indians, either of full blood or minor degrees, down to one sixty-fourth. The Department of the Interior developed an agricultural program—or didn't develop a program—and the result was, these were leased out, 40 acres a year at a time; and the others, 5 years at a time, and there is where our first tenant problem developed in Oklahoma. That has been continued even since the regional restrictions placed on it by agreement, and under which the State became a State in 1907, and one of our problems is that the Federal Government has never recognized the debt that they owe us by keeping that part of our land off the tax rolls, and our citizens that have developed industries in Oklahoma have continued to carry that load and are still doing it, and Congress recently imposed that restriction up to 1956, and we are still carrying that burden, and our land is being destroyed by lack of an agricultural program in the Department of the Interior with reference to our Indian land. They still have 5-year leases on surplus allotments and 1-year leases on homesteads, and they get a fellow like a man that came to my office one time trying to rent a farm. He said, "I have already worn out two places." That is what has happened in eastern Oklahoma and a great many places over the State, because we haven't had any way to guarantee any tenure which would get a type of tenant that would rebuild the land.

The CHAIRMAN. Your point is that the Federal Government, and particularly the Department of Indian Affairs as guardian of the land, has permitted the tenants to rob the land of the soil, and is that one of the causes of soil depletion in your State?

LACK OF ADEQUATE SOIL-CONSERVATION SERVICE

Governor PHILLIPS. That is one of them in that section, the eastern part of the State. The thing that we want to see developed, and the lack of which has also caused a reduction of agriculture in Oklahoma, is our conservation. That has been opened to some of the other States, but it has not been for the benefit of Oklahoma. For instance, we have nothing on the upper watersheds of any of our rivers from here west and south in Oklahoma.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by having nothing, are you referring to the crop conditions?

Governor PHILLIPS. I am referring to the activities of the Federal Government developing soil-conservation measures in cooperation with the State. In other words, we haven't any dams on our creeks or rivers up there. We have a dam down here at the bottom of the State which is going to take a hundred thousand acres of our good land, but it doesn't do a dime's worth of good to Oklahoma because it doesn't take care of any of our soil; our soil will wash off into the thing, and it will make a good mudhole, but it protects the land in Texas and Louisiana and Arkansas. I am going to this meeting in Louisiana and see if we can do something to protect our land here.

The CHAIRMAN. We had Director Babb at our Lincoln hearing, and the record there—incidentally this will be all one record of all these hearings over the United States—shows the relation of reclamation and irrigation to this whole problem. We have in our State alone a possible undeveloped irrigation plan of 400,000 acres that we haven't sufficient water to irrigate.

Governor PHILLIPS. You have got the same problem, only worse than we have.

IRRIGATION POSSIBILITIES IN OKLAHOMA

The Chairman. What I am getting at, what are the undeveloped irrigation possibilities of Oklahoma?

Governor Phillips. I don't know that I can give you that in definite form. We have developed some well irrigation in the Panhandle; if you are familiar with the map of Oklahoma, that is the arm that sticks out in the northwest corner. We are now developing the Lugert Dam proposition in Jackson County in the southwest. It is just in its early stages in Oklahoma. The principal thing that we can develop out of this is to prevent seasonal floods in the western part of our State from destroying the bottom lands, covering it with filth that is washed away from the western part; that is what we need, to prevent the floods from destroying the good soil in the bottoms after the hills are washed away.

The Chairman. Don't you think it is going to be our duty to conserve every drop of water we can in the arid and semiarid land?

Governor Phillips. Yes; as near the place it falls as possible so that we can develop these irrigation projects and furnish a secure reasonable expectation to our farmers in that area of developing crops. Drought is one of our drawbacks, and is one of the things that has hurt us in the last 10 years.

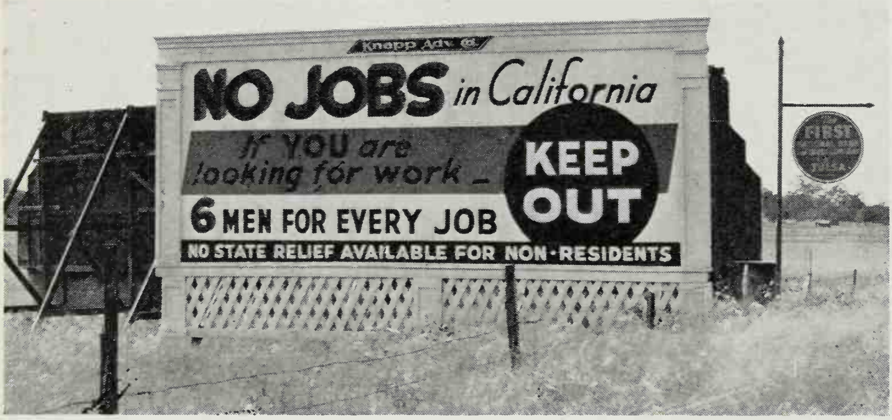
The Chairman. We have in the western part of our State an irrigation project that was one of the first developed; it was developed in 1902, and that area in the last 10 years not only held its population but it is attracting industry. It has gained almost 14 percent in population while the total loss in the State has been almost 5 percent, and this outward migration and abandonment of farms in the Great Plains territory clear from here up to Canada is very, very definitely linked to the matter of irrigation and water conservation.

Governor Phillips. Yes; I very, very thoroughly agree with that, and we have whooped off enough money to build a program for Oklahoma in different forms of so-called governmental money and State spending, and I want us to develop, if we go up there, the facts that will justify following this other program in the future.

The Chairman. One other question, coming back to one thing you touched in the beginning, next to my own territory I have a great personal interest in this Oklahoma, because it so happens that I am the only member of this committee living between the Mississippi River and the west coast. In regard to this farm program as eliminating all farmers and tenants, I want to get your reasoning for that. Do you mean that in a territory where we are not sure of a crop that the payment as administered has been an inducement for the landlord to take the entire payment, eliminate the tenant, and do the work with day labor?

MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

Governor Phillips. That is just exactly what has happened here. There are many men, farmers, in this State that are cultivating 4 or 5, and I imagine even 10 times as much land; the farmers have been moved off, and the houses have been moved off in many instances, and


Knapp Adv. Co.
NO JOBS in California
If YOU are looking for work —
KEEP OUT
6 MEN FOR EVERY JOB
NO STATE RELIEF AVAILABLE FOR NON-RESIDENTS
FIRST
TULSA

Billboard on Highway 66 near Tulsa, Okla. Erected by Knapp Advertising Agency. Photo by R. B. Ward Photo Co., 414 South Boston, Tulsa, Okla.

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these tenant farmers were moved to town or went to California when they heard some of their advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you recommend that these benefits should be centered around the family-type farmer, that we place a premium on farm families instead of the reverse?

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't mean to say, Governor, that California advertises its climate and things like that out here?

Governor PHILLIPS. You know, I have heard that that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I might say in that regard that Illinois has no climate to advertise.

Governor PHILLIPS. I am guilty of joining with you in bragging on the California climate. I don't want this to be considered at all capricious, but honestly and frankly I think California is about half to blame for getting a lot of our people out there and a lot of people in the other States in the Union out there. I have a chart which compares the amount of money which they advertise they will give the destitute people and they are overpaying the rest of us and they are getting them, and you couldn't help it without putting them in jail.

Mr. CURTIS. Governor, we are trying to negotiate a contract with California whereby we will accept a return of our destitute people out there if each of them is accompanied by one Nebraska millionaire that has gone out there.

Governor PHILLIPS. We have got some out there too.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say in that regard, where you get all those people you will keep them as long as you give them ham and eggs, and they come from every State in the Union.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is one thing we could solve, we don't operate the same way, but someone, I don't know who did it, put up a sign out here on Highway No. 66 this side of Tulsa and if any of you drove—this is included in the report but I will show it to you now, I don't know whether California or Oklahoma put that up, but it is there [demonstrating] (see opposite page).

Mr. PARSONS. (reading). "No jobs in California, if you are looking for work keep out. Six men for every job, no State relief for nonresidents." You don't know who put that up?

Governor PHILLIPS. The Knapp Advertising Agency put up the sign. I think that sign is a good thing. If we didn't put it up I think California should have put it up. I think that is a good thing because there is a certain percentage of the people on the move. I don't mean that all the people that have gone from Oklahoma to California are of the kind in the false, although much believed, book that put tractors in Sequoyah County when there wasn't any down there. The man that ran the bank at Okemah when I went there to practice law 25 years ago is one of the group that wants to get back, along with the shiftless people, and he has money. I practiced law in Okfuskee County, hired a stenographer and she got married to a fellow that worked in the oil fields and they are out in California, as well as a lot of the tenant farmers in Sequoyah County and Okfuskee County that went out there because they didn't have any place else to go, so that advertising has brought a lot of people out there.

The Chairman. This committee has got information about the misinformation passed to the people at State lines about plenty of employment and things like that and then we have private employment agents taking their last dime and sending them across the State lines. Do you hear of anything like that?

Governor Phillips. We have travel-bureau people in this State promoting the movement of people and we are prosecuting them.

The Chairman. What do you do or what would you suggest about providing at the borders of these States reliable information bureaus, would you say that that should be State or Federal?

Governor Phillips. Oh, it could be both; it is just a matter of getting the information around.

The Chairman. But the correct information.

Governor Phillips. Getting the information from the officials of my State, I hope the statement of my committee here will decrease some of the migration of the people that can find no further employment out there. I think these hearings will do that whether there is anything further done or not.

Mr. Parsons. Governor, if you had had sufficient moisture in Oklahoma as a whole you never would have had so much migration, would you?

Recommendations

1. CONSTRUCTION OF RESERVOIRS

Governor Phillips. No; the excessive droughts in 1934, 1935, and 1936 have added materially to the distress and that is the reason I make the suggestion that I do here, that it is highly important if we are to develop and maintain the resources of this State to support a contented citizenship we have got to build in the western part of the State reservoirs and hold the water where it is and forget about building Dennison dams because somebody may think you can supply a stand-by supply of power and put our miners out of work when they do it.

Mr. Curtis. We have figures in the record to show that the cost of irrigating an area, which is a permanent improvement, for all time, is not any greater than the relief load for that same area over the last 10 years.

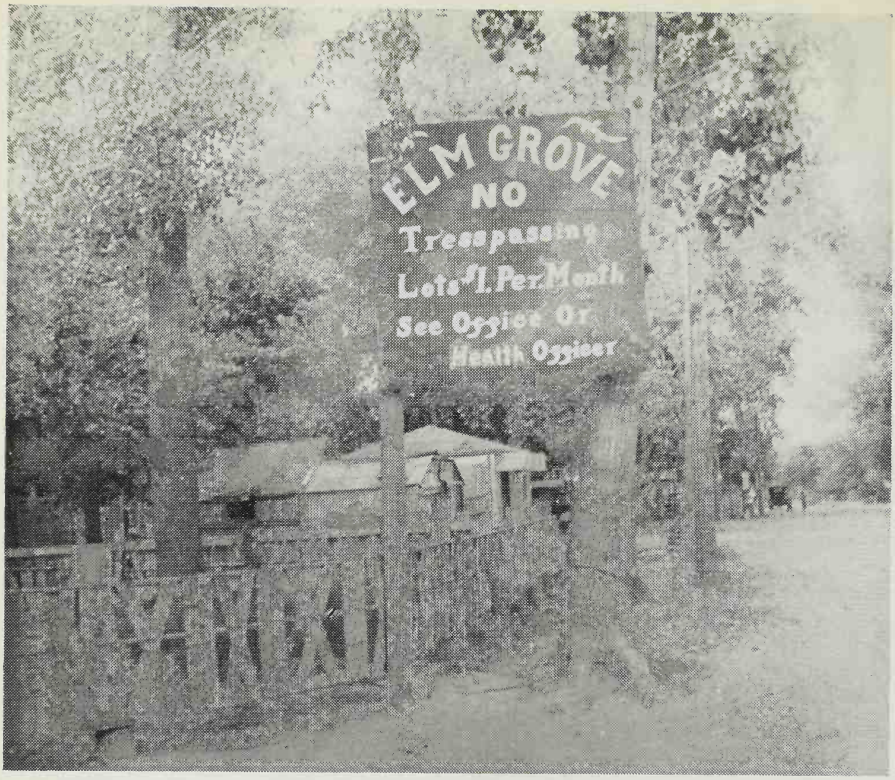
Governor Phillips. Yes; and when you get those irrigation projects, or if we had a series of them along our rivers in western Oklahoma at least you would have them broken up out of this big individual one-man-operating-a-farm. You would have a support for a little fellow, you could hold a little soil on the land and make a living on some little amount of acreage, and both of them together would break up the thing that exists now by reason of the tractors and the A. A. A. program which lets one of those men operate a whole township or a county.

The Chairman. Governor, we didn't start in Oklahoma, we started in New York; of course they didn't have any migration——

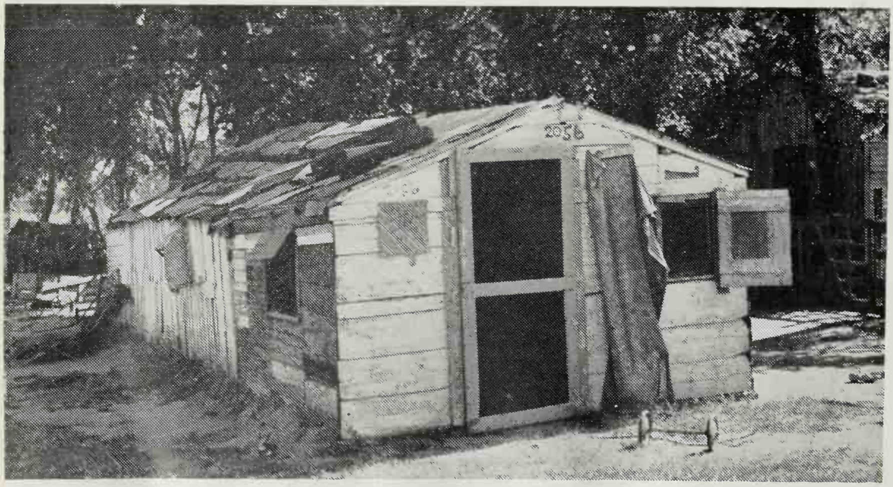
Governor Phillips. They wouldn't admit it.

The pictures on the following pages were taken by photographers for the Farm Security Administration and by an investigator for the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, during the period 1936–40, and submitted as exhibits.

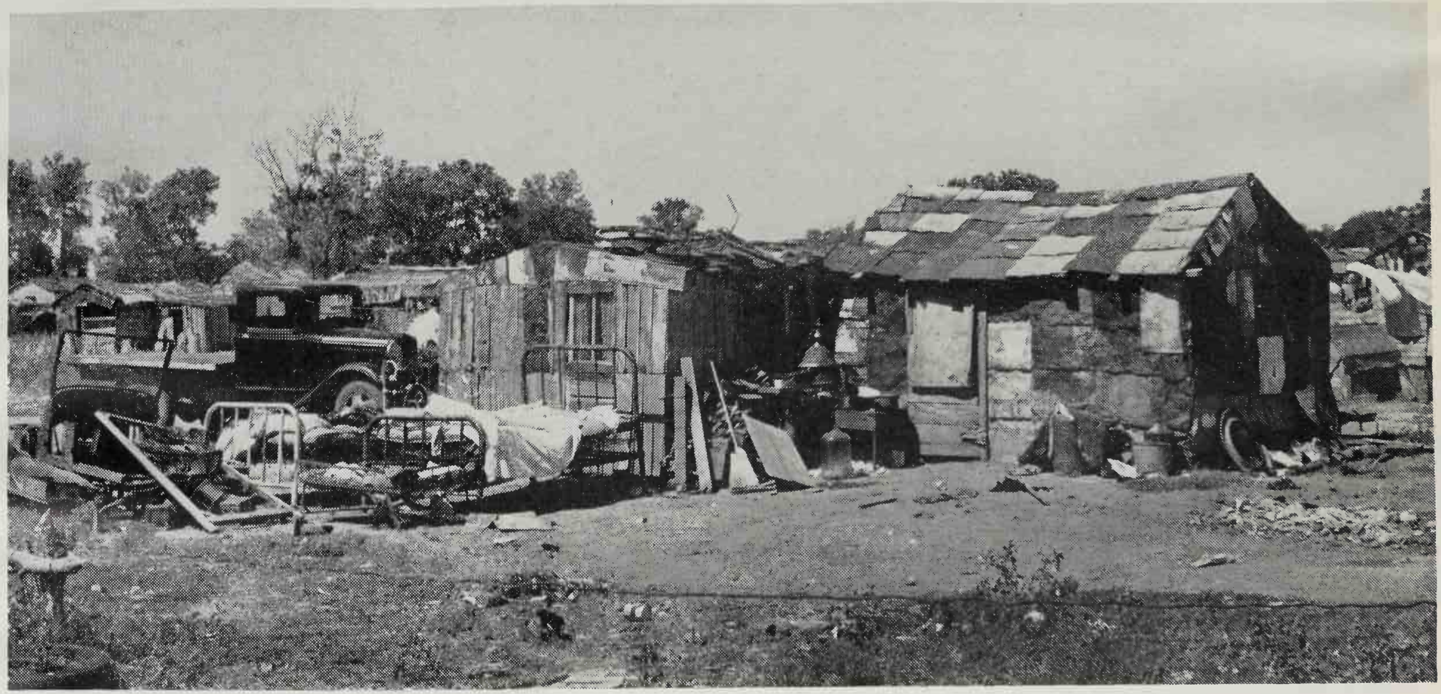
In both the Elm Grove and May Avenue camps were old jalopies bearing California and Arizona tags, belonging to migrants who had completed the trek to the Pacific coast and back and who were existing by means of such day work as they could find in and around Oklahoma City, by begging and by the aid of local charitable organizations. Such aid, because of the extent of the problem, is necessarily very limited.


ELM GROVE
NO
Trespassing
Lots $1. Per Month
See Office Of
Health Officer

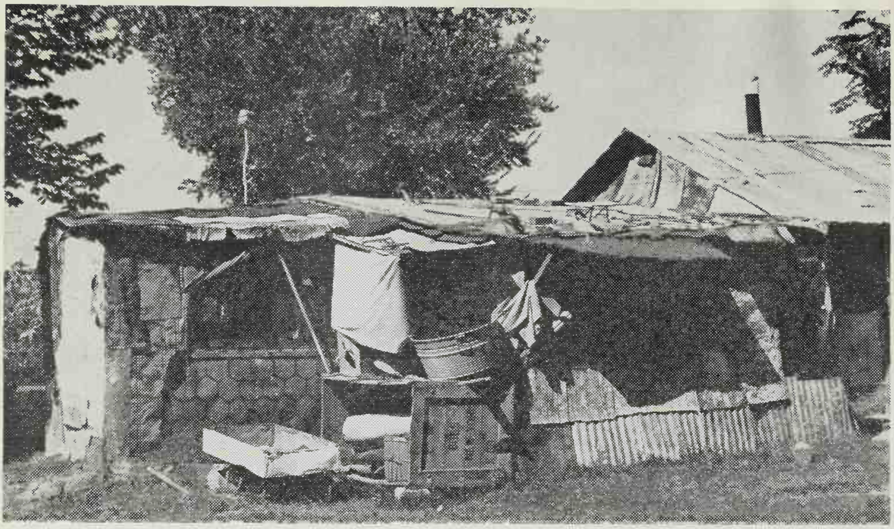
One dollar a month will rent a lot in Oklahoma City's Elm Grove Community Camp just big enough for a tent or shack, the tenant building such shack as he can, at his own expense. (See picture below.) Hundreds of families are crowded along its four streets. Rent is paid to the Oklahoma City Health Department. Like the rent-free May Avenue camp (see pp. 2069–71), there are no sanitary facilities.



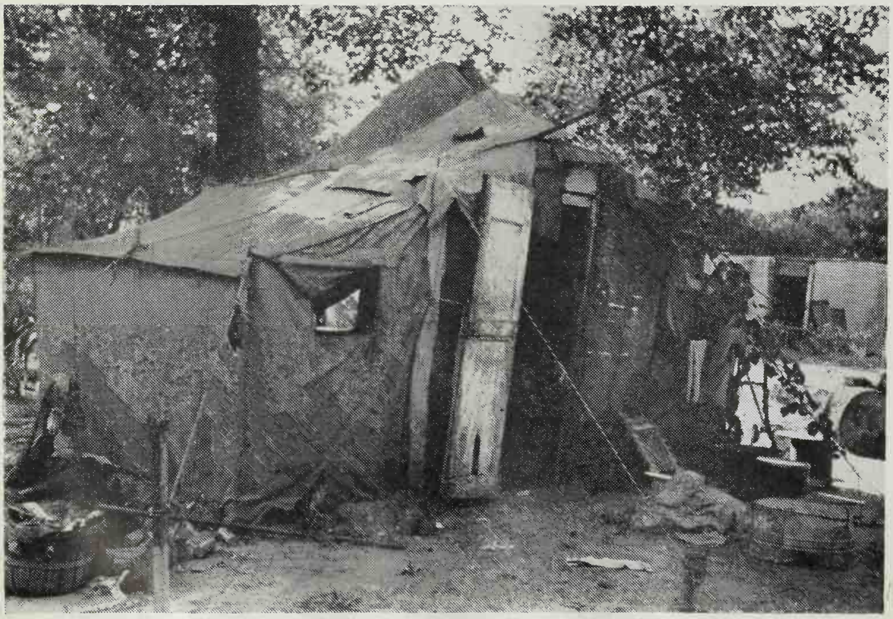
No. 2056 on one of community camp's unpaved streets is "For sale or trade. What have you?" Despite its patched roof it is in better condition, with its screened doors and windows, solid wood walls, than the dwellings shown on succeeding pages.

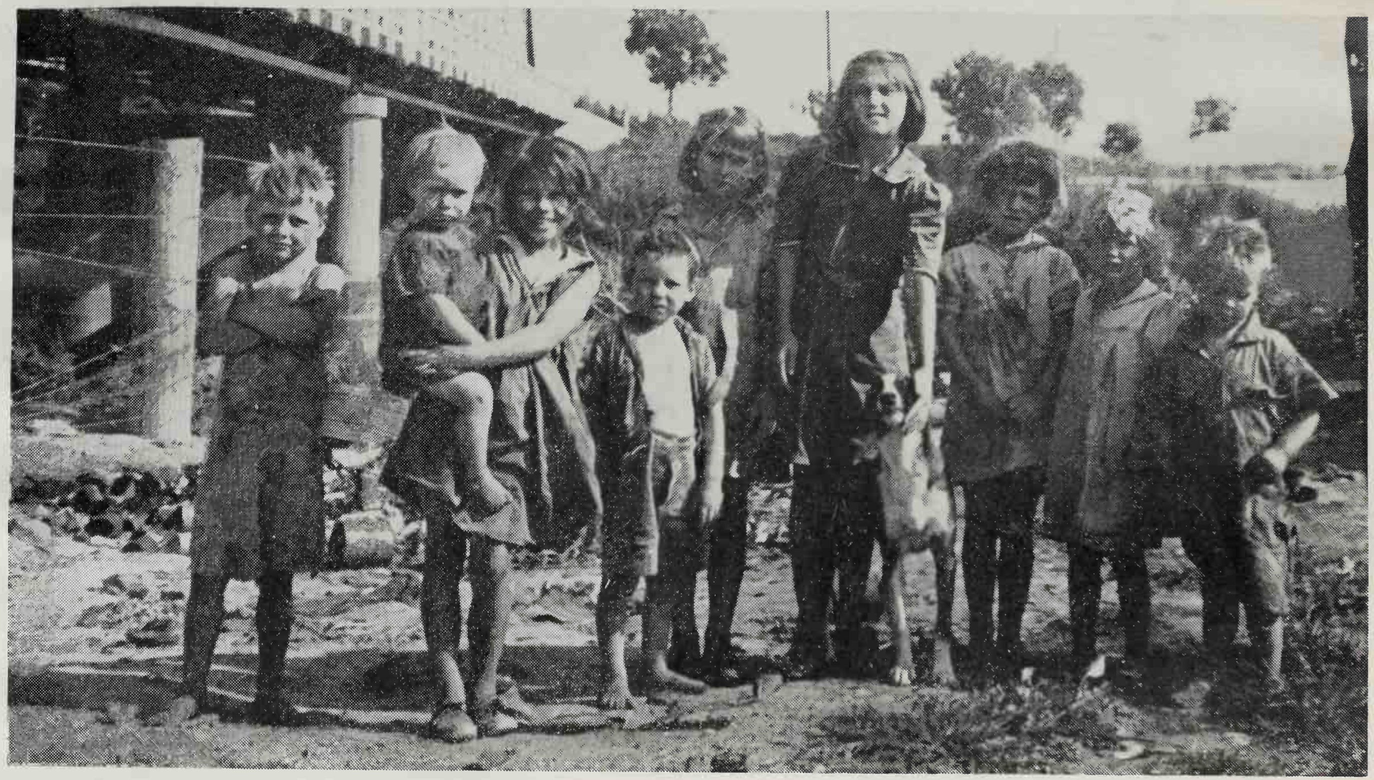


When July and August heat waves pushed temperatures to 100° and over, this migrant family of 10 moved their beds into the yard of their one-room Elm Grove Community Camp shack. The two babies slept in the improvised crib propped on tottering stilts at foot of one of the beds. Note that lace curtains have been hung in the window in an effort to make these temporary quarters "home." In background on either side can be seen neighboring shacks, crowded closely together.

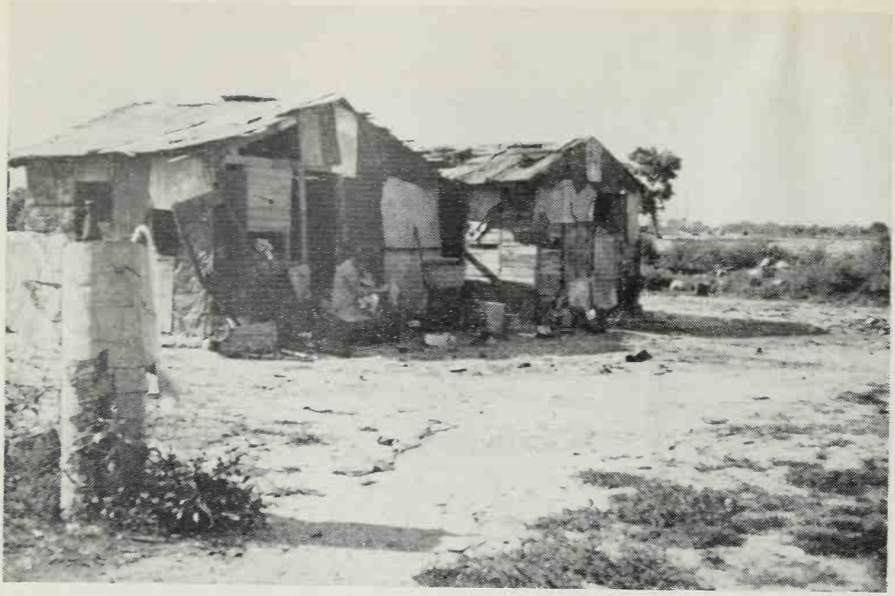


Shack and tent dwellings in Elm Grove camp inhabited by destitute families.

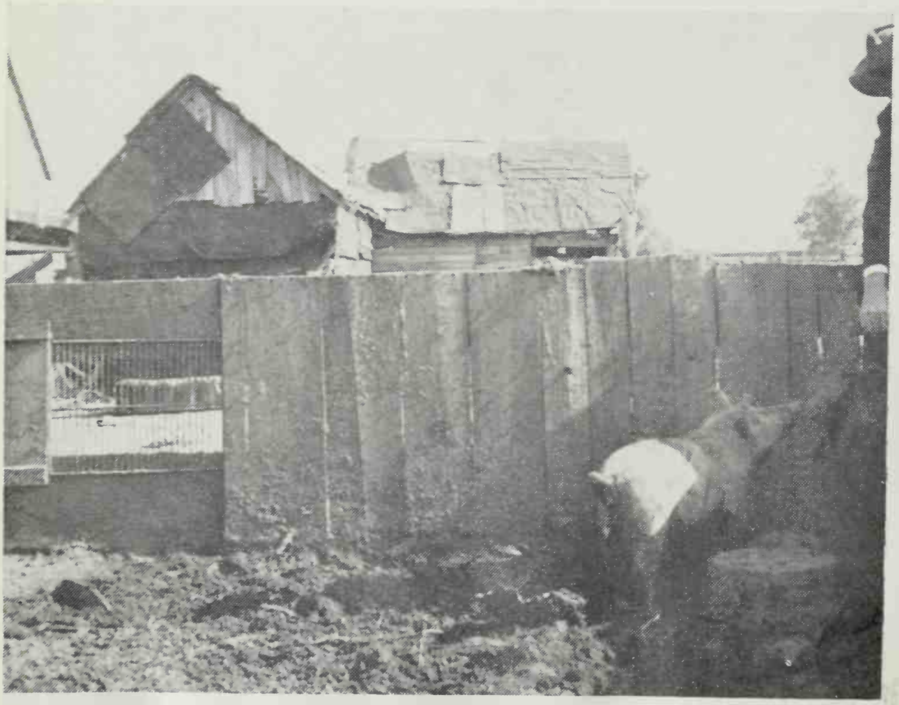




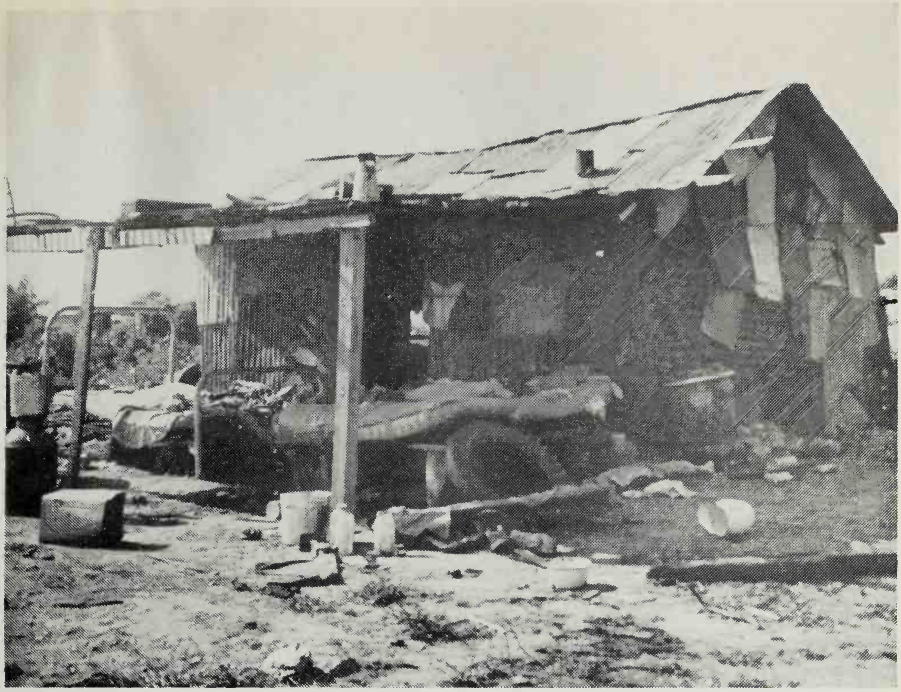
"Children of the Dump." Found playing under bridge seen in background on the marshy banks of Canadian River; they smiled brightly when asked if they would like to have their pictures taken. They gave their address as May Avenue camp, a shack town built over a former dumping ground on the outskirts of Oklahoma City. (See photos following.)



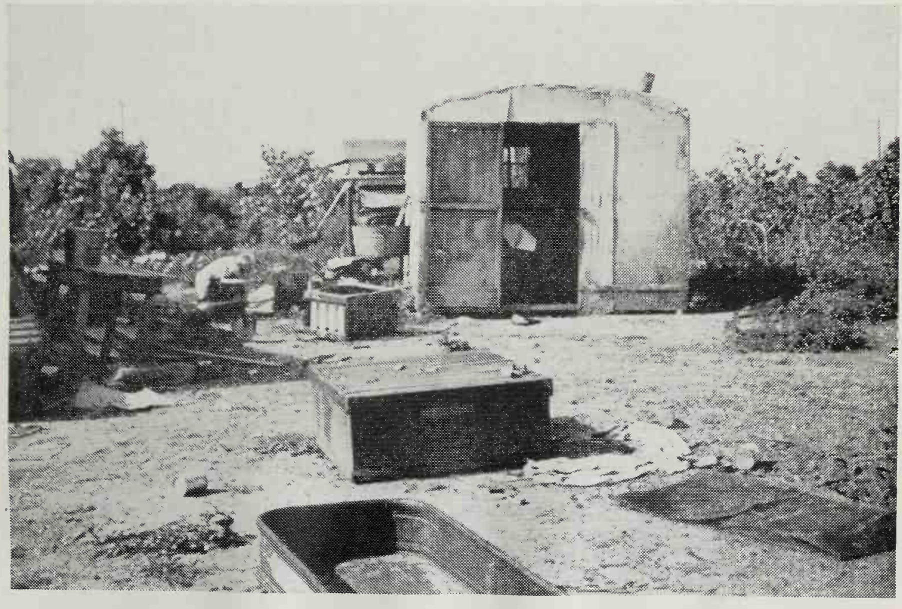
Mother nursing her baby while she dresses her 2-year-old son in the doorway of her shack home in May Avenue camp. Neighboring shack is smaller, even more dilapidated. Note gaps in walls; screenless, frameless, windows; junk pile beyond.



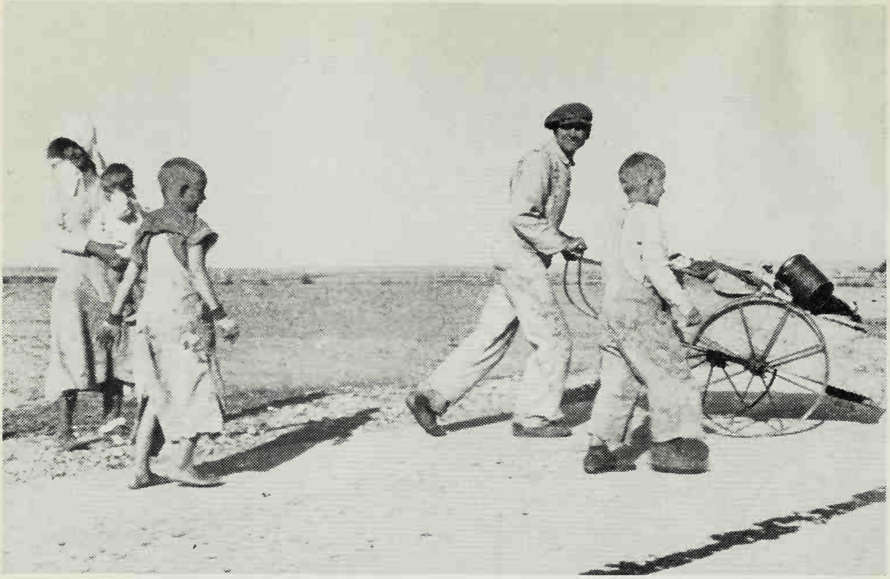
Hogpen in May Avenue camp 10 feet from the living quarters of a mother and her three children. The woman, who was deserted by her husband, was raising the hogs to provide meat through the winter. With her children, she was making about 50 cents a day digging earthworms from the nearby banks of stagnant Canadian River (see span of bridge at left) for sale to fishermen.



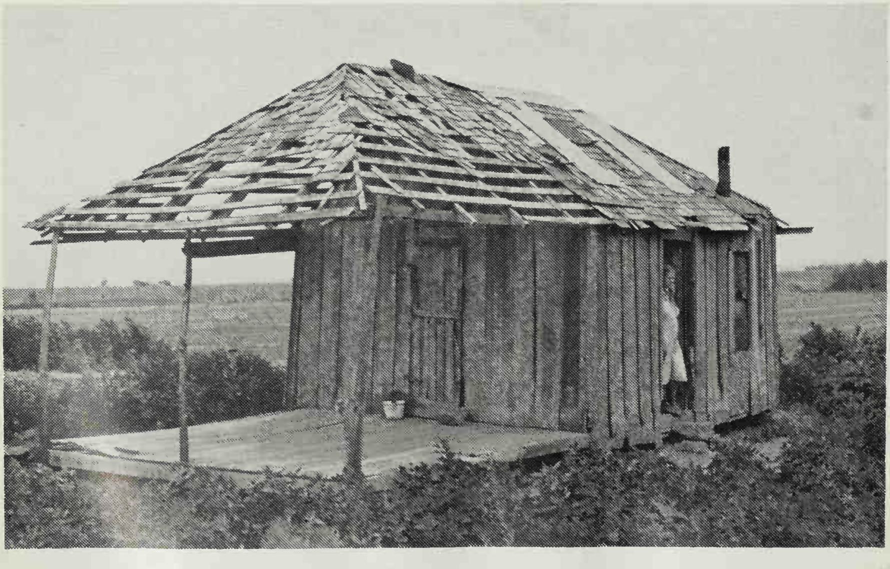
Sleeping quarters of a migrant family in May Avenue camp. The tin shack was constructed of scraps picked up around the dumping ground on which the camp is located. There is no rent for living here, nor any sanitation.



Cloth stretched over a hand-made wooden frame provides this shelter. The stovepipe rising through the cloth roof makes danger of fire imminent. The small boy living here plays amid the rubbish.



Migrant family photographed while crossing the Texas Panhandle. They had covered about half of their 1,400-mile hike from Arkansas to the lower Rio Grande Valley, where they hoped to find work as cotton pickers.



Shack home of agricultural day laborers near Warner, Okla. Note dilapidated roof, window covered with torn tar paper.

The CHAIRMAN. But we found they had 5,000 deportations of destitute citizens and spent $3,000,000 to take care of their destitute, and we went through New Jersey and found the same thing there and we found it in the South. It isn't Oklahoma or any particular State, every State in the Union has it, don't you agree to that?

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes; we have got them here from everywhere, but there is developing in this State a very wholesome thing, of people realizing the possibility in the effort put forth, in the eastern part of the State at least, of going out on small tracts of land and making a living for themselves, even though they have a very small outside income. There is an example of that very close here to Oklahoma City, less than 20 miles to the east where a man went out on a very poor piece of land and terraced it and saved the soil and used only such water as comes naturally, and developed it and there are thousands of those in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the statement was made here yesterday when the price of wheat during the last World War, the first World War, went up to $2.25, they plowed up the plains and that started the soil erosion?

Governor PHILLIPS. That didn't start it, that added to it.

The CHAIRMAN. It was already in progress but they plowed up the whole earth then?

2. SOIL CONSERVATION

Governor PHILLIPS. If we can develop this conservation matter that the gentleman from Nebraska has been discussing to where we can produce the food and necessities of civilization on the good soil and let some of the rougher eroding sections of Oklahoma go back to grass we would have an opportunity here to develop an agricultural activity and activity in livestock which will enable us to support a prosperous and progressive people.

The CHAIRMAN. Hasn't the farm program, in part at least, haven't they been planning and working with the individual farmers in the direction of trying to replenish this soil by getting grasses back?

Governor PHILLIPS. We are doing that just as fast and as extensively as we can. We in Oklahoma have, under the agricultural schools, developed an ideal in Oklahoma of 4-H clubs and F. F. A. clubs and we have increased our revenue from the sale of livestock materially even in these years of depression and want. I think we have got the best gang of young fellows in the F. F. A. organization in this State that there is in the world, and if we could solve the problems of saving our water in the places where it falls and getting relief from the freight rates that make stagnant every opportunity for development of agriculture in the State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma will go along all right. They won't have to be the subject of charity; as a matter of fact, we are paying our share of this load already. We paid into the Federal Government last year between $60,000,000 and $70,000,000; we have got a lot of wealth here, but we need these things to be developed for us, we need this sort of relief mentioned, we need to get the curse of this agricultural program for Indian lands off our necks and get some conservation to help us save this western country from the curse of drought and we will go along all right.

The **Chairman.** What is the population of Oklahoma?

Dr. **Bennett.** About 2,334,000.

The **Chairman.** Is that a gain or a loss over 1930?

Governor **Phillips** (continuing). Oh, we have a loss of about 65,000 people.

The **Chairman.** In the Great Plains States in the past 10 years there has been a loss of about a million?

Governor **Phillips.** Just to be frank with you, ours may be greater than that, but not in actual count; in actual count that is what it is. It would be more than that if you considered the fact that the birth rate, the difference between the birth rate and the death rate; in other words, we should have more births than we have deaths so that actually we have lost more people than that.

The **Chairman.** It is one point that doesn't have anything to do with migration probably, but do you have an oil tax?

Governor **Phillips.** Yes; of 5 percent, as a conservation measure.

The **Chairman.** And you put that into an operating fund, is that a reserve fund you are building up for the State of Oklahoma?

Governer **Phillips.** No; we did it wrong as was once most graphically told me by the last speaker of the last house of representatives from Nebraska. He came down to this room in 1935 and was discussing with me the different institutions of Oklahoma. I don't remember now what his name was, but he was a pretty smart fellow, and in the course of the conversation, he was an old timer, and he thought I was too young to be speaker of the House. He called attention to the fact that the per capita indebtedness at that time was less than it was in Nebraska and he was sitting there and when I told him that he jumped up and said, "Young man, if Nebraska had the wealth and natural resources that you have squandered she wouldn't be sixteenth, she would be first," and that was the truth. We didn't develop that program like the mineral States in the Great Lakes area did; we waited along and fought in the legislature awhile and finally developed a tax and put it in the general-revenue fund, and several of the administrations have whooped it off until we have been broke and in a deficit. Oklahoma doesn't have the right program for a new State that would expect to make a permanent benefit out of its mineral resources. We haven't done as bad as Illinois, however; we have tried to protect our fields from waste so that incidentally the Federal Government couldn't take us over under the coal bill.

Mr. **Parsons.** We are conserving it pretty much at the place of supply?

Governor **Phillips.** Illinois is the bad boy of the Nation so far as oil is concerned.

Mr. **Parsons.** We are losing thousands upon millions upon multiplied millions of feet of gas?

Governor **Phillips.** That is right, because you don't have those conservation measures. That is right good to come from a brother from Illinois because that is the truth. Nebraska has the opportunity now to protect for its people the matter of a proper tax whether it is called severance or gross production or whatever you call it, as against the day when the industry is no longer a source of revenue or employment for the people there.

Mr. CURTIS. Governor, in regard to these matters that pertain to our economy in the Great Plains region as well as the rest of the country there is a lot of work to be done by the people back home as well as by the States, and there is a task to be done by the Federal Government, but it will never be solved by holding our hands and waiting for Washington to do it all.

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes; I absolutely agree with that. We are trying to solve ours. We have tried to get to the people the idea that they can grow livestock and be independent. I am preaching in Oklahoma the fact that we want to teach in our schools that it is honorable for boys to learn how to make a living with their hands and that we can't assimilate 90 percent of our people in white-collared jobs. That doesn't sound good to a lot of fathers and mothers, but it is the gospel truth just the same and some of that has to be done. We have organized in Oklahoma now active unselfish businessmen to try to develop industry in this State, and I tell them that I will keep the taxes off them as much as I can if they will go ahead and develop it, and then is when I run into the bugaboo of freight rates. We are developing a lot of things down here, and thank the Lord we are not trying to get on some State or Federal benefit and coast on through.

Mr. CURTIS. There is nothing that I have ever discovered that is as good for the human body and human soul as good old honest toil.

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right and there has been too little of that; that may be bad politics but it is good scripture and it is in the line of what history teaches us. You can take the fall of France and the fall of the Jewish country in the time of Christ and it is still true. We have got the poor with us and you can't feed them all on Government relief; at least half of them have got to be working and developing that work into some sort of income to carry the load for the others, and Oklahoma is interested generally as a State in that sort of thing, in developing, if possible, in another generation a more stable, more economic citizenship.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I don't want to hurry you or anything of that kind, although we have many witnesses today. Is there anything else?

Governor PHILLIPS. I think I have covered everything. There are other items included in this report. We have a great many people here that can give you some more light on it after I present them, and that doesn't mean necessarily that they have the same ideas at all that I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The men who are mentioned in your report, your committee, are they present here?

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like for them to stand up and give their names for the record and for the record to show that they are actually present.

Governor PHILLIPS. Mr. C. B. Bee, rate expert of the corporation commission, who is present; Jess Harper, director of public welfare;

N. R. Graham, president of the Arkansas Valley Association at Tulsa, he is interested in developing, if we can't do something about these freight rates, in getting water rates for our State as well as the others and has a report in mind and I intended for him to be here and elaborate on that; Dr. Leonard Logan, University of Oklahoma; Dr. N. E. Wolford, professor of engineering, University of Oklahoma; Robert H. Dott, director, geological survey, University of Oklahoma; Dr. J. J. Rhyne, of the University of Oklahoma; Dr. Wyatt Marrs, University of Oklahoma; Dr. Henry G. Bennett, president of Oklahoma A. & M. College; Dr. O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M. College; Glen R. Darrell, director of forestry; Clarence Roberts, editor of the Oklahoma Farmer-Stockman; Dr. W. H. Sewell and Dr. R. T. McMillan of the Oklahoma A. & M. College. They won't need to be heard because Dr. Duncan, I understand, is going to testify. If there are no further questions I will file this report. Oh, yes; Dr. E. E. Scholl of the A. & M. College. I want to call Mr. Bee and Mr. Roberts and any of these other men will be available for anything else that you want to hear.

The Chairman. We haven't had time to read the written report and are not in a position to ask you anything about it, but anything else you think will be of interest we will leave it up to you to present.

Governor Phillips. I will call those men now.

The Chairman. I will say further, Governor, that our report on these hearings will not conclude until some time in November in Washington, and in the meantime if you have any additional facts you desire to present on the part of Oklahoma, send them to me and I will insert them on the part of Oklahoma.

Governor Phillips. Thank you, Mr. Tolan, it has been a pleasure to meet you and go over these problems with you as we have been permitted to do.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF C. B. BEE, SPECIAL COUNSEL FOR CORPORATION COMMISSION, STATE OF OKLAHOMA, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

The Chairman. You may proceed, Mr. Bee.

Mr. Bee. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the committee, my name is C. B. Bee; I am the traffic advisor and special counsel for the corporation commission of the State of Oklahoma. My work is entirely that of adjusting and watching the interstate rate adjustment to and from the State of Oklahoma. I have been engaged in that work within the Southwest for some 33 years.

Mr. Parsons. Were you formerly with a railroad company?

Mr. Bee. I was with the Mexican Central Railroad Co. in the Republic of Mexico at the time I accepted the position with the corporation commission of this State at statehood. I was assistant general freight agent of that railroad in charge of United States business actually making the rates that applied to United States business.

Mr. Parsons. You have had the opportunity of study and experience here in this State ever since it has been admitted to the Union?

Mr. Bee. Except that I was loaned to the State of Arkansas for 6 months in 1907 and to the State of Missouri for 10 years from 1913 to 1923, so that I know the entire Southwest adjustment.

Mr. Parsons. This story of yours is a very long story. Members of Congress have heard different phases of it for a long time and have read lots about it, but the committee would like to have you present them a brief statement just of the facts concerning that and how it has affected migration and will continue to affect it if a change is not made.

Mr. Bee. Attached to the report which I made to the Governor and which I understand is embodied in his report to you gentlemen will be found some graphs and a picture which I borrowed from the State of Arkansas Planning Commission. We call it the Arkansas cow and without words that explains more quickly what has caused more migration from Oklahoma than anything else. It is the freight-rate adjustment. That illustration merely shows the cow eating in the Southwest and being milked in the East.

The Chairman. I am glad it is not being milked in California.

FREIGHT-RATE SCHEDULES

Mr. Bee. No; this was in the East because they have the freight-rate adjustment. The next chart shows the freight-rate adjustment as fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission following tradition and shows the relative adjustment that the Interstate Commerce Commission thinks should apply in the East, in the manufacturing or industrial area, as contrasted with the Southwest. It shows that it is 166 percent higher in this territory than in that territory. We follow that chart with another chart which shows a manufacturer located in East St Louis who ships to the East and a manufacturer located in Muskogee, Okla., attempting to ship to the South and shows how much higher the rates would be. If a manufacturer located a plant in Cincinnati, Ohio, who manufactures soap, and another man located at Tulsa, Okla., the Cincinnati man could ship to the southern border of Missouri cheaper than the Tulsa man could ship to the same point.

The Chairman. How much cheaper?

Mr. Bee. That would be the point where the two rates would meet, so through Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, the Ohio man would have the advantage.

The Chairman. Have those States always had that advantage?

Mr. Bee. I would say yes; because railroads in the Southwest only came in in the late seventies or eighties, therefore these rates were high and have continued on that relative ratio. Now we present another chart in there which comes from a study made by Dr. M. O. Lorenz, the chief statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in my opinion, and in the opinion of all traffic men, possibly the peer of all statistical studies. Dr. Lorenz, working for the Interstate Commerce Commission as head of their Bureau of Statistics, has put out a statement showing the cost of handling transportation in the two territories, and he says that the cost in the State of Ohio—that is, from East St. Louis, Ill., eastward—the cost is $2.98 per ton on the car-mile basis and in the Southwest, Oklahoma, if you please, the cost is $2.87 a ton, or 12 cents a ton in favor of Oklahoma, but regardless of that the Interstate Commerce Commission says that the rate in the East shall be $6.60 per ton and in the Southwest $10 a ton, or that we will pay $3.40 a ton more although the cost is 12 cents less. Now, when a period of depression comes, as has come to farm products by reason of export conditions, and the people of Oklahoma must depend on the soil, soil products, petroleum products, anything that comes from the ground and there is no market for those products, we have a condition where people want a territory where there is some manufacturing and the rate adjustment as fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission will not permit manufacturing in the Southwest. Now, you ask for the remedy. You, as Congress, direct the Interstate Commerce Commission to remove all regional barriers in freight rates, and you will find manufacturing industries flowing from the East into the Southwest and you will stop this migration from Oklahoma to a large extent. That is all I have to say.

Mr. Curtis. As an expert on this I want to get a little more detail. You mean that with the present set-up of the Interstate Commerce Commission, their precedents, and manner of arriving at rates, that if we passed a law which said that all zone barriers——

Mr. Bee. Yes; regional or zone barriers.

Mr. Curtis. Should be removed?

Mr. Bee. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Under their present set-up could it be worked out then?

Mr. Bee. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. You don't feel that we would have to abandon entirely the way they have been worked out and start from scratch and center on some broad basic principle of fairness on which to arrive at the rate?

Mr. Bee. No; I hope the time never comes when Congress fixes the basis on which freight rates are made, because it is a study that requires men who are trained in it. The Interstate Commerce Commission has heard some 28,300 of these cases, and they have called for studies from the railroads, but they haven't called for men from the railroads to remove all regional barriers and zone barriers although they are imaginary barriers at best. A small line having a freight rate 20 percent higher on one side of that line than the rate on the other side of that line, had to be abandoned because it couldn't pay for the axle grease used in the wheels to run over the line, but nevertheless it was the dividing line under regional boundaries.

Mr. Curtis. If they do not use a regional boundary or zone boundary, would they use mileage instead?

Mr. Bee. Yes; mileage and specific rates on different commodities as the flow of the commerce may demand.

Mr. Curtis. Have you ever given any thought to this proposition, the elimination of carload rates as fostering a monopoly in chain stores?

Mr. Bee. No; because you would have the trucks left with volume rates making a solid truckload, which is twelve or fifteen thousand pounds, and that is more favorable today to the chain stores than is the carload rate. The chain store is interested primarily in what is known as the mixed carload rate and not a straight carload rate; the straight carload rate hurts the chain stores.

Mr. Curtis. But you think we need the railroads and will for some time to come?

Mr. Bee. The time will never come when the United States can do without its railroads.

Mr. Curtis. And you think they have been good taxpayers?

Mr. Bee. That I don't know; I go into the freight rates and the effect they have on the different territories and as they affect our various people. I let the other departments handle the taxes; I don't even know what the relative taxes are.

The Chairman. That is all; thank you very much, Mr. Bee.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF O. D. DUNCAN, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE, OKLAHOMA AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE, STILLWATER, OKLA.

The Chairman. Dr. Duncan, you may state your name and in what capacity you appear.

Dr. Duncan. My name is O. D. Duncan, and I am associated with the Oklahoma A. & M. College, as professor of sociology and rural life.

The Chairman. Doctor, you have already furnished the committee with a very valuable report; and with 30 or 40 witnesses yet to be heard, we do not have much time. You have made a study of population and its trend as connected with the migration of your people, haven't you?

Dr. Duncan. That is right.

The Chairman. Now, are there any points or high spots you want to emphasize at this time?

MIGRATION AS PROBLEM OF ADJUSTMENT

Dr. Duncan. I would like to say that I think the general theory of this problem of migration in Oklahoma has been pretty well stated by the previous witnesses, especially the Governor. There are some things, as, for example, the historical background of our population, that contributes to the migratory problem. Our population has come, to a large extent, originally from the South and other areas that migrated in here in the eighties, the late eighties and nineties. Most of our people remember, or almost remember, when their ancestors came to Oklahoma. Migration is a problem of adjustment, a search for opportunity, to a large extent. I do not look at it as anything to be greatly alarmed about, or that it signifies anything as to the quality of the people, except that it takes place in all people at the threshold of their greatest productivity. Young people, young families, migrate, young men, unmarried men. To some extent, the problem is more intense in our urban than in our rural population; that point hasn't been looked into.

The CHAIRMAN. You are absolutely correct on that, Dr. Duncan; the newspapers and the movies always touch the migration problem from the farm; that is the romantic touch; but, as a matter of fact, our figures disclose that unemployment has caused migration from industrial centers as great, if not greater, than from the farms. You agree with that, do you?

Dr. DUNCAN. Yes; I agree with that and in Oklahoma, in such industrial centers as we have, we have had a heavy migration from them as well as from our farm population.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any recommendations to make on the migrant problem?

Dr. DUNCAN. Well, I would like to second the recommendations that have been made this morning. I think that those things are important. I don't know that they cover everything. Certainly as to the question of freight rates, I would like to put it a little more generally than Mr. Bee; I would say markets. Freight rates are important factors in markets, but we have got to have farm markets and the question of what to do with the land, to stabilize people on land or in the homes or on the farm or in town, is a question on which we need not only regulation but a great deal of investigation and study first.

The CHAIRMAN. You will agree with me, doctor, will you not, when I say that this interstate migration has many causes and will not be met by any single solution?

Dr. DUNCAN. No; nor any one cause that you can ever put your finger on.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right—you have unemployment, worn-out land, mechanization, and several other things?

Dr. DUNCAN. And all those resolve into unemployment again.

The CHAIRMAN. The very purpose of this committee is to go into every State, not only the States that we visit, but every State in the Union, and every Governor has been contacted and every mayor, so that we can get all the facts on which to make our report. Doctor, your report is embodied in the Governor's report, is it not?

Dr. DUNCAN. It is embodied in the report given you by the Governor.

(Witness excused.)

Governor PHILLIPS. Chairman Tolan, I think Mr. Roberts is here and he will go into detail somewhat on the agricultural phase of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, you see we have Mr. Roberts in his regular place; he is down as a regular witness. Have you any other brief witnesses here at this time?

Governor PHILLIPS. I think the regular order of your list will get most of these.

The CHAIRMAN. You see, we divide the work, Governor, and Mr. Roberts is sixth on our list; we have some victim witnesses here also.

Governor PHILLIPS. I want to add this one statement. The solution that I mentioned and that Mr. Bee mentioned are not the only ones covered, so that our report does make a composite of the work of several of these men.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Governor, may I ask you a question? I am sorry I was called out during part of your testimony. I was very much impressed with the statement you made as to land tenure. We had a statement from the stand yesterday afternoon in regard to the land policy of reclamation recently enacted over in Arkansas. I agree with you that we need to get some kind of land-tenure system so as to protect and preserve the soil and you brought out in your statement that it was needed in the great expanse of Indian lands we have in this State?

Governor PHILLIPS. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does the State of Oklahoma have any State law on the land tenure proposition?

SCHOOL LAND COMMISSION

Governor PHILLIPS. No; not in the sense that you speak of. We have encouraged and tried to help this program of getting the land back into the hands of the men who are farming it. The school land commission in the last session of the legislature enacted a program of selling all our foreclosed land back to the men who are going to live on the farm and farm the land. Of course, that involves, I can't tell you offhand how many thousand acreas of land, but it involves land that has been taken over in the course of the business of the school land commission from men who mortgaged it too heavily and the depression hit them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has that been satisfactory?

Governor PHILLIPS. Yes; it has been a very fine program and it has been well cared for in the response that we have had to tenants going onto this land and taking the program that we have; in other words, we are taking a man on it if he pays down 5 percent, then we make a very low rate of interest so that we can get all that land back into the hands of somebody that is going to live on it as a farm unit. We mention with approval this suggestion from Arkansas in our report and we think that it is necessary that we first make it available to them, to the fellows that will go out and work it to make a living on it and then, of course, we ought to take the load off his back so that he neither has too much taxes to pay nor too much freight to pay so that he will have an opportunity to develop and pay for that land and at the same time make a comfortable, satisfactory living for his family.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, I just want to call your attention to one or two paragraphs here, and say that we are all well aware of the serious problem of the various States brought about by the migrating population. "The problem has become acute in a number of our States, in particularly Oklahoma and California, and this attempt by the Federal Government to take a step in the right direction meets with our hearty approval." I am glad you put that statement in there because this committee is one in which you will find everybody with you. I might say that this is the first congressional committee that never issued a subpena; we are trying to get back to the idea that it is every State's problem, and I am glad that you as Governor of Oklahoma took that in your statement.

Governor PHILLIPS. I wish you would read the next paragraph.

The CHAIRMAN. "We Oklahomans who still believe this is a good place to live"—we agree with that, too, Governor.

Governor PHILLIPS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Governor.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF H. H. CHAMPLIN, BANKER AND OIL OPERATOR, ENID, OKLA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Champlin, for the purpose of the record give your name and address.

Mr. CHAMPLIN. H. H. Champlin, Enid, Okla.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is your business?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I have been in the banking business longer than any other one business.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are a banker at the present time?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir; and I am also in the oil business.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Champlin, you haven't furnished us a paper of any kind, suppose you just proceed to make your statement in your own way as you see fit.

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I was asked to appear before this committee and I had no knowledge of exactly what was wanted of me and I haven't prepared any statement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, rather than make a statement, would you rather that I led you along with some questions?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I think so.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, of course, you know the problem we are studying; we are trying to determine the causes of migration, and one thing that has been brought before us from time to time has been that a great many people have been forced off the land, some have said by the operation of the triple A, some have said by the depletion of the soil and drought, by those conditions and by mechanization of the farm, by the concentration of the farm lands, which, of course, goes hand in hand with mechanization and big farm groups instead of small farm groups. What are your ideas with reference to that?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I think that is substantially correct, the statement you have made.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You do list all of those as contributing factors to migration?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir; I would. I would add one more to it, though. During the period from 1920 to 1930 Oklahoma enjoyed great prosperity, farm products were all a pretty good price, and the oil industry was very prosperous and it attracted to this State many people; our population grew by bounds and then after the depression came on a great many of the people were thrown out of employment in the oil business and farm prices sagged and that caused a great many people to leave Oklahoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In other words, it is your idea that the loss in population during the last decade is merely a let-down from that tremendous up-surge in the previous decade?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Not altogether, but partly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you farm or are you connected with farming in any way?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you operate your own farm?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir; I lease some out and farm some myself.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is the extent of your farm holdings, Mr. Champlin?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I have in Garfield, Grant, and Alfalfa Counties 3,300 acres of plow land and about 1,700 acres of pasture land.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is that yours or your bank's?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. It is mine individually.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Owned by yourself?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes.

COMPARISON OF PRODUCTION OF LABOR TO PRODUCTION OF TRACTOR

Mr. SPARKMAN. What has been your experience in the operation of those farms; do you use tenants or day labor or how?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I use tenants on about 1,500 acres—no; I would say 1,200 acres; and I farm about 2,200 acres with my own equipment and my own farm labor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you use tractors on that?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What size farm can an owner with a tractor cultivate?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. That would depend on the size of the tractor; there are tractors that will farm 160 acres and other tractors that will farm 320 or 480 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Depending on the size of the tractor?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Certainly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What would be the relation between the labor required and one of those tractors?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Well, I could best explain that by this: 30 or 35 years ago I was in the banking business and a farmer would come into the bank; I would be interested in his affairs and I would ask him how many acres of wheat he was going to put in this fall; then he was farming with horses, and he would say, "I am going to get out 70 acres," or maybe 90 acres or maybe 100, and now ask the same farmer that question and he will say 320 or 480 acres or sometimes 600 acres; one farmer can farm 600 acres.

Mr. SPARKMAN. One farmer with a tractor, that would be wheat; is that the principal crop?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. He has to have extra labor somewhere in the production of that crop, doesn't he?

Mr. Champlin. Very little; at harvesttime he may employ one or two men, but an industrious farmer with a tractor can put out 600 acres of wheat in one fall very nicely.

Mr. Curtis. Do you plow before you plant, or do you disk in the stubble and then sow or as some of our western and Nebraska men do, sow in the stubble, because the stubble holds the soil betfer?

Mr. Champlin. I do both. This year my land was all plowed, some years I just disk it; I like to have the stubble generally left on the ground.

Mr. Curtis. Is that much of a windbreak for the soil?

Mr. Champlin. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. How does the plowing compare with the disking insofar as holding your soil if you get a dry, windy season?

OPERATION OF 5,000-ACRE FARM

Mr. Champlin. I don't think plowing will hold it as well as disking.

Mr. Curtis. Where are your land interests located?

Mr. Champlin. In Garfield County and Grant County.

Mr. Curtis. Where is that?

Mr. Champlin. Around Enid.

Mr. Curtis. How far west is that from Oklahoma City?

Mr. Champlin. It is about 30 miles west and about 60 miles north.

Mr. Curtis. Do you know where the one-hundredth meridian passes through Oklahoma?

Mr. Champlin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. It is west of that?

Mr. Champlin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And how many acres is it that you have?

Mr. Champlin. I own 5,000 acres of pasture land and farm land.

Mr. Curtis. How much pasture and how much is farm land?

Mr. Champlin. I would say about 1,700 acres of pasture land and about 3,300 acres of plow land.

Mr. Curtis. Do you sign up for the farm program?

Mr. Champlin. No.

Mr. Curtis. You do not?

Mr. Champlin. No.

Mr. Curtis. What do you do on your land?

Mr. Parsons. Pardon me, right there, you say you own approximately 5,000 acres?

Mr. Champlin. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Do any other members of your family own any land?

Mr. Champlin. No; my wife has some land in another State that she inherited.

Mr. Parsons. How much is that?

Mr. Champlin. Four hundred and eighty acres.

Mr. Parsons. What State is that?

Mr. Champlin. Kansas.

Mr. Parsons. No other members of your family own any land?

Mr. Champlin. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you operate this as an individual or as a corporation?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. As an individual.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you connected with any corporation that does any corporate farming?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there much of that in Oklahoma?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Not that I know of.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it looked on with favor so far as the farming practices are concerned and the conserving of the soil?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. You mean corporate farming?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I don't know of any corporate farming myself; I never heard of anything of that kind in my part of the State, nor in Oklahoma even.

Mr. PARSONS. I wonder if by corporate farming you mean what he contemplates. Do you mean in the sense that Oscar Johnson & Co., a corporation, farm it, or I wonder if you mean that his corporation owns a number of farms which they rent out?

Mr. CURTIS. Now, I mean that the corporation manages the farm, does the detail, and hires the labor, and that is what you said you do not know of.

Mr. CHAMPLIN. That is right; I understood your question correctly.

Mr. CURTIS. What soil-conservation measures, if any, do you try to practice, do you rotate, summer fallow, plant legumes, or put it in wheat every year?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Well, mostly in wheat. I sometimes raise wheat, clover, and peas on some of my land to change it a little.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you plow them under?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your average yield per acre for wheat?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Well, I think the average yield in Garfield County is something like 13 or 14 bushels, but mine, I am sure would be 18 or 19; last year it was 23 and the year before it was 33.

Mr. CURTIS. There are many other individuals in the wheat country of Oklahoma that have farms as large or larger than yourself?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Not many as large; there are a great many that have land holdings of from 320 to 1,000 or 1,200 acres.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I am 72.

Mr. CURTIS. You have fared very well. Do you expect eventually to convert these farms into smaller farms or do you expect to hold them as long as you use them about the way you have been doing?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. No; I have nine grandchildren and I expect to deed them to my grandchildren very shortly as a sort of base for them that they can always go home to if they wish.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there any irrigation practiced on your land?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it near any place that has possibilities for irrigation?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. From what stream?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. From wells.

Mr. CURTIS. How deep do you have to go for your wells?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. From 25 to 45 or 50 feet.

Mr. CURTIS. It may interest you to know that in my country they are going 300 feet for water, and it is paying by the most rigid bookkeeping you can apply.

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I have one neighbor who is irrigating his farm and has one well that will produce from 600 to 800 gallons of water per minute, and my land, or some of it, will produce just as much water, but I haven't gone into that because that is intensive farming, and I just don't want to hardly buckle down to that myself.

Mr. CURTIS. You think that is a coming trend, though?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. Well, it would be very profitable up there if you had the labor that understood irrigating and was willing to work hard; yes.

Mr. CURTIS. It is a lot of hard work and calls for a balance of livestock, does it not? If in a given area you have pasture land and cheaper land and nearby an irrigated place where you raise corn and other feeds in the bad years, it makes for a good balance in the community, does it not?

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I think so.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Champlin.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES W. PAYNE, FORMER FARMER, ENID, OKLA.

Mr. CURTIS. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. PAYNE. Charles W. Payne.

Mr. CURTIS. Where do you live, Mr. Payne?

Mr. PAYNE. Enid, route 1.

Mr. CURTIS. How old are you?

Mr. PAYNE. Fifty-six.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mr. PAYNE. Caldwell, Kans.

Mr. CURTIS. What part of Kansas is that?

Mr. PAYNE. The southern part, Sumner County.

Mr. CURTIS. Southwestern part or south central?

Mr. PAYNE. South central.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have a family?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How much of a family?

Mr. PAYNE. A wife and seven children.

Mr. CURTIS. How long have you been in Oklahoma?

Mr. PAYNE. We moved down on the place northwest of Enid the 14th of December 1893.

Mr. CURTIS. What day did it open up?

Mr. PAYNE. Saturday the 16th of September.

Mr. CURTIS. You got in 2 days ahead?

Mr. PAYNE. I said the 14th of December.

Mr. CURTIS. Oh, I see; that was what was called the Cherokee Run?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did your father and some other people come down at the same time?

Mr. PAYNE. He homesteaded there northwest of Enid.

Mr. CURTIS. In 1893 you were about how old?

Mr. PAYNE. About 9 years old.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you start farming for yourself?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, dad and I farmed together mostly until 1933.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever own any land around Enid?

Mr. PAYNE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You say you never did own any land?

Mr. PAYNE. No; I never did own any.

Mr. CURTIS. Did your father own any?

Mr. PAYNE. He owned half a section at one time.

Mr. CURTIS. Did he dispose of that?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. When and to whom?

Mr. PAYNE. He sold it, I believe, in 1933, to Mr. Champlin.

Mr. CURTIS. Were there any other people in your territory who had a like experience?

Mr. PAYNE. There was a good many; yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where have you spent your time since 1933?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, I spent 1 year in Arkansas.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do there?

Mr. PAYNE. We farmed; dad got 80 acres in Arkansas.

Mr. CURTIS. Then where did you go?

Mr. PAYNE. We came back to Enid.

Mr. CURTIS. And you have been there ever since?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Had you ever considered going elsewhere?

Mr. PAYNE. No.

Mr. CURTIS. You are renting there now?

Mr. PAYNE. No; I am not exactly renting—well, I am too—I am renting a little land, a pasture, and working on the W. P. A. and working for Mr. Champlin, some, filling silos.

Mr. CURTIS. How is your income working around a little, and on W. P. A., as compared to your income as a tenant farmer?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, it isn't near as good as if I had a farm.

Mr. CURTIS. I mean during these years when you have been doing this?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, it isn't as good as a tenant farmer.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, are most of the tenant farmers in your territory getting along pretty good?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, they are making a fair living.

Mr. CURTIS. What are farm wages in that territory?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, at this time I suppose $1 or $1.50 a day, possibly $2 at times.

Mr. CURTIS. Does anything go along with that, any place to live?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, a single man generally gets his board.

Mr. CURTIS. And in your case, or do you live in town?

Mr. Payne. No; I live on the farm.

Mr. Curtis. What do you have, if anything, included in your pay? Do you get anything, any buildings to live in?

Mr. Payne. Well, I just live in my wife's mother's place at the present time; it hasn't been probated and sold yet, and we rent from the heirs; there are two or three of them.

Mr. Curtis. You do not live in some buildings on the farms where you are employed?

Mr. Payne. I have; I have lived on Mr. Champlin's place when I was working for him at times.

Mr. Curtis. What I am getting at, do you pay rent there?

Mr. Payne. No, sir; he never charged me anything.

Mr. Curtis. What are your plans for the future?

Mr. Payne. Well, we want, when that place is sold, to buy possibly 80 acres of land.

Mr. Curtis. The one that you are on?

Mr Payne. The one that we are on is my wife's estate.

Mr. Curtis. Is there any land available for you to rent at this time and start farming?

Mr. Payne. No.

Mr. Curtis. Do you still have equipment?

Mr. Payne. Not much; no.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any horses?

Mr. Payne. No.

Mr. Curtis. Any machinery?

Mr. Payne. Very little; not much.

Mr. Curtis. The type of farming you will do when you get on the place you are going to buy from your wife's family's estate, what will you be raising then?

Mr. Payne. Just feed crops and some wheat.

Mr. Curtis. How many horses will you need then, or are you going to use a tractor?

Mr. Payne. I will use four horses or some small tractor.

Mr. Curtis. What do you have in mind now?

Mr. Payne. A small tractor.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think that will be the most economical in the long run?

Mr. Payne. Well, I don't know, to be honest about the matter. I don't hardly believe it is quite as cheap, the only thing is you can get it done so much quicker.

Mr. Curtis. In the days you were farming did you keep some milch cows?

Mr. Payne. We always did.

Mr. Curtis. How many?

Mr. Payne. Oh, we milked from 10 to 14.

Mr. Curtis. Did you sell the cream and make butter and sell that?

Mr. Payne. We sold cream and butter both.

Mr. Curtis. What would be your annual income from cream and butter?

Mr. Payne. We never kept books on that; I don't know.

Mr. Curtis. How many times did you take it to town a week?

Mr. PAYNE. Twice a week.

Mr. CURTIS. What did your checks average, about $2 a week?

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, better than that, $8 or $10.

Mr. CURTIS. How many chickens did you keep?

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, from one to two or three hundred.

Mr. CURTIS. Were they a pretty good laying flock?

Mr. PAYNE. Fair.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell lots of eggs?

Mr. PAYNE. We always did up to the last few years.

Mr. CURTIS. But all the time you were farming with your father you always had some income from chickens?

Mr. PAYNE. We always had a living.

Mr. CURTIS. You were able to provide a living for your family from the garden and cows and chickens but you had to have the cash crops for your taxes and interest?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What was the price of land where you were located back in about 1928?

Mr. PAYNE. The farm we had was a rather poor farm, it was a timber farm, black jack timber, and a little sandy.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you suppose it would have sold for in 1928?

Mr. PAYNE. I imagine that at that time the half section would have brought $12,000.

Mr. CURTIS. About $35 an acre?

Mr. PAYNE. I never figured it up.

Mr. CURTIS. What is it worth now?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, Mr. Champlin has put a lot of improvements on there since he got it.

Mr. CURTIS. Making allowance for the improvements, assuming the improvements were the same, what would be the price of the land now as compared to then?

Mr. PAYNE. It isn't as high.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it half as high?

Mr. PAYNE. Oh; it is more than that.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, land that was worth $40 an acre in the twenties is worth how much now?

Mr. PAYNE. I imagine $25 or $30 now if it was worth $40.

Mr. CURTIS. You think it is worth that much?

Mr. PAYNE. It may not, but somewhere around there, I think.

Mr. CURTIS. If you had the money, would you give $25 an acre for that land?

Mr. PAYNE. I could make a living on it.

Mr. CURTIS. But do you think it justifies that much of an investment?

Mr. PAYNE. It may not do it. I have been out of farming for several years, the general run of farming.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is this 80 acres you are going to buy?

Mr. PAYNE. We haven't got it picked out yet.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, approximately?

Mr. PAYNE. In that neighborhood.

Mr. Curtis. Do you know how much you are going to offer an acre for that?

Mr. Payne. No; not at the present. We were both raised there, and we want to stay in that neighborhood if we can.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think that over a period of years the price of land has been too high?

Mr. Payne. I think so.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think that it would be a good thing for farmers generally if the price of land was cheap?

Mr. Payne. It would be a good thing for the tenant farmer. I don't know about the landowners.

Mr. Curtis. It would be a good thing for the young fellow who wants to get a start?

Mr. Payne. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. But it is hard for the farmer who has an investment and a mortgage and wants to hold his equity, isn't it?

Mr. Payne. Yes.

(Witness excused temporarily.)

TESTIMONY OF H. H. CHAMPLIN—Recalled

The Chairman. Mr. Champlin, how many farms do you say you personally own?

Mr. Champlin. I said farm land, 3,300 acres; that would be about 20 quarter sections of land.

The Chairman. How did you acquire that?

Mr. Champlin. I purchased that.

The Chairman. You made individual deals; did you get any by foreclosure?

Mr. Champlin. No; none by foreclosure. Agents would come to me and offer me a piece of land and I would buy it sometimes, not always.

The Chairman. Do you control any farms through banks?

Mr. Champlin. No.

The Chairman. These are just individual ownership?

Mr. Champlin. Yes.

The Chairman. About how many farms have you, individual farms?

Mr. Champlin. We figure a farm about 160 acres, and that would be about 20 farms that were in cultivation, or about 3,200 or 3,300 acres.

The Chairman. And you run that number of acres yourself?

Mr. Champlin. No; I rent out probably 1,200 acres of that, and farm something over 2,000 acres myself.

The Chairman. And in the 2,000 acres that you farm were they occupied by tenants before, that 2,000 acres?

Mr. Champlin. Yes.

The Chairman. What became of the tenants?

Mr. Champlin. Well, some of them got farms in other localities, and I just don't know what happened to all of them.

The Chairman. Some of them took to the road, too, I suppose?

Mr. Champlin. No; I don't think so, I don't recall any that took to the road. I bought one farm from this gentleman's father, and it came to me through an agent. It was offered to me, and I thought it was a fair price, and I bought it; it was pretty heavily encumbered, and his father wished to move to Arkansas and buy land there, which he did, but after a year or so Mr. Payne and his father came back to Garfield County. I assume they didn't find conditions in Arkansas as favorable as they thought they were going to be.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; that is all.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES W. PAYNE—Recalled

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Payne, what one point in your experience was it when you were sustaining your family with your cows and chickens and your garden—what was it that eliminated you from the farm?

Mr. PAYNE. Well, I had had quite a lot of sickness in the family—my mother's family—and we kept getting further behind; we didn't owe Mr. Champlin anything; he owned the farm across the road, a timber place.

Mr. CURTIS. You had a mortgage on your place?

Mr. PAYNE. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Who held that mortgage?

Mr. PAYNE. I don't know; some loan company; and Mr. Champlin bought it.

Mr. CURTIS. Did your father lose it through forced sale, or did you voluntarily sell it to Mr. Champlin?

Mr. PAYNE. He voluntarily sold it; he put it on the market.

Mr. CURTIS. Did he sell it at that time to go to Arkansas?

Mr. PAYNE. No; we talked about going down there.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did he get for his equity?

Mr. PAYNE. I think he got $2,000.

Mr. CURTIS. What did he pay for that 80 acres down in Arkansas?

Mr. PAYNE. We paid $2,000 for that.

Mr. CURTIS. Is he still living there?

Mr. PAYNE. No; he is dead; my sister owns it.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

(Witnessed excused.)

Mr. CHAMPLIN. I might, if you please, make one statement that might add a little light to this committee. Thirty years ago probably one-half of all the land that was under cultivation was devoted to the production of feed for work animals, and with the advent of the automobile and the farm tractor and other farm machinery the number of farm animals decreased until now there are very few on the farms and very few used for farm work, and that land is all used now for the production of food for the human family which in turn has made an overabundance of food for the human family and lower prices and that condition can be attributed to the advent of the automobile and the tractor and the production of crude oil. A great many economists have never thought of that, but I presume this committee has.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Champlin, you are in the refining business, are you?

Mr. Champlin. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. What do you think of alcohol and gasoline?

Mr. Champlin. There isn't much to it; it can't be produced as cheaply as gasoline out of crude oil, not nearly.

Mr. Curtis. Does it have any possibility?

Mr. Champion. Not until the price of gasoline approaches 25 or 30 cents a gallon, then alcohol could come in.

Mr. Curtis. If all your competitors in all the States had to meet the same requirements in regard to alcohol and gasoline, would that alcohol take enough farm products off the market to put the price higher on the remaining agricultural products and thus put more money in the pockets of the potential consumers?

Mr. Champlin. You mean if the refiners were required to use a certain amount of alcohol?

Mr. Curtis. Or alcohol made from agricultural products?

Mr. Champlin. I don't know that it would, but it would be very unsound economically; it wouldn't be the thing to do.

Mr. Curtis. You are familiar with that program?

Mr. Champlin. Yes; we worked with it. I think the Government had something to do with an alcohol plant at Atchison, Kans.

Mr. Curtis. Were you up there?

Mr. Champlin. I never was there, but my men were up there and tried to work out something on that line, and we did blend alcohol with gasoline, not for ourselves, but for them, and it wasn't very successful.

Mr. Curtis. I have the hearsay report that some of the oil refineries have no objection to such a program; do you know about that or is your opinion the same as that of most refiners?

Mr. Champlin. Well, it isn't economically sound; it wouldn't be right, I don't think, to dilute gasoline with alcohol because the alcohol would cost more and it would make the gasoline cost more.

Mr. Curtis. That is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. Champlin, and thank you, Mr. Payne.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MILTON B. WILLIAMS, MANAGER OF SOUTHWESTERN LOAN DEPARTMENT, AETNA LIFE INSURANCE CO., OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Mr. Parsons. State your name and address and tell us who you represent?

Mr. Williams. Milton B. Williams, manager of the southwestern farm loan department of the Aetna Life Insurance Co., with offices at Oklahoma City.

Mr. Parsons. That is a regional or district office of the Aetna Life Insurance Co.?

Mr. Williams. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Your prepared statement, which we have already read, will be placed in our record here. Then we will want to ask you a few questions.

STATEMENT OF MILTON B. WILLIAMS, MANAGER, SOUTHWESTERN FARM LOAN DEPARTMENT OF AETNA LIFE INSURANCE CO., HARTFORD, CONN.

The Aetna Life Insurance Co. made its first loans in Oklahoma in 1909, shortly after Oklahoma had become a State and its affairs had been sufficiently stabilized to justify such investment.

As might be expected in a State as new as Oklahoma, there was demand for cheap money with which to develop and improve the land, buy equipment and livestock, and otherwise meet the needs of agriculture in a growing commonwealth. These requirements called for long term loans such as life insurance companies were best able to supply and, because rates of interest were slightly higher here than in older and more developed sections, the field was inviting.

The volume of these loans was at first on a very limited scale but increased rapidly as progress was made in the agricultural development of the State.

In the western part of the State where the land had first been opened to settlement, time had fully demonstrated the suitability of these lands for farming purposes and, with the coming of Statehood in 1907, seemed to justify their owners in borrowing money for better buildings and better equipment.

In the eastern part of the State where there was a large percentage of Indian ownership, there was a similar demand for money which arose from different circumstances. The land in this area originally belonged to the individual Indian or to the Indian tribe and its purchase by others had been restricted. By the time Oklahoma had achieved Statehood, many of these restrictions had been removed and it had become possible for the individual Indian to sell or encumber his holdings. At the same time, the Government was putting up for sale at private treaty the surplus communal lands of the tribe. All of these developments required capital for their fulfillment.

An added stimulus to financial investment came from the agricultural expansion occasioned by the World War so that, by the end of 1925, the volume of farm loans made by the Aetna in Oklahoma had exceeded $10,000,000. During this period agriculture was on a fairly prosperous basis, land was new and produced large yields and no difficulty of consequence was encountered with these loans.

This fortunate condition was not to continue, however. Cotton was the principal crop for the southeastern part of the State and, during the years 1917–19, unprecedented yields and prices had brought sudden and unnatural prosperity to this region. Land values consequently were inflated and transactions and future commitments were made upon this abnormal basis. Therefore, the sudden appearance of the boll weevil throughout this section, in 1921 and 1922, and the consequent failure of the cotton crop which it caused brought general financial disaster. Not only the farmers suffered but many banks and well-established mercantile concerns were forced to close their doors.

By 1925 the national agricultural situation had taken an adverse turn which continued for the next 10 years. The farmer who depended upon livestock for his major income was the next casualty. The index figure for Oklahoma farm prices of livestock and livestock products which stood at 201 in 1919 dropped through successive stages to 120 in 1921, 112 in 1922, and remained at 115 during 1923 and 1924. This downward swing was followed by a gradual upturn to 1930 but by that time disaster had already overtaken many who previously had been considered among the most substantial Aetna borrowers.

Similar fluctuations took place in wheat prices but the grain farmer was the last of the farmer group to feel the effects of the agricultural depression. Consequently the farms acquired throughout the wheat growing areas are the most recent acquisitions.

Consideration of the number of pending foreclosures from year to year, during the period from 1932 to 1940, will give a fairly accurate picture of the situation as it developed and as it gradually cleared itself up:

In April of 1932—157 cases were pending.
In September of 1933—316 cases were pending.
In April of 1934—374 cases were pending.

This last figure was the maximum number of cases pending at any one time during the entire period. From 1934 on, the number of foreclosures gradually decreased until—

In September of 1935, there were 352.
In September of 1936, there were 278.

In September of 1937, there were 231.
In September of 1938, there were 159.
In September of 1939, there were 70.
In September of 1940, there were 37.

At this point, let it be said that it was the policy of the Aetna to extend every reasonable consideration to these borrowers before instigating foreclosure. A tabulation of loans delinquent but not in foreclosure as of March, 1936 showed 450 delinquent cases. Of these—

384 had been delinquent for 2 years or longer.
196 had been delinquent for 3 years or longer.
73 had been delinquent for 4 years or longer.
17 had been delinquent for 5 years or longer.

Wherever there appeared to be chance for recovery and where the borrower still had the determination to go ahead, the opportunity was given him, insofar as was compatible with the sacred obligation devolving upon an insurance company to protect the interests of its many policyholders whose funds were invested in these loans. As proof of the consideration thus extended it may be noted that, in those cases eventually foreclosed, the accumulation of interest, taxes, foreclosure costs, and actual attorney fees increased the amount of the original debt by more than 30 percent by the time of acquisition.

The peak of the Aetna's farm acquisitions was reached in 1934, at the end of which year the company owned 733 farms within the State. From that point on the number of farms owned gradually decreased, being—

694 at the end of the year 1935.
663 at the end of the year 1936.
607 at the end of the year 1937.
569 at the end of the year 1938.
506 at the end of the year 1939.
386 as of September 1, 1940.

This decrease in farms owned does not show as much progress in disposing of farms as was actually the case, because during this period farms acquired through foreclosure were constantly being added.

The Aetna Life Insurance Co. chose to deal with the management of this sizable farm problem through its own direct organization, with field offices and field men located at points in the State where its concentration of farms was greatest. Each field man was assigned a certain group of farms which he was required to visit at frequent intervals during the year. These field men were trained in agriculture, both through experience and education, most of them being graduates of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

It has been the company's concern that every farm receive adequate supervision; that a cropping plan for each year which was best suited to the particular farm and in full accord with Government regulations be worked out between field men and tenant; that improvements be checked for repairs and replacements; that steps be taken to counteract and prevent erosion through terracing, strip cropping, and contour farming; and that particular emphasis be placed upon the care of pastures, livestock grazing being limited at all times to a number which would insure continuous improvement of the grass.

The Aetna considered that the management of its farms carried with it two main responsibilities:

First, to conserve all inherent value and secure all reasonable income;

Second, where justified by land and community, to make necessary improvements to both land and buildings in order that the value of the farm might be enhanced and the current income increased so that it might be passed on to future generations as a better home and a more productive farm.

Expenditures on the company's Oklahoma farms for the past 6 years, from 1934 to 1939, inclusive, for which figures are readily available, show that—

$ 37,900 was expended for crop expense, seed, fertilizer, etc.
320,000 was expended for improvements.
71,000 was expended for terracing.
228,000 was expended for taxes.
315,000 was expended for supervision.

$971,000 total.

$745,000 in agricultural rents were received from these same farms during the corresponding period.

These figures do not take into account proportionate expenditures and income for several years previous to 1934 for which the figures are difficult to assemble.

Picture, if you will, the circumstances and conditions under which most of these farms came to the Aetna. In nearly every case, insufficient income from the farm had been the reason for foreclosure. The owner had been unable to meet taxes or interest, to say nothing of paying for improvements and repairs. If the farm had been rented out by the owner before foreclosure, these conditions were only aggravated. Thus, when a farm was finally acquired by the company, both land and buildings were usualy at their worst.

Naturaly the initial selection of tenants under these conditions was difficult. A run-down tenant was usually found on a run-down farm and a poor tenant was found difficult to rejuvenate even when farming and living conditions were made better for him. Therefore, it was not surprising that many changes in tenants were made in the first year or two of company ownership. But when a desirable tenant was once found, his term of tenure was usually of his own making. This statement is borne out by the following figures:

Thirty percent of the Aetna tenants on Oklahoma farms have been on the same farm between 3 and 5 years.

Twenty-five percent have been on the same farm for 5 years or more, some for as long as 11 years.

Some of the qualifications sought in selecting tenants are honesty, industry, intelligence, a cooperative family, sufficient cash or credit to carry over between crops, a desire to own a farm, and respect for the property of others.

It was for this type of tenant, or, in the hope of attracting him, that the Aetna planned a rehabilitation program and was willing, where the farm itself and the community justified, to make improvements. Today, its farms as a whole rank among the best improved in the State.

While Oklahoma is the only State in the Union which has a law imposing a monetary penalty upon corporations which hold lands acquired through foreclosure for more than 7 years, it can be readily understood why, in spite of this law, insurance companies would have no desire to stay in the farm business any longer than necessary to dispose of their lands in a logical and orderly manner. In the first place, farming is not an insurance company's business and, in the second place, the income from the investment makes it unprofitable. For the years 1934 to 1939, the Aetna's farms in this State have returned an average gross rental of only 3.9 percent on the investment. This return, when charged with cost of supervision, taxes, crop expense, repairs, and improvements, dwindles into an operating loss of 1.1 percent. Consequently, it was the desire of the Ætna to dispose of its farm holdings as rapidly as buyers could be found.

To facilitate this final task, three things were done—the farm was first carefully appraised by a competent appraiser and a price established—next, a definite and somewhat unique sales plan was devised—and finally, a corps of experienced, full-time salaried salesmen were put into the field to find buyers.

The appraisal system was neither haphazard nor arbitrary but based upon the capitalization of the average net rental returns from the farm, with adjustments for buildings, location, roads, markets, community, schools, churches—or the lack of them.

The sales plan was based upon a fixed price for the property from which the salesmen had no authority to deviate; an initial down payment of not less than 20 percent of that price; a contract or mortgage which amortized itself in a fixed term of years—between 10 and 29 to suit the need of the purchaser; interest at 5½ percent per annum; and finally, included in the 5½ percent interest charge was the cost of an insurance policy covering the life of the purchaser for an amount equal to the unpaid balance of the debt and which, in the event of his death, would cancel the remainder of the debt and would make his heirs the owners of the farm without additional payment.

Prior to 1935, the farm market was at a standstill and few, if any, farm buyers were to be found. However, beginning with 1935, interest in farm ownership revived and it was then that the company's sales organization was set to work.

How well this plan has succeeded can best be judged by the following results. From June of 1935 to September 10, 1940, 819 separate tracts of Oklahoma lands have been sold. Forty-one percent of these buyers were tenant farmers and 9 percent of this 41 percent were living on Aetna farms; 1 percent were former owners of the farm purchased; 23 percent were other farmers buying to enlarge their holdings, while the remaining 35 percent consisted of various classifications.

No small proportion of this last group was oil-field workers and others regularly employed who bought with the intention of paying all or the major portion of the purchase price out their wages, planning eventually to make the farm their home.

All sales have stood up remarkably well. It has been necessary to take back only 28 of the entire number, or but 3.4 percent.

Thus far, death of the insured purchaser has occurred in six cases and, in each one, a deed has promptly been delivered to the surviving widow, conveying the farm to her with all the remaining debt owing the company entirely canceled. In some cases not more than one annual installment had been paid.

Naturally the question arises in a hearing of this kind as to whether or not the Aetna policy in regard to farm loans and farms has had any bearing on the migration of Oklahomans to other States. Our opinion is that it has not, but that the same causes which have been responsible for the failure of our loans have, to a great extent, been responsible for these migrations.

Depression in the price of farm products, erosion and loss of fertility in the soil, and drought are the three basic factors present in most of these cases. Few other causes were present in those failures which took place on the west side of the State but others were present on the east side. The illogical division of the Indian lands into tracts too small to support the average family was responsible in no small way for the failure of the family to stay on the farm, especially as the requirements of the family became greater from year to year and as the farm produced less and less. High taxes, too, can be held partially responsible for the trouble on the east side. The high rate of taxation there was caused chiefly by the large amount of Indian land which, under the law, was not taxable thus theoretically doubling the tax on other property. In a study of a group of typical eastern Oklahoma farms, taxes were found to have claimed 49 percent of the gross rental returns from those farms over a 5-year period. A similar study of a like number of farms on the west side of the State, however, developed that only 13 percent of the gross rental income was claimed by taxes. In most cases of delinquent loans, however, every penny that was produced by the owner or tenant was necessary for the bare existence of himself and family, leaving nothing with which to pay either interest or taxes—and certainly nothing out of which to keep his home in a habitable condition. Some abandonment was the result of this last factor alone and it was not unusual to see the buildings literally fall in upon their occupants.

Again it may be asked whether the manner of selling and handling Aetna farms tended to displace farmers. In western Oklahoma, we would say that it has, to some extent, since quite a number of the company's farms there were not kept improved as a home unit and, when sold, quite often passed into the hands of some adjoining owner who combined it with other land to make a more satisfactory and economical unit for mechanized farming. Some farmers were displaced in this process and many of these found their way to eastern Oklahoma, especially in the northeastern part where they purchased lands of their own.

In eastern Oklahoma, especially throughout the central and southeastern part, where the farms were already too small to support a family and where erosion had still further reduced the income, it was found impracticable to try to maintain all of these as separate units and, consequently, some were allowed to return to grass to be used for pasture or were sold to some adjoining owner.

On the whole, however, the farms owned by this company have been divided into a greater number of tracts than when acquired and these units have been sold separately. Certainly our improvement policy has made many a farm habitable which otherwise would not have been so under private ownership.

Thus the Aetna Life Insurance Co. feels it can take just pride in accounting for its stewardship of the lands which have come into its possession. In unsought and unwilling ownership which has held no profit, it has endeavored to safeguard the funds entrusted to its care by its policyholders and, at the same time, do what it could to rehabilitate and preserve the potentialities inherent in the soil for those who might own it in the future.

Today we look forward to that time when we shall not own a single acre of land in the State.

TESTIMONY OF MILTON B. WILLIAMS—Resumed

OPERATION OF AETNA LIFE INSURANCE CO. IN OKLAHOMA

Mr. PARSONS. Mr. Williams, you have been asked to testify not because we want to probe into the affairs of the Aetna Life Insurance Co., but because we wanted to hear from one of their representatives that is handling the agricultural problems in this region. Over at Lincoln we had representatives of the Union Central Life of Cincinnati; we had their executive vice president and the farm manager and they gave a very fine statement to the committee. Now, the Aetna Life Insurance Co. has been in the past, and probably still is, one of the largest lending agencies on agricultural lands. Will you give us a brief review of the two periods in the company's operation, that period in which the loans were made and the period in which the foreclosures were made, and your idea as to why these farms had to be defaulted on and taken over?

1. PERIOD OF LOANS, 1909–1926

Mr. WILLIAMS. The first loans made by the company, in Oklahoma, were in the year 1909, shortly after Oklahoma became a State and shortly after its affairs became settled enough to justify both the lending and the borrowing. The lending in that period, of course, was on a very small scale. It gradually increased and as the lands became more settled and agriculture better established the volume and demand was much greater. The opening of the Indian lands in eastern Oklahoma was an incentive for people to borrow money with which to buy those lands and with which to improve them. Some of the Indians themselves as owners borrowed for the purpose of improving their own lands, others borrowed for the purpose of purchasing Indian lands or surplus lands that were offered for sale. That caused quite an increase in the demand and a large number of loans were made in the Indian Territory section of the State as a result of that. Further stimulus, probably the greatest of any, was brought on by the conditions following and during the war. The high prices of farm products made the demand for capital with which to develop lands and with which to improve them increase very rapidly at that time.

Mr. PARSONS. Did your company make a lot of loans during that period of 1915, 1916, and 1917?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir; especially from 1917 on.

Mr. PARSONS. Up until in the twenties?

Mr. WILLIAMS. 1925 was about the peak. At that time we discontinued lending because of the trouble which was developing. The trouble probably first appeared in 1921 or 1922, following the high prices of cotton during the years 1916, 1917, and 1918, which were followed by almost entire failures of that crop in 1921 and 1922; that brought on difficulties. Up to that time there had been practically none, but those delinquencies that began then did not develop into foreclosures until perhaps 2 or 3 years following that. The period of delinquency was always prior by 2 or 3 years, and in some cases 5 and 6 years, before a foreclosure was instigated.

Mr. PARSONS. But since 1925 you have been, necessarily, having to close them out and take over the farms?

2. PERIOD OF FORECLOSURES

Mr. WILLIAMS. We have made no further loans in the State following 1926. We discontinued until in the last year or two when we have made a few loans, but in that time we have taken over a great number of farms by foreclosure.

Mr. PARSONS. How many farms and of what acreage total in this entire region in which you are concerned, approximately?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I can't give you the acreage for the entire region; I didn't bring those figures or compile them on that basis. I did check the State of Oklahoma, however. We acquired in the period from 1925 on down to date 1,138 different tracts of land.

Mr. PARSONS. In the State of Oklahoma?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the State of Oklahoma. That consists of 193,100 acres, approximately.

Mr. PARSONS. How much money did you have invested in it, approximately?

Mr. WILLIAMS. $3,842,000 in those particular farms we took over.

Mr. PARSONS. About an average of $6,000 per farm?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; that would be a little over $3,000 per farm, and we have since that time sold eight hundred-and-some-odd tracts, and we have slightly under 400 tracts left; I can give you the exact figures from this list here, but we have made very noticeable progress in our sales of land.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the reason that you give for the people having to give up these farms and start migrating? Has it been entirely and alone because of the drought conditions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; not entirely. Of course, that has been a very major factor in it, but there are several causes. The price of agricultural products for one thing, the lack of demand, the decrease in yields due to erosion are very important factors in a large part of the State.

Mr. PARSONS. We have lost from 10 to 25 percent, and maybe in some instances 50 percent, of the topsoil of our land by wind erosion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not so much by wind erosion as by water erosion, perhaps.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, the water erosion would be in the eastern part of the State?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; the greatest loss from water erosion is in the eastern part of the State. The rain comes in short periods and very heavy at times, and the soil erodes very rapidly. Wind erosion from our standpoint hasn't been as important by far as water erosion.

Mr. **Parsons**. But the drought, even in those areas where you have those hard, peppery rains, you wouldn't have it distributed sufficiently to give you yields in that area, and that would be one of the major causes of migration?

Mr. **Williams**. Yes.

RESALE AND LEASING OF FORECLOSED LAND

Mr. **Parsons**. In selling these farms are you able to sell these back to the original owners or someone else in about the same size tracts in which you acquired them?

Mr. **Williams**. We have sold very few of them back to the original owners. That is, selling the same farm back to the same owner. We have sold 41 percent of our farms to tenant farmers; 9 percent of that 41 percent were sold to our own tenants.

Mr. **Parsons**. If you have got the right kind of a man there you want to keep him; what kind of a tenure do you give him, year by year?

Mr. **Williams**. Year by year, so far as the actual leasing is concerned, although our records will show we do extend that tenure for several years in case of a satisfactory tenant.

Mr. **Parsons**. Of course, you don't want to own the land, your company prefers to get rid of it and you prefer to get rid of it to good substantial operators who will till the soil and make the payments?

Mr. **Williams**. That is right.

Mr. **Parsons**. And wanting to sell them, it is almost impossible for your company to go in and give a long tenure because you might have an opportunity to sell it the next year or the next and naturally, from the standpoint from which you operate, you can't give long leases?

Mr. **Williams**. That is right.

Mr. **Parsons**. What suggestions do you wish to make; your paper that you have submitted is a very good one; now, what recommendations would you make to the committee to guide us in formulating reclamation on this property?

REVISION OF A. A. A. PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

Mr. **Williams**. From a national standpoint I don't know of anything with respect to actually restricting the migration of the people from the State. I do think, however, that something can be done to help hold those people in the State, to prevent them from moving. I think one cause that perhaps hasn't been mentioned and which has a national aspect is the effect of the A. A. A. program on the small farmer. In other words, through that program you are cutting down the acreage permitted to be farmed in cotton which is the principal crop and that is throwing a certain number of people out of employment on these farms.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you believe in rotation of crops?

Mr. **Williams**. Yes; so far as can be practiced in this area; we follow it so far as the Government plan is concerned 100 percent.

Mr. **Parsons**. You follow our program?

Mr. **Williams**. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you split these benefits with the tenant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; he gets his proportionate part as the rent is divided; if it is three-fourths he gets three-fourths; if it is two-thirds he gets two-thirds. The A. A. A. penalizes us very much in this program for the reason that there is a limit of $10,000 placed on the amount we can receive in soil conservation payments over the entire country. Before that was placed we received, I expect, $200,000 from the whole United States from that source. Now, we get $10,000, but we do follow the program in the face of the loss of the payments.

Mr. PARSONS. It wasn't so much the insurance company that brought about that action by Congress as it was that the word kept reaching Congress all over that there were certain farming operations that were going out hogging up the land, taking the land away and driving the tenants out to get the payments. That is why Congress put the limitation on it and not to penalize the insurance companies. I am sympathetic with you very much since through no fault of your own or of the farmers you have come into the possession of vast amounts of land.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. In other words, we need a rewording of that act so that the premium is on the family side of the farm whether he rents it or works it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That would take care of that situation very nicely.

REASONS FOR COMPANY'S RECESS ON NEW LOANS, 1926–39

Mr. CURTIS. How many new loans did you make in 1935?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None.

Mr. CURTIS. In 1936?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None.

Mr. CURTIS. In 1937?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None in 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. In 1938?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None in 1938. We have just gone back in 1939 to make a few, and in 1940 we made a few.

Mr. CURTIS. Why didn't you make any during that period of time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. There were a number of reasons. One was the fact that we had a lot of land to be disposed of and we wanted to accomplish that, or at least see the end approaching, before we made any more investments; and another was the unsatisfactory state of agriculture in general. We hesitated to come back into this area for that reason.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the existence of any laws, State or National, shut off a possible source of private farm credit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In this State, yes; there has been a great deal of agitation adverse to life-insurance companies, especially with respect to permitting the holding of land they have come into by reason of foreclosures which has manifested itself in proposed regulation, graduated land taxes, and other measures which tend to scare capital away, especially that of insurance companies. They are frankly afraid of the regulations which have been proposed.

Mr. **Curtis**. What percent of the cultivated farm areas of Oklahoma is owned by insurance companies?

Mr. **Williams**. Oh, a very, very minor part, I would say. I had the figures at one time of the major companies lending in this State. I don't believe that at any time they have owned over six or seven thousand farms, and I am sure it is now much less than that.

Mr. **Curtis**. Now, on that, do you have any insurance-company case that because of its error in policy, that is, their loaning so much money on land, that they are holding the value of land up so high that the price will prevent young men from buying that land?

Mr. **Williams**. That may have resulted; I don't know that I can name any one company where that is the case.

Mr. **Curtis**. I am not asking for a case; I am not on a fishing expedition; but does that condition prevail?

Mr. **Williams**. No; I don't think it does. I think the companies are all anxious to get rid of their land and will do it at a fair price based on the production of the farm. That is the basis on which we value our farms, on the production capacity of the farm. We don't look at our investment; it may be above or below the price we put on the farm, but we ask the appraiser not to inform himself of the investment we have in the land.

APPRAISAL OF LAND FOR SALE VALUE

Mr. **Curtis**. What does your appraiser take into account when he advises you of the sale value of a piece of land?

Mr. **Williams**. The first step is to survey the farm as to the soils which make it up. The appraiser looks them over thoroughly and classifies them according to studies which have been made at the State agricultural college, and by these he is able to identify the soils and name them. Cultivation ratings for the different types of soil have been worked out, and by these ratings, plus a very careful investigation of the actual past production of the farm, the appraiser makes his estimate of what the farm will produce.

Mr. **Curtis**. Is it based entirely on the ability of the land to produce?

Mr. **Williams**. Not entirely, but that is the principal basis for establishing the value of that farm. In addition to that there are other things taken into consideration such as roads and location and conveniences and communities and a half dozen other factors that enter into the appraisal.

Mr. **Curtis**. But a lot of those values that were very important a few years ago are very much minor now, aren't they; isn't it better to have a family out on a farm 15 miles out that is a good producer, when they have an automobile for transportation, than to have them on the edge of town and not able to raise anything?

Mr. **Williams**. Perhaps so, but a farm located within convenient distance to a town or to a good road would be worth much more than that same farm 15 miles from town on a very poor road in a poorer community. Such factors as these have to be adjusted.

Mr. Curtis. Are the insurance companies approaching the problem of working out something in the way of selling this land and getting us back into private enterprise or are they waiting for Uncle Sam to do it all?

Mr. Williams. So far as my knowledge of the situation goes, I would say that wasn't a fact, that they aren't waiting; we haven't depended on Uncle Sam in the least. I believe we sold two or three tracts in Texas to the Government and that is all; the rest of our sales have been to individuals where we carried back the principal part of the investment in the form of contract or mortgage or where the purchaser has been able to pay for it in cash.

Mr. Parsons. Thank you very much, Mr. Williams. I am very glad to know that most of the insurance companies have been cooperative in this matter and that most of the insurance companies have farm managers and men that they send out to help the farmer with his problems and that you are working with the extension service, as the insurance companies are in nearly all of the States in the Union in which they own land.

Mr. Williams. That is true.

Mr. Parsons. Thank you for coming.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF OTIS NATION, DIRECTOR, OKLAHOMA TENANT FARMERS' UNION

Mr. Parsons. State your name and address for the record.

Mr. Nation. Otis Nation. Mr. Chairman, I wish to submit to the committee a report of the Oklahoma Tenant Farmers' Union, an affiliate of the Committee for Industrial Organization, into the migratory labor problem. There are a few things, but I don't know whether you will have time for me to elaborate on these points, the basic causes for migration.

The Chairman. We will be very glad to have your statement and the members will go through it very carefully and it will be incorporated in the hearing. Some of the members of the committee may wish to ask you some questions.

Mr. Curtis. Are you a native Oklahoman?

Mr. Nation. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And what is your position in this union?

Mr. Nation. I am director of the Oklahoma Tenant Farmers' Union, an affiliate of the C. I. O.

Mr. Curtis. Who is president of it?

Mr. Nation. Donald Henderson.

Mr. Curtis. Where does he live?

Mr. Nation. Washington, D. C.

Mr. Curtis. Is he a farmer?

Mr. Nation. He is a president of the International Union; I am director here in Oklahoma.

Mr. Curtis. International—how many countries do you operate in?

Mr. Nation. The United States, Hawaii, and Alaska; all United States possessions.

Mr. CURTIS. Then it is not international?

Mr. NATION. We have some organizations in Canada.

Mr. CURTIS. Any in Europe?

Mr. NATION. No; we don't have.

Mr. CURTIS. Asia?

Mr. NATION. No.

ORGANIZATION OF OKLAHOMA TENANT FARMERS' UNION

Mr. CURTIS. Who came to Oklahoma and organized you?

Mr. NATION. I organized it myself.

Mr. CURTIS. Who got in touch with you and sold you on the idea?

Mr. NATION. I migrated to the West myself. I was pushed off the farm for a number of contributing causes; I went to Arizona and California and there the wages for cotton picking was so low that we formed ourselves in a group and finally got in touch with the labor organization, the United Canners Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, with which our present organization here in Oklahoma is affiliated.

Mr. CURTIS. Who are some of the leaders in organizing this particular group you represent?

Mr. NATION. In Oklahoma?

Mr. CURTIS. No; in California.

Mr. NATION. Well, we have Patrick Callahan, Dorothy Ray, and a number of other organizers.

Mr. CURTIS. Name three or four others.

Mr. NATION. I don't know, offhand, any of the other officials; I was more out with the people, like myself, that were farm laborers.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you admit Communists to your organization?

Mr. NATION. We admit anyone without regard to race, color, or creed, regardless of religious or political affiliations.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know whether you have any Communists in your organization?

Mr. NATION. I don't know.

Mr. CURTIS. You do have some, don't you?

Mr. NATION. I don't know who they are if we do.

Mr. CURTIS. But you are quite sure there are some, aren't you?

Mr. NATION. No; no.

Mr. CURTIS. Was your organization ever involved in any violence of any kind on the west coast?

Mr. NATION. No, sir; the only violence that labor organizations are usually involved in is on the receiving end of groups like the vigilantes on the west coast, the Associated Farmers and other vigilante associations.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not undertaking to determine who was right in the controversy, but I want to know if your organization has had any clashes?

Mr. NATION. Yes; we have.

Mr. CURTIS. Was anybody injured?

Mr. NATION. In Arizona we had a little strike and there was something like 500 people on the picket lines walking around and there was over 400 members in the Associated Farmers on horseback and with rifles and arms. A boy coming from school was walking along and said something to one of the Associated Farmers and he swung a gun and broke the boy's jaw; in that particular strike I think that was the only person that was injured.

Mr. CURTIS. Where else had you had strikes?

Mr. NATION. Well, at Salinas, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee has a complete report on that; I couldn't give it.

Mr. CURTIS. But your organization was the organization that was striking?

Mr. NATION. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all; thank you very much. Your report will be incorporated in the record.

(Witness excused.)

(The report of the foregoing witness was submitted and received by the committee and is as follows:)

REPORT OF OTIS NATION, ORGANIZER FOR OKLAHOMA TENANT FARMERS' UNION, U. C. A. P. A. W. A.–C. I. O.

This report is made in behalf of the members of the Oklahoma Tenant Farmers' Union, affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. I feel that I am in a position to give a true picture of the migrant problem, not only because I have worked in their organization, but even more, because I have been both a tenant farmer and a migratory agricultural worker myself. I was born and raised on a farm near Calvin, Okla., and I, too, with my family of five, have gone down the twentieth century trail of tears, Highway 66, to California and Arizona. I would like in this report to outline the main causes of these migrations of farmers and to recommend actions necessary to rehabilitate them.

Much has been written of our droughts here in Oklahoma, and how they have driven the farmers from the land. But little has been said of the other tentacles that choke off the livelihood of the small owner and the tenant. We do not wish to minimize the seriousness of these droughts and their effects on the farming population. But droughts alone would not have permanently displaced these farmers. The great majority of migrants had already become share-tenants and sharecroppers. The droughts hastened a process that had already begun.

We submit the following as the cases for migratory agricultural workers:

1. *High interest rates.*—Often a farmer borrows money for periods of 10 months and is charged an interest rate of 10 percent. These rates are charged when crops are good and when they fail. Through such practices the farmer loses his ownership; he becomes a tenant, then a sharecropper, then a migrant.

2. *The tenant and sharecropping system.*—When share tenants are charged 33⅓ percent of all corn or feed crops and 25 percent or more on cotton, plus 10 percent on all money borrowed at the bank; when sharecroppers are charged 50 to 75 percent of all he produces to the landlords, plus 10 percent for the bank's share on money invested; when these robbing practices are carried on in a community or a State, is it surprising that 33,241 farm families have left Oklahoma in the past 5 years?

3. *Land exhaustion, droughts, soil erosion, and the one-crop system of farming.*—Lacking capital and equipment, small farmers have been unable to terrace their land or conduct other soil-conservation practices. The tenant and sharecropping system is chiefly responsible for the one-crop system. The landlord dictates what crops are to be planted—invariably cotton—and the tenant either plants it or gets off.

4. *Unstable markets.*—Approximately a month and a half before the wheat harvest this year the price for this product was 93 cents here in Oklahoma City. But at harvest time the farmer sold his wheat for 46 cents to 60 cents per bushel, depending on the grade. This, we were told, was due to the war. But in years

previous similar declines in prices came at harvest time. Kaffir was selling for $1.30 1 month ago, and yesterday we sold some for 85 cents per hundred. And in this case the war was in progress a month ago.

It is obvious to all of us that farm prices are set by speculators. The farmer's losses at the market have contributed in no small part to the farmer losing his place on the land. Higher prices for farm products are quoted when the farmer has nothing to sell.

5. *Tractor farming.*—In Creek County, Okla., we have the record of one landowner purchasing 3 tractors and forcing 31 of his 34 tenants and croppers from the land. Most of these families left the State when neither jobs nor relief could be secured. This is over 10 families per machine, 10 families who must quit their profession and seek employment in an unfriendly, industrialized farming section of Arizona or California. Many of these families were even unable to become "Joads" in these other States, and had to seek relief from an unfriendly national administration and a more unfriendly State administration.

Tractors produce crops cheaper. A small farmer who is unable to equip his farm with a tractor loses out and is driven from the land. The small independent farmer begins slipping down on the ladder of agriculture, slipping down toward becoming a migrant.

6. *The Triple-A Program.*—At present this program pays up to $10,000 to farmers who cooperate. The large owners who receive such a high premium buy tractors with these payments and force their tenants and croppers off the land.

A program of cutting down on the acreage under cultivation limits the amount of work for laborers in agriculture, creating a surplus of this type of labor, and it always results in lowering wages. The workers then go from place to place and from State to State in search of work.

In addition to these six basic causes of migratory workers is the situation created by a State administration which refuses to cooperate with such Federal programs that do assist these displaced farmers, such as W. P. A. California's 3-year residence requirement for relief assistance is matched in Oklahoma by Governor Phillips' veto of a bill that would bring a rural-housing program to the impoverished farmers of our State. The State administration further refuses to cooperate with the W. P. A. administration by furnishing investigators to certify eligible clients, thereby making it impossible for the dispossessed to secure relief.

At this hearing we will have all kinds of statistical material presented and arguments based on this material. But I am one of those who is more interested in the people, my people, than in mere figures. I do not agree with those who say "the no-good must always be weeded out." I say that all of these people, casually referred to in statistical sums, are 100-percent Americans. There are no more important problems facing us than the problem of stopping this human erosion and rehabilitating those unfortunates who have already been thrown off the land. Certainly it is un-American for Americans to be starved and dispossessed of their homes in our land of plenty. Those who seek to exploit and harass these American refugees, the migratory workers, are against our principles of democracy.

We of the Oklahoma Tenant Farmers' Union and of the Congress of Industrial Organization offer the following program for meeting this problem:

1. *Cost of production for farmers.*—This will also enable the grower to pay a decent living wage to the field workers.
2. The extension of a wage-and-hour law for agricultural labor.
3. Unemployment compensation for agricultural labor.
4. Maximum triple-A payments to be lowered to $500; no payments to those who violate the wage-and-hour law.
5. Loans for resettling the agricultural workers at low interest rates, 3 percent, and long-term payments.
6. Adequate funds for F. S. A., to enable tenants and sharecroppers to buy farms, thus stopping the flow of the dispossessed into the already overcrowded migratory army.
7. Public-works programs for all who are able to work.
8. Extension of the health services of the F. S. A. to all migratory workers.

9. Federal protection of the civil liberties of migratory workers. Organizations such as the Associated Farmers and the K. K. K., and all organizations that resort to terror and intimidation have no place in our democracy. The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee exposed such practices; what we need now is prosecutions which will stop such Fascist violations of our law.

10. At least two cooperative farms for 500 families here in Oklahoma. These cooperative farms have proven successful in Arizona and California where they enable their membership to compete successfully with large-scale, corporation farms.

11. National legislation patterned after the Oklahoma Farmers' Union's graduated land tax.

Mr. Chairman, every statistical number mentioned here represents either a refugee or a refugee family. Behind each cold figure is an untold story, a story of hungry, homeless, and jobless people—people who have been driven from the land through no fault of their own.

Thousands of children live in tents by the roadside and on the canal banks. I have seen them myself. Flat-chested, underdeveloped children in faded dresses and overalls with many patches of worn material; kids that play with a homemade doll after a day of picking cotton in the fields. They do not think fast. Their laughter is not that of normal, healthy children. Their supper is fried corn grits, white flour gravy, and sorghum molasses. Flies must be brushed away with one hand and the bite must be taken quickly. Everyone eats quietly. Nothing to talk about and everyone is too tired. The kids doze off to sleep and are carried to bed. The bed isn't too clean. The Mrs. has been working too hard in the field to keep it clean. The kerosene light is blown out, and the buzz of mosquitoes continues through the night, sucking blood from these tired little bodies, spreading disease. The coming of day is a signal for another of backbreaking toil. But some day? Hope? Yes. These people never give up. They keep fighting, against all odds. Once they had homes of their own. They are proud. They accept relief only as a last resort.

This family and thousands of others like them have crossed our country in search of work. Refugees; men and women without a country; wanderers of the wasteland.

The Oklahoma Tenant Farmers' Union of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America affiliated with the C. I. O. are helping and will work with this committee and with all other good Americans in solving this, America's No. 1 problem, the reclaiming of our most exploited group of citizens—the migratory workers.

Mr. Wolf. May I interrupt at this time for the purpose of introducing a statement of Mr. J. E. McDonald, Texas commissioner of agriculture, who is unable to be present in person?

The Chairman. We shall be glad to have it filed.

Mr. Wolf. Also, the statement of Virginia Higgins, supervisor of the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare, who also was unable to deliver it personally.

The Chairman. We shall be glad to receive it. Is this report of Mr. McDonald's on behalf of the Governor of Texas?

Mr. Wolf. No; the brief on behalf of the Governor of Texas was delivered yesterday along with the data supplied by Mr. Bond; this is on behalf of an individual.

(The two reports received by the committee from J. E. McDonald and Virginia Higgins appear below.)

Statement by J. E. McDonald, Texas Commissioner of Agriculture

When the farmers and urban people of this Nation are settled and have their homes, though they may be humble homes, and are producing crops and marketing the same at a price which will give them their fair share of the national income, there is general happiness and prosperity throughout the Nation.

Perhaps at this time there are more unsettled conditions and more migration of farmers and urban people than at any time during this Nation's history.

Statistics and records show there are fewer people living on farms of the United States today than there were in 1909. During this 30-year period the ratio of farm income to the total national income has experienced a gradual decline, from 16.4 percent to 6.6 percent, and the farms are sending to the cities and towns and industrial centers an army of around 600,000 persons annually. In Texas alone the number of farm tenants decreased 15,557 between January 1, 1930, and January 1, 1935, and the 1940 census reports will show a decrease of more than 75,000 tenants and 50,000 farms. One hundred and fifteen of the State's best agricultural counties show a net loss of more than 200,000 in population. More than 10,000,000 acres of Texas land has been withdrawn from cultivation, cotton acreage alone accounting for around 9,000,000 acres and in volume cotton production has declined 1½ million bales. These conditions have resulted in a heavy migration of destitute farmers to the towns and cities, helping to aggravate labor conditions and enlarging Government relief rolls.

If we are to give strength to our Nation's economic structure, we must have a farm program that would reverse this farm-to-city movement, a farm program which will provide the maximum number of homes for worthy farmers and farm tenants; give the farmers a price for their products domestically consumed which will insure them a fair share of the national income and create a condition that will lift our farmers from serfdom to comfortable living standards.

Seventy-five to one hundred thousand empty farm dwellings in Texas is a veritable picture of agricultural decadence and yet in our metropolitan centers our Government is spending multiplied millions of dollars in an effort to rid these centers of slum conditions which are being aggravated by the inflow of destitute farm tenants and others as a result of a program of scarcity.

It is a strange coincidence that while the Government is stressing the need for an increase in the volume of new wealth it has at the same time set in motion a program which restricts production and denies to one-fourth of its citizens the opportunity to better themselves economically and socially.

Men and guns form a Nation's first line of defense, which is no stronger or more effective than the support given by agriculture which is generally recognized as the second line of defense. The first line of defense must have sturdy men who have confidence in their equipment, while the second line of defense must have resourceful farmers and agricultural stabilization.

There can be no stabilization in agriculture so long as farmers are unhappy and are migrating from one section to another and are without purchasing power or the means with which to give the farmer boy an education and an opportunity to share some of the better things of life such as are enjoyed by the sons of the electrician, the painter, the mechanic, the paperhanger, the carpenter, bricklayer, and the steamfitter; all of which are organized and demand and receive their fair share of the national income.

The consistent decline in the purchasing power of the farmer, the continual migration of our farm youth to the industrial centers, and an ever-growing stream of unemployed, weakens a Nation's economic structure.

The number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits in the United States since the beginning of the present century has decreased. In 1910 the farm population of the Nation was 32,077,000, the highest point being reached in 1916 when there were more than 32.5 million, while the lowest point was reached in 1930 with a showing of less than 30.2 million.

The birth rate is greater and the death rate less among our farm population than for the Nation as a whole, resulting in an increase of births over deaths each year of more than half a million people on our farms.

During this same period the nonfarm population increased from 59.3 million to 98.8 million. These figures supply some very important agricultural facts. During the same period acreage plantings and harvestings have been greatly reduced.

If agricultural values had kept pace with the total national income and with expenditures for the administration of the Federal Government, the farmers of the

Nation should have received for their 1939 crop around 11.2 billion dollars.

Turning again to percentages, it is noted that the nonfarm income for 1909 was only a little more than 5 times that for the Nation's agricultural crops, while in 1939 this income was about 14 times that of agriculture.

As a result of the protective tariff practically all lines of industry, other than agriculture, have been enabled to build up a two-price system. And labor has met with marked success in a wage-scale increase around 300 percent, hourly basis; plumbers receiving a wage of $1.526 in 1939 as compared with $0.578 in 1913; electricians $1.532 as compared with $0.518 in 1913; stonemasons $1.544 as compared with $0.567 in 1913; and bricklayers $1.662 as compared with $0.690.

Based on these statistics, had the price of the farmers' crops kept pace with wages, the farmers of the United States would have received around $12,000,000,000 their 1939 crop.

Farm income, available for living, in 1909 was a little more than 4.3 billion dollars, while for 1939 it was just about $100,000 more, with the years 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920 intervening with an approximate average of a little more than 9.7 billion dollars. Of course, the World War and a part of the postwar reconstruction period explains the unusual increase in values for those years. Starting in 1921, with 4.3 billion, values climbed to 5.4 billion for 1922, 6.5 billion for 1923; 6.9 billion for 1924; 7.4 billion for 1925; then running above the six billion mark for 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929, dropping to a little more than five billion for 1930; a little more than three billion for 1931; and hit the lowest mark in 1932 with 1.8 billion dollars, hit another somewhat favorable point in 1936 with 5.1 billion dollars and again in 1937 with 5.4 billion.

Texas, which produced approximately 18 percent ($1,064,775,000) of the Nation's agricultural values in 1923, because of restrictions, only produced 6.4 percent of the Nation's total in 1938, which included Government subsidies.

Texas lost 12 percent of the national agricultural wealth, approximately 9,000,000 acres of Texas land has been withdrawn from the production of cotton and the aggregate of all acres in cultivation is about 10,000,000 acres less than before the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program was put into operation.

This reduction of acreage represents an annual loss of $95,000,000 in Texas cotton pay rolls alone and has created a social upheaval in both rural and metropolitan areas of the State. Being a border State, Texas faces one problem that is uncommon to the other agricultural States of the Union, in the movement of migratory alien labor; however, this migratory alien-labor movement is extending into the Corn Belt where it competes with native labor.

But these figures do not tell the whole story. If we are to have a cross-section view of the industry, we should compare the aggregate of farm income with the aggregate of the national income. That is where we find another interesting story. In 1909 the farm income of 4.3 billion dollars represented 16.4 percent of the whole of the national income. But it is noted that in 1939 this farm income represented only 6.6 percent of the total. Thus, we note that agriculture has failed to keep pace with the progress made in other phases of industry.

When we see figures and face conditions such as I have shown here, it is strange that more men do not have the courage to protest the economic unsoundness of our agricultural program.

The average small farmer, sometimes referred to as the one-horse farmer, is not improving his economic condition as a result of the little dole being sent to him by the Federal Government. There are some of the larger operated farms whose owners are actually being greatly benefited by these checks, but it is my opinion that when we are furnished with the complete census reports for 1940 we will find that the number of farms and the number of farm tenants have been greatly reduced in Texas directly as a result of the present subsidy plan. In fact, the indications are that there will be around 50,000 fewer farms on January 1, 1940, than on January 1, 1930, and 75,000 less tenants.

In 1910 we had in the United States a total of 6,362,000 farms and in 1939 a total of 6,920,000, a gain of 558,000 for the 30-year period, and yet these additional farms added only a little more than $100,000 in values to the farm income.

There are, of course, a number of factors entering into the building of the Nation's economic structure. Time was when the Nation's cotton crop constituted the basis for the Nation's favorable trade balance; a time when cotton constituted the Nation's main export commodity. But that day seems to have passed with the inauguration of self-sufficiency programs by a number of foreign countries and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration acreage production program. This program resulted in large increases in cotton production by foreign nations. At the same time the buying power of many nations, formerly heavy buyers of American agricultural commodities, had been greatly reduced, and the United States industrial programs are unfit for barter exchange.

As I view the situation, it would seem that with an increase of about 40,000,000 in population, but with a decrease in the number of farm operators and farm population, we should have been able to set up a balance in consumption. That is to say, our own increase in metropolitan population should have made it possible for a much greater domestic consumption and although we lost foreign markets for much of our goods there was no reason for such a tremendous lack of domestic consumption, except that our own people did not have the purchasing power. Statistics show that two-thirds of the families of the United States have a monthly income of $68, the low-bracket income group being composed largely of farmers and farm laborers, and if this income could be increased to $100 per month through parity prices for the farmers' products the Nation's food bill would be increased 1.9 billion dollars and the farmers' income increased at least $1,000,000,000.

The ratio of farm income available for living to the total national income, starting with 1910 and including the 1939 crop year, is as follows:

Year	Farm income	Total national income	Year	Farm income	Total national income
1910	4.6 billion	28.1 billion.	1925	7.4 billion	73.0 billion.
1911	4.2 billion	28.4 billion.	1926	6.8 billion	76.5 billion.
1912	4.5 billion	30.3 billion.	1927	6.8 billion	76.4 billion.
1913	4.5 billion	32.1 billion.	1928	6.9 billion	78.1 billion.
1914	4.5 billion	31.9 billion.	1929 [1]	6.8 billion	80.3 billion.
1915	4.8 billion	33.2 billion.	1930	5.1 billion	73.5 billion.
1916	5.8 billion	39.0 billion.	1931	3.0 billion	62.3 billion.
1917 [1]	8.9 billion	47.3 billion.	1932	1.8 billion	48.3 billion.
1918 [1]	10.5 billion	55.0 billion.	1933	2.5 billion	45.7 billion.
1919 [1]	11.5 billion	60.0 billion.	1934	3.3 billion	52.5 billion.
1920 [1]	8.0 billion	64.5 billion.	1935	4.2 billion	57.0 billion.
1921	4.3 billion	54.2 billion.	1936	5.1 billion	66.7 billion.
1922	5.4 billion	57.5 billion.	1937	5.4 billion	70.7 billion.
1923	6.5 billion	66.0 billion.	1938	4.4 billion	64.6 billion.
1924	6.9 billion	68.0 billion.	1939	4.4 billion	67.6 billion.

[1] See paragraphs below.

It will be observed from the above figures that during the years 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920 the farmer came to share more abundantly in the national income, all these years being outstanding in the percentage of the whole that was received by the farmer. Throwing the four years together, the average ratio of the farmers' income to the total of the Nation was 17.2 percent, the respective years showing for 18 percent, 19 percent, 18.5 percent, and 12.4 percent.

On this average, if the farmers could have shared an equal percentage of the national income for their 1939 crops they would have had around 11.5 billion dollars which practically sustains the hereinbefore figures cited.

As a result of this wide spread between the farmers' income and those who take his commodities as the basis of manufacturing and fabrication, it is an easy matter to realize that the farmer's purchasing power has been so much reduced as to make it impossible for him to meet the necessary expenses of operating his farm, keeping up repairs, and doing a little toward giving his children the advantages of an education.

Because of this reduced purchasing power, because of a lack of opportunities for the farm boy to share some of the better things of life, such as are available to the sons of organized labor engaged in the production of tariff-protected products, the boys have turned cityward, and farms everywhere are being increased in size and small farmers and tenants and the sons of even well-to-do farmers are getting just as far away from the farm as possible. There are no attractions there for him. The future holds no promise of reward.

The outlook is altogether gloomy; he is not growing softer, as is shown by the percentage of rural young men who are enlisting for Army service. He drifts into the city and from city to city in an effort to earn a livelihood and participate in the more gainful fields of employment. Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, he presses his case and refuses to look longer to the farm as a means to advancement. He enters this new field unequipped, unlearned in the ways of highly socialized life, and if he fails he becomes a problem for society and for the Government. The present farm program has done more to disarm the farmer boy than any social enterprise of the ages, and exemplifies "The Grapes of Wrath" on a Nation-wide scale.

The Nation's farm program has become an economic cancer, eating at the very base of the Nation's social structure. It is an epidemic of unsound theories, which if continued in practice will result in an "expanse of reserved estates and Government supported manors, stripped of America's richest heritage, people who till the soil."

According to the 1935 United States census, there was a total of 501,017 farms and ranches in Texas embracing a little more than 167,000,000 acres of land, of which some eighty or more million acres could be devoted to agriculture should the occasion arise. However, at the present we are employing only a little more than 25,000,000 acres for agricultural crop purposes.

The following table reflects the number of farms under the classifications shown by the 1935 census for sizes:

Size of farm	Number of farms	Total acreage	Size of farm	Number of farms	Total acreage
Under 3 acres	1, 741	2, 233	175 to 259 acres	41, 595	8, 686, 745
3 to 9 acres	22, 609	128, 068	260 to 499 acres	37, 705	13, 007, 528
10 to 19 acres	37, 729	515, 305	500 to 999 acres	17, 313	11, 753, 634
20 to 49 acres	104, 041	3, 354, 255	1,000 to 4,999 acres	11, 032	22, 099, 722
50 to 99 acres	115, 123	8, 073, 634	5,000 to 9,999 acres	17, 118	11, 824, 696
100 to 174 acres	108, 820	14, 287, 235	10,000 acres and over	1, 591	43, 870, 063

According to the above figures, 431,658 of the farms of Texas have less than 260 acres and the total acreage for these is 35,047,473, leaving 69,359 farms to embrace a total of approximately 102,000,000 acres.

There are not many farms in Texas having 100 acres or less that carry either croppers or third and fourth tenants; thus, it would be approximately correct, at least, to say that we have in Texas 281,243 farms that are operated solely by their owners.

From the aggregate of 501,017 farms and ranches must be deducted those properties which are not employed for the production of agricultural crops but are devoted to some phase of the livestock industry, such as beef cattle, sheep, and goats. Most of the ranching properties of the State would embrace classifications as follows: 1,000 to 4,999 acres, there being 11,032 of these with an aggregate acreage of 22,099,722; and those having from 5,000 to 9,999 acres, numbering 1,718 and having an aggregate of 11,824,693 acres; and 1,591 other properties having 10,000 acres and above and embracing a total of 43,870,053 acres.

The 281,243 farmers of the State having 100 acres or less, and this number represents more than 50 percent of the total number, could not under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program receive any great amount of money from the Federal Government in the form of subsidy checks.

It is to be presumed that the Government is interested in the tenant farmers as much so as in the farm owners, and more recent developments would indicate that the Government officials are of the opinion that the small farmer, perhaps, is more entitled to assistance than is the larger. Illustrative of this was the limiting of the amount of subsidy that may be given to any one farmer.

Below are some census figures:

Counties	Number of farms 1935	Number of farms 1940	Counties	Number of farms 1935	Number of farms 1940
Bastrop	3, 270	2, 459	Lee	2, 301	2, 077
Blanco	694	634	Travis	3, 187	2, 607
Burleson	2, 878	2, 585	Washington	4, 081	3, 905
Burnett	1, 510	1, 302	Williamson	4, 666	3, 917
Caldwell	2, 499	1, 852			
Hays	1, 578	1, 231	Total	26, 664	22, 569

The above figures show a loss of 4,095 farms, which is a 15-plus-percent loss, or an average of 3 percent per year.

Grimes County shows a decline from 5,360 to 2,600 in the number of farms and Milam County 1,595.

Travis County, while showing an increase in the total of its population, at the same time showed a decline of 1,849 in the rural population. It is only reasonable to presume that similar conditions prevail in all the larger agricultural counties of the State.

The farms of Texas had only 1 year's operation under the national farm program prior to the 1935 census, so with a total of 15,557 shown for a reduction in tenant numbers for 1 year in Texas, it is at least approximately correct to estimate an aggregate reduction of 75,000 since January 1, 1930.

On this basis then we would estimate that fully 125,000 Texas farmers and farm tenants have ceased to operate farms and that these have drifted into the rural villages, towns, and cities in search of some manner of employment and that in many instances they have become wards of the Government. A list of 115 of the State's best agricultural counties show a net loss of more than 200,000 in population. Eighteen counties in the heart of the State's best agricultural area show a net loss of 62,532. (See illustration facing this page.)

Unless we create a greater demand for the products of the farm and provide more favorable living conditions on the farm, we will not be able to return these people to the farm, and that brings me to propose a solution which in my mind would not only relieve the stress of the present, but would make the farm an inviting field of endeavor for the future, bring about the maximum exchange of goods, put an end to unemployment, and restore prosperity to the Nation as a whole.

Solution of the agricultural problems is not difficult. Reversing the migratory trend of the agricultural population also would not be difficult, because there is an inherent instinct or desire in men to associate with the soil when Government economic and social conditions are stable.

The farm and migratory problems can be best solved by the adoption and wise administration of what is known as the domestic allotment plan for agriculture, which plan would allot to each farmer his fair share in the American market, not in acres but in units, such as bales, bushels, or pounds upon which portion he would receive a subsidy, or adjustment payment, which together with the street price, or world market price, would give the farmer a parity price on that portion allotted him for domestic consumption, leaving the farmer to be his own judge as to how much he would produce in excess of his domestic allotment to be sold in world markets at world market prices. This would be nothing new in principle or theory. It would be merely extending tariff benefits and protection to agriculture.

By limiting the amount of Government adjustment payments or subsidies receivable to any one farm family, providing, however, that the landowner will be entitled to Government benefits, adjustment payments or subsidies, on his rental portion of the tenant's crop would provide the maximum number of homes for the worthy farmers and farm tenants.

It would leave each farmer free to conduct his farm operation in the manner he chose, yet in order for the landowner to receive the maximum Government benefits and protection he would be compelled to carry the maximum number of tenants.

With parity prices, giving the farmer his fair share in the annual national income, making possible the greatest exchange of the products of the farm and factory, and with the domestic allotment plan providing a limit of Government benefits for any one farm family, the maximum number of homes would be provided.

With the farmer having purchasing power because of parity prices, with the greatest number of farm homes, with the maximum exchange of products of the farm and factory, resulting in maximum employment throughout America, most of our worries would be ended.

The present Agricultural Adjustment Administration farm program is a damn-fool program, and is forcing the agriculture of this Nation into a state of peasantry such as has come to some of the older nations.

We are confronted with the deplorable fact that although our farmers have our warehouses bursting with food and raiment, they are still facing 9-cent cotton, 60-cent wheat, and 6-cent hogs, which means farm-mortgage foreclosures and that they are without purchasing power to support other American industries and provide their loved ones with the necessities and comforts of life which God intended they should have.

In conclusion, let me say that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration farm program has done, and is doing, more to destroy this Nation, financially, economically, and socially, than any other one thing. Since agriculture is our basic industry, there is no hope for us to have prosperity and happiness throughout this Nation so long as we continue this damn-fool Agricultural Adjustment Administration farm program.

Very sincerely yours,

J. E. McDonald,
Commissioner of Agriculture.

Reports of New Mexico Department of Public Welfare

(Submitted by Miss Virginia Higgin)

Large numbers of requests for assistance are made at the county offices of the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare, local municipal organizations, such as chambers of commerce, service clubs, etc., and to the Red Cross and Salvation Army units by families and unattached persons who cannot be considered local residents. Some of these people are en route to other States to seek employment, some have sought employment in New Mexico in vain, and others are health seekers. The stream of migrants through New Mexico begins to increase in the early summer months and reaches its peak in the fall. This may be due to several factors:

1. Seasonal employment opportunities in Arizona, California, and other Southwestern States.
2. Seasonal employment in New Mexico—
   A. Cotton chopping and picking;
   B. Bean and pea picking;
   C. Broomcorn harvest.
3. Advertising done by Southwestern States as health centers and their general reputation for this.

The majority of interstate migrants travel through New Mexico on transcontinental highways. (See page facing.) The east-west highways, 66, 70, and 80, which lead into New Mexico from El Paso, are the most frequently traveled. Often requests for assistance are repeated by the same persons en route west and again when they are en route east.

There are many underlying factors which cause migration and with which the committee hearing these reports no doubt has acquainted itself. From the point of view of many State public-assistance agencies, there are legal and administrative problems arising from law and custom in dealing with persons applying for public assistance in a community other than that of their origin.

The State of New Mexico is financially unable to extend assistance except in the most urgent situations such as injuries from auto accidents, etc., to "transients." Categorical assistance in which the Federal Government participates, cannot be given due to residence restrictions. General assistance which is financed solely by the State is not adequate to meet the needs of local people. Therefore, the department of public welfare has assumed little responsibility for persons in need who are "passing through" the State.

New Mexico does not have a general settlement law. There is a residence restriction on the expenditure of local funds, specifically county and municipal indigent funds, which limits provisions for indigent persons to those "who have resided within the State of New Mexico for more than 1 year" (Laws of New Mexico, 1939, ch. 189, sec. 1). Under the Public Welfare Act of 1939, chapter 18, section 3 (1), the State department of public welfare may enter into reciprocal agreements with public welfare agencies of other States relative to the provision for assisting residents of those States who find themselves in need while in New Mexico. Intent, as determined by actions of a person is the basis for determining residence in New Mexico. The department of public welfare recognizes the inadvisability of passing settlement laws which do not limit movement of population, but tends only to serve as a reason for refusing aid.

SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

The principal crops which attract migratory laborers to New Mexico are cotton, broomcorn, green peas, and beans. Cotton is grown principally in the southern and southeastern counties of the State. The total number of acres was 113.200 in 1937. There is not such a great concentration of large landholdings in the hands of a few growers in New Mexico as compared to Arizona, therefore, a lesser need for outside labor.

Broomcorn is grown chiefly in the northeastern and eastern counties. In 1937 the production of broomcorn was about 6,600 tons.

Green peas are produced in and around the northwestern part of the State. Nearly all these peas are raised for commercial markets. Most companies contract to have the peas delivered; some contract to pick the peas. In 1937 there were about 1,700 acres under cultivation.

Mining and oil-field work attracts many people to New Mexico—specifically to Grant, Colfax, Santa Fe, Eddy, and Lea Counties. Both skilled and unskilled workers and the attendant groups follow oil fields and mining industries.

The labor supply in New Mexico should be sufficiently adequate to meet the demand, judging from the number of unemployed persons awaiting assignment on Works Progress Administration, however, qualified local labor is not wholly adequate. The farm labor division of the reemployment service has been active in recruiting intra- and interstate labor for the three crops mentioned above. Care has been exercised in announcements, so as not to bring too many workers to a given locality. Even though the reemployment service has tried to control the labor supply, private operators often bring in laborers who later are in need of assistance. According to a study made by Sigred Johansen, Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico, published in 1939, one of the reasons that migratory workers came to New Mexico to seek work was the rumor that along the road work existed. When seasonal employment is finished, few people return to the place of last residence. Some stay on and seek public assistance and others move on west in search of employment.

Due to favorable mild climatic conditions, many people come to New Mexico or through New Mexico for health reasons. Some have what they believe adequate funds to maintain themselves to secure medical care until they regain their health; others do not. Too often, those who believe they have sufficient funds find the required care soon depletes their savings.

The mobility of a portion of the population which is not able to meet its needs creates complex problems such as (1) affect a State's health, (2) militate against educational opportunities for children, and (3) create a general unrest which cannot be ignored. Variations in the residence laws and practice between the States are unsound and are actually creating problems in the administration of assistance to persons whose residence is not clearly established. Due to the great mobility, a portion of the population has lost a "legal residence" in any State, and to relieve a State of financial responsibility many of these people will be kept in the status of a transient as long as they are in need of assistance. Several solutions to the problem have been suggested:

1. Federal financial aid to transients to be administered by States.
2. Uniform settlement laws.
3. Interstate agreements.

The New Mexico Department of Public Welfare is conducting a study to learn the extent and nature of the transient problem. The study has not been completed and is not satisfactory since many local agencies failed to cooperate and the ones that did, in many instances, asked the applicant to fill out the schedule. However, several tables are presented below which may indicate to some extent a trend.

During July and August a total of 207 reported unattached persons and families requested aid from the department of public welfare, Travelers' Aid, Volunteers of America, chambers of commerce, Work Projects Administration, Associated Charities, Salvation Army, and the Red Cross.

Thirty-nine States were mentioned as places of last residence; California leads with 45 households. The largest number of households were en route to California. Forty-six households claimed to have worked in California. California, Arizona, Oklahoma, and Texas were the States where the greatest number claimed to have last resided, the States to which they were en route, to have worked in since 1936, and the last month before requesting assistance (see table I) in New Mexico.

Since 1936 (see table II) 91 of the households worked in 2 States or more. The known length of unemployment (see table III) varies, but the greatest number failed to specify the length of time they had been unemployed. The principal reason for migration (see table IV) was to seek employment.

Farm laborer (see table V) was the largest occupation represented with mechanical trades next. One hundred and eight (see table VI) claimed they had received no relief in other States, but 99 had received assistance. The largest claimed they had received assistance in Oklahoma and California.

One hundred and forty-one of the migrants (see table VII) requested aid the day they arrived in the county.

Very little assistance was given except in cases where there were small children or a person who was ill. The average size of the 129 families (see table VIII) was 3 persons.

Many questions arise in extending assistance to migrants:

1. If Federal aid is available what plans can be made for persons assisted?
2. Shall migration to points where seasonal labor is needed be encouraged or subsidized?
3. Shall an effort be made to settle migrants?
4. Interstate agreements will facilitate returning transients to the States where their interests lie but assistance is often needed in the meantime.
5. What criteria or requirements shall be met before aid is given? Great dissatisfaction resulted from the former Federal transient program. One of the most outstanding and most often repeated criticisms was that aid encouraged migration due to the lax eligibility requirements. Another criticism was that in given localities aid to transients was much more adequate than was the aid given by the State to local residents.
6. Should a State, through interstate agreements, offer care to health seekers? Should not these agreements between States include full financial aid from the State where the health seeker originated with provision for burial if a nonresident health seeker dies?

The State Department of Public Welfare of New Mexico welcomes this opportunity to participate in this hearing and should like to go on record as being willing and available to furnish additional information or cooperate in any way which is deemed desirable.

TABLE I.—*State in which transients have resided, have had employment, and the State to which they are en route, July–August 1940*

State	State of last residence	State in which lived longest	State to which en route	States in which applicant worked since 1936	State in which last full month's employment
Alabama	1	2	0	1	0
Arizona	21	8	16	31	18
Arkansas	4	10	5	8	2
California	45	19	35	46	41
Colorado	15	11	23	13	11
Connecticut	1	0	0	0	0
Illinois	1	8	2	3	4
Indiana	1	2	1	1	3
Iowa	1	1	1	1	1
Kansas	4	9	5	5	5
Kentucky	1	2	1	1	1
Louisiana	2	1	2	3	2
Michigan	2	0	0	2	1
Minnesota	2	1	0	0	1
Missouri	6	5	2	6	5
Nebraska	2	5	0	2	3
Nevada	2	0	0	6	2
New Jersey	2	1	0	1	2
New Mexico	21	16	0	34	19
New York	2	4	0	2	1
Ohio	1	5	2	2	0
Oklahoma	16	30	9	30	9
Oregon	3	2	1	5	2
Pennsylvania	2	3	1	3	2
Texas	18	23	10	30	16
Utah	1	1	0	2	3
Washington	2	1	0	4	2
Wisconsin	1	1	1	1	1
West Virginia	3	2	0	3	2
Wyoming	1	0	0	0	1
Other States	11	[1] 14	[2] 7	[3] 19	[3] 12
Not specified	12	20	83	30	33
Total	207	207	207	295	209

[1] Tennessee, North Carolina, Montana.

[2] Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Montana, South Dakota.

[3] North Carolina, Florida, Montana, Georgia.

TABLE II.—*Number of States in which employment was obtained since 1936, July–August 1940*

	Total	Unattached	Families
1 State	78	22	56
2 States	48	14	34
3 States	24	14	10
4 States	10	5	5
5 States	4	2	2
6 States	3	1	2
7 States	1	1	0
8 States	1	0	1
Not specified	36	17	19
No employment	2	2	0
Total households	207	78	129

TABLE III.—*Length of unemployment of transients, July–August 1940*

	Total	Unattached	Families
1 month	37	13	24
2 months	29	11	18
3 months	9	5	4
4 months	7	2	5
5 months	7	3	4
6 months	2	1	1
7 months	2	0	2
8 months	2	0	2
9 months	0	0	0
10 months	3	1	2
11 months	0	0	0
1 year	19	2	17
Not specified	88	38	50
No employment record	2	2	0
Total	207	78	129

TABLE IV.—*Reasons for migration, July–August 1940*

Employment	138
Health	26
Not specified	43
Total	207

TB 16, heart trouble 1, malaria 1, bronchitis 2, pellagra 1, asthma 1, and sinus 1.

TABLE V.—*Usual occupation of transients, July–August 1940*

	Transients
Common labor	23
Farm labor	38
Construction trades [1]	21
Mechanical trades [2]	32
Transportation [3]	14
Sales work [4]	14
Clerical work	4
Miscellaneous [5]	36
Not specified	25
Total	207

[1] Includes painters, carpenters, concrete workers, surveyor.

[2] Includes blacksmith, oil-field workers, iron-craft worker, mechanic, machinists, molder.

[3] Includes truck driver, railroad worker, seaman.

[4] Includes salesman, service-station attendant.

[5] Includes radio announcer, baker, cook, theater operator, car waxer, housework, tractor man, housewife, miner, dairy worker, artist, gardner, musician, knitter, bootmaker, broommaker, crystal gazer, sausagemaker.

TABLE VI.—*Other States where assistance was received by transients, July–August 1940*

States	Total	Unattached	Families
Arizona	6	2	4
California	16	3	13
Colorado	4	1	3
Kansas	4	1	3
Kentucky	2	0	2
Michigan	2	0	2
Missouri	3	0	3
New Mexico	3	1	2
Oklahoma	10	3	7
Oregon	1	0	1
Texas	3	0	3
Not specified	24	13	11
No report	21	10	11
No relief	108	44	64
Total	207	78	129

Table VII.—*Length of time transients in county before applying for assistance, July–August 1940*

	Total	Unattached	Families
Day of arrival	141	2	7
1 day	9	2	7
2 days	3	3	0
3 days	7	2	5
4 days	5	0	5
5 days	1	1	0
6 days	1	1	0
1 week	5	1	4
2 weeks	4	1	3
3 weeks	1	1	0
1 month	9	5	4
2 months	1	0	1
3 months or more	7	0	7
1 year or more	2	0	2
Not specified	1	4	7
Total	207	78	129

Table VIII.—*Size of transient families, July–August 1940*

Department of public welfare	82
Travelers' Aid	84
Volunteers of America	27
Chamber of commerce	6
Work Projects Administration	1
Associated Charities	1
Salvation Army	2
Red cross	4
Total	207
Single	72
Family	129
2 persons	33
3 persons	32
4 persons	19
5 persons	17
6 persons	8
7 persons	12
8 persons	5
9 persons	1
10 persons	2

TESTIMONY OF MRS. G. H. WADDY, OF THE UNITED PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Mr. Parsons. Give your name to the reporter.

Mrs. Waddy. Mrs. G. H. Waddy.

Mr. Parsons. And what organization do you represent?

Mrs. Waddy. The United Provident Association, and I am instructor in the school of social work at the University of Oklahoma.

Mr. Parsons. Give the reporter the copy of your brief and we will be very glad to have it and the committee will go through it and it will be incorporated in the hearing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Curtis. What are your recommendations on this, what field do you go into?

Mrs. Waddy. We have had during the past 10 years inquiries concerning 16,000 of these families who have migrated to other communities. We have three concrete suggestions, first, that there be uniform interpretation of relief eligibility.

Mr. Curtis. Do you recommend uniformity of settlement laws rather than abolition?

Mrs. Waddy. Yes; because the migrant draws upon resources purely local in nature, as school facilities, hospitalization, burials, and other benefits for which the local governmental unit bears the complete cost.

Mr. Curtis. I understand, and I wondered if you recommend a uniformity or abolition?

Mrs. Waddy. Uniformity.

Mr. Curtis. What other points do you have?

Mrs. Waddy. We believe that you cannot disassociate the problem of the migrant from that of the local indigent. We believe that when you are considering the migrant family and making provision for their maintenance you also must take into consideration what is available for the local indigent. We can cite numerous instances where families left Oklahoma to go to other communities because they were forced to exist upon $3 or $4 a month relief grants in this State. After arriving in California, these families have written to relatives about the greater amount of relief available or greater work opportunities there. As a result, sometimes as many as eight or nine families have followed. We believe that many of these people would have stayed in our community had there been adequate assistance for them here.

Mr. Parsons. Mrs. Waddy, do you care to give us a brief statement of the high points covered in your statement, or would you rather just file it with the committee?

Mrs. Waddy. I might say that we have listed what we believe are the causes of migration, the factors determining the destination of the migrants, and the extent of the data from which our conclusions are based.

Mr. Parsons. Thank you very much, Mrs. Waddy, your report will be incorporated in our record.

(The report follows:)

Statement of United Provident Association

United Provident Association,
Oklahoma City, Okla., September 19, 1940.

Dr. Robert K. Lamb,
House Committee on Interstate Migration, Oklahoma City, Okla.

My Dear Mr. Lamb: At the request of your representative, Mr. Fath, we are submitting certain factual data and observations. Our experience with migrant families covers a period of more than 15 years. Migration is by no means a new problem. For many years welfare agencies have been confronted with the problem of determining the best plan for nonresident stranded families. More than 20 years ago the national transportation agreement came into being as the result of consultation between agencies on the problem of migrant families. That agreement was in operation for many years, and several thousand agencies, public and private, were signers. Modifications of the procedures under the agreement were made over a period of years as automobiles became more accessible to families of limited means.

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

1. *The economic factor.*—Our experience with migrant families leads us to believe that this is the greatest contributing factor. Depression years, drought years, and so forth, have their bearing upon the area of migration and the degree of migration at given periods. This economic determinant applies to the person previously self-maintaining who cannot continue to make a living in his home community at his former occupation and to the relief recipient who finds assistance in his home community inadequate for his needs. Both travel to other areas hoping for betterment of their conditions.

2. *Health factor.*—Change of abode for health reasons is much less prevalent than 10 or 15 years ago when certain areas having favorable climate, mineral waters, and so forth, had very serious problems because of the influx of persons seeking sojourn there in order to test the benefits of those elements for the treatment of their ills. Many families used all of their resources for transportation and arrived at the health resort without funds for food, shelter, or other needs, although months of treatment might be necessary.

There has been a consistent decrease in this type of migration, as physicians give less credence to climate as a factor in the treatment of disease. Some physicians in rural areas still advise such change, however, and some families make such a decision without the recommendations of an outsider, so the health factor still contributes to migration.

3. *Personal factors.*—Conflicts with relatives serve as an example. A young couple failing to make a satisfactory marital adjustment because of the interference of relatives may decide to move to some distant community in order to eliminate that interference. Often such a move is made even though employment is assured at point of residence and uncertain at destination.

Conflict with the law is another personal factor which may lead to determination of need for change of abode. We have noted an increase in this factor in some instances, particularly in States where the executive officers favor the "banishment" parole.

FACTORS DETERMINING DESTINATION

1. *Climate frequently is a determining factor.*—In certain areas a family may live through the winter in a greater degree of comfort and at a much lower cost than in other places where the weather is more severe. Employment opportunities also are effected by climatic conditions. Long periods of severe stormy weather decrease employment opportunities for the unskilled laborer.

2. *Boom conditions in a given community often make that community the point of destination for migrants.*—For example, prior to the discovery of oil in the Oklahoma City area, the United Provident Association had been caring for the majority of nonresident families who became stranded here. The agency cared for an average of 40 families per month for several years. A few months after the discovery of oil, the monthly average increased to 300 families. Many of the families who came into Oklahoma City at that period had lived for 15 or 20 years in a given community prior to their migration to Oklahoma. Most of them had had limited incomes and due to heavy responsibilities their savings had been meager. They anticipated a tremendous increase in income in the oil area. Many had sold furniture and family possessions acquired piece by piece over a period of years in order to secure transportation to this city. Upon their arrival they learned that certain skills were required for the jobs paying the high wages of which they had heard and no type of employment was available for them here. There was, of course, an accompanying influx of less desirable persons such as follow any oil development.

3. *Advertising.*—Many indigent families have brought to our attention advertisements in papers indicating need in other communities for various types of workers. Usually the advertisements failed to state that only a limited number of jobs would be available, and there also was no indication that these ads were appearing at the same time in many other cities over the country, so several hundred persons might report for each job available. One case came to our attention in connection with an advertisement for printers in an Oregon com-

munity. A printer and his family returning here showed us the advertisement which had led them to sell everything for transportation to Oregon. The wording of the advertisement suggested an unlimited need. The clients advised us that actually there had been two jobs open for printers with the company who advertised. He reported that nearly four hundred families had gone to that community from various States as a result of the advertisement. Publicity such as that developed by some chambers of commerce also is a factor in determination of destination of the migrant. Elaborate publicity programs extolling the advantages and opportunites in a given community have an effect upon the indigent family seeking a new location as well as upon the fortunate family with adequate resources.

EXTENT OF FACTUAL DATA UPON WHICH CONCLUSIONS ARE BASED

1. *We have previously referred to the fact that the United Provident Association for many years has cared for families stranded in Oklahoma City.*—We have several thousand records of such families in our files.

2. Our agency serves as forwarding center for the State of Oklahoma. Inquiries from all over the United States clear through our agency to the smaller communities of our State. Last year we had more than 4,000 such inquiries. In the past 10 years more than 16,000 such inquiries have been received.

3. In order to more intelligently carry on the activities outlined in points 1 and 2, we have at intervals conducted surveys dealing with the problem of migration. When the newspapers reported that the House Committee on Interstate Migration was to meet in Oklahoma City several groups, aware of the vast amount of materials in our files, suggested that at least a portion of that material should be presented to the committee. The writer was asked to represent the Oklahoma chapter of the American Association of Social Workers and to act as one of the representatives of the Inter-Agency Council of Federal and State employees. The tremendous volume of material available precludes any possibility of a check of all data on hand without additional personnel. We did, however, examine 1,000 of the inquiries received during 1939 in order to ascertain certain trends. We are attaching tables and maps made from this study.

We refer you to map No. 1[1] showing the communities by States from which inquiries were sent. Although we received inquiries from 26 States and the District of Columbia, it is significant that of a total of 1,000 inquiries received, 844 of them came from the State of California. We believe that this ratio will hold true on the thousands of inquiries received during the past 10 years. Map No. 2[1] shows the communities by counties to which service was requested. This represents the Oklahoma communities in which the 1,000 families claim previously to have resided. We should like to call to your attention that the so-called Dust Bowl area has a relatively small percentage represented. Tulsa and Oklahoma City were claimed as former residence by the largest majority of these persons, and the mining areas such as Pittsburg, Ottawa, and Leflore Counties also made a heavy contribution to the migration to California. We believe that this ratio would be closely maintained if the added 3,000 inquiries received during 1939 were checked.

We have been impressed also by the frequency with which inadequacy of relief in the home community was indicated as the reason for migration. In our conversations with families who have returned to Oklahoma and with relatives living here of families stranded elsewhere, we have constantly been advised that the migrant was compelled to leave this State when employment terminated because relief grants were below subsistence needs. In many counties of this State the relief grants per family have amounted to $3 or $4 per month for a family of 6 or 7 persons. Presumably this amount was to cover all family needs; obviously, it could not. In some States relief was so much more adequate that when one family went there numerous others followed as relatives and friends were advised of the better conditions through correspondence. We have known many instances where 8 or 10 relatives of one family joined that family in California because of the reports written home of the great difference in the relief scale. Statements from California agencies concerning their minimum budgets for indigent families indicate that their allowance for the family who becomes stranded there is more than ten times what the family would receive if he remained in his home community. It is our contention, therefore, that any effort to solve the problem of migration cannot be disassociated from the programs for resident families. The Federal transient bureaus established with the purpose of reducing and controlling migration actually accelerated migration. A study of families receiving assistance in this area from the Emergency Relief Administration showed an average grant per family of $7.12, when at the same time transient families in this area were receiving an average of $40 per month.

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[1] Not received.

Obviously the resident family who remained in his community was penalized. Many families were intelligent enough to recognize that fact. Families who had lived in Oklahoma County for years and had never previously ventured from the State left this community and traveled from one area to another living at the transient centers. Some families drifted from one transient bureau to another and lived at the expense of those agencies for more than 2 years. If verification of residence was received by one agency and return offered, they simply proceeded to another community and received the benefit of temporary care while the procedure of verification of residence was in operation from that area. We have received as many as 16 communications concerning a family over a period of months from agencies over the country. Often these families gave incorrect information in order to delay the investigation and to prolong the stay in the transient center. We believe that the same situation will result if an adequate program for the care of the migrant family is established while inadequate programs for the care of resident families continue. In Oklahoma County there are more than 5,000 resident heads of families who are certified for W. P. A. employment but unassigned due to the inadequate State quota. We have been advised that there are more than 60,000 families in that situation in the State. In Oklahoma County, as in most counties of the State, Federal commodities represent the only type of assistance available for a resident employable man and his family who cannot secure W. P. A. employment. Due to the operation of the food-stamp plan in this county, his allowance of Federal commodities is slightly more than in some counties, amounting to $2 per person per month. There is no agency in this county with funds to provide shelter, fuel, or to meet the other needs of these local employable men and their families. Month by month the number in the group of destitute unemployed has increased.

As a member of a citizens' committee to study unemployment in Oklahoma, particularly in the Oklahoma County area, we secured factual data by a survey of the home conditions of several hundred of these families. We also heard the reports of State, county, and local agencies dispensing direct relief or work relief or serving as placement agencies for employable persons and labor union representatives. We were advised that actually more than 10,000 heads of families are unemployed in Oklahoma County and in destitute circumstances. W. P. A. certifications closed November 1, 1939. The supplementary figures were provided by the employment service and labor unions. We have no doubt that many of that 10,000 will go to other communities this winter. We have verified that some families have been legally evicted as many as 17 times in 1 year. After a certain number of evictions the family becomes well known in the low-rental areas and the possibility of securing rent without payment in advance is constantly decreased. Eventually he cannot secure quarters. Then the family drifts to another community.

We are enclosing some of the reports of the families interviewed for the unemployment committee. We appreciate the fact that you have limited time to consider the great number of reports from agencies who are contributing to the material on the problem of migration. If, at some future date, committee members desire to make additional checks of data in our files, we shall be glad to cooperate with them. We have certain strong convictions as a result of these experiences. We believe that there should be a uniform determination of relief eligibility over the country. Years ago, even though a State law failed to specify the exact period necessary to acquire residence or the period to lose residence, agencies had a gentleman's agreement and 1 year was the ordinary period to acquire residence and for the termination of residence. When residence was verified the indigent was returned since ordinarily a man has a better opportunity for adjustment in the community where he is known than in a strange community. When a family had wandered so long that it was impossible to determine residence in any given community, the community in which they were stranded assumed responsibility and endeavored to work out a satisfactory local adjustment. For many years these agreements worked satisfactorily and aided agencies to equitably serve the indigent with a proper cost balance. Within recent years, however, there has been a growing tendency toward legislative enactments requiring longer period to acquire settlement. A competition seems to have developed between States in this connection. The inequities of such procedure are constantly brought to our attention. We should like to cite the instance of a young woman who lived in a State having 3-year residence requirements. She had been there for almost 8 years on a self-supporting basis. About 2 months prior to her twenty-fourth birthday she applied for medical care. Her earnings had been adequate to cover ordinary living costs but not sufficient to permit the saving of a fund large enough to provide for hospital care and an emergency operation. Her job was to be available as soon as she was able to return to work.

The State in which she had been living for so many years wrote to our agency asking authorization to return her to one of the smaller communities in our State. The young lady did not know anyone in that community. She had no relatives living in the State of Oklahoma. She had not been in the State of Oklahoma for more than 10 years and then only for a short period of time. The request to send her here was based upon the fact that her father had died in that community in the State of Oklahoma some 20 years previously and that although she had not lived there for 3 years after attaining her majority before she requested assistance. In Oklahoma, incidentally, a female attains her majority on her eighteenth birthday. We have cited this one instance. There are numerous others in which the well-being of the person in question is not served by competitive residence requirements. We urge strongly some Federal regulation making uniform the period necessary to acquire relief eligibility in a given community and likewise uniformity of termination of such relief eligibility. We believe also that a study should be made of the inequities as between States in the matter of assistance available to indigents. We feel that the Federal Government should have a responsibility toward adjusting these inequities.

If you feel that we can be of further service in any way, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) G. H. WADDY, *General Secretary.*

TESTIMONY OF WHEELER MAYO, EDITOR OF SEQUOYAH COUNTY TIMES, SALLISAW, OKLA.

Mr. CURTIS. State your name and address and your occupation for the record.

Mr. MAYO. Wheeler Mayo, Sallisaw, Okla., editor of the Sequoyah County Times.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is Sallisaw, Okla.?

Mr. MAYO. It is due east, 186 miles due east of Oklahoma City, on United States Highway No. 64, Oklahoma State Highway No. 1.

Mr. CURTIS. How big a town is it?

Mr. MAYO. I believe 2,132 is the 1940 census.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the population of that county?

Mr. MAYO. A little over 23,000; 23,400, I believe; I forget the exact figures.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the annual rainfall?

Mr. MAYO. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. CURTIS. Approximately?

Mr. MAYO. I believe it is around 36 inches, but I wouldn't be positive.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the condition of your soil; is it deep, good soil?

Mr. MAYO. In the river and creek bottoms it is good soil; in the uplands it is poor, due to erosion; 80 percent of our land is classed as submarginal land.

Mr. CURTIS. What color soil is it, the submarginal land?

Mr. MAYO. It is a sandy-type soil, some red clay, most of it is a chocolate color.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Mayo, your entire paper here will go in the record and be made a part of our official printed record. In your paper you have reviewed certain happenings and the conditions that have led to the outward migration in your territory.

(The statement of Mr. Mayo appears below:)

STATEMENT OF WHEELER MAYO, EDITOR, SEQUOYAH COUNTY TIMES, SALLISAW, OKLA.

In response to your request for what information I have on the migration of farmers from this locality to other sections of the United States, I wish to say that I do not have any permanent records in my files on this situation. Although I have made quite a study on this condition, it has been done for my own information. However, I am glad to cooperate with you and give you my findings and conclusions I have come to from the information I have gathered.

In studying the migration from this county it is necessary to go back to 1918 to 1920, when there was a heavy expansion of credits. Then the great majority of our farms were owned by those living on them. Foreign loan companies during this time rushed in and practically forced real-estate loans on farmers at highly inflated values. These loans were on short-time terms and payable in lump sums. These loans, not being on installment plans, found the farmers at maturity time unable to pay the loans. These farm owners, seeing they were about to lose their places and knowing that foreclosure proceedings usually took from 2 to 3 years, neglected their places, and wrested from the soil all the production that was possible without making any effort to save the soil. This neglect naturally led to heavy soil erosion. Not only was our soil lost because of this expansion of credit but I think it had much to do with the breaking down of the morale of our people. This was the start of the destruction of our soil which now gives our county a rating of 80 percent submarginal farming lands. This has been a heavy contributor to the migration of our people from this county. We must now go back to the year of 1920 to study this situation from another angle.

In 1920 there was approximately 30,000 bales of cotton ginned here and several thousand left in the fields to be plowed up in the spring. This cotton was sold for 4 cents per pound. Sequoyah County banks and merchants had always financed farming on an annual credit basis. In 1920 our farmers were heavily in debt to these institutions, and the crash of 1920 created quite a financial problem. Bankers and merchants in an effort to recuperate from 1920, in the years 1920–26, continued to send good money after bad money, thinking each year would be the year the farmers could pay out. In December of 1926 this steady period of losses caused the Citizens' National Bank of Sallisaw to merge with the American National Bank, in an effort to save the bank deposits. In January of 1927 there was a decided tightening up of credits, this causing many farmers who were not able to get furnishings to leave. In the spring of 1927 we had a devastating flood which ruined thousands of acres of crops. So our migration really started in 1927, right after the spring floods, as it was too late, and our farmers were unable to secure additional financial aid to carry on. The spring floods of 1927 and the steady drain from 1918 caused the First National Bank of Sallisaw and the First National Bank of Muldrow to close their doors in the middle of October 1927.

I believe that along about this time the First State Bank of Vian closed its doors. On December 30 of the same year the American National Bank closed. This left our county with only one small bank located at Vian, in the west end of the county. The closing of the banks made it impossible for the merchants to furnish their customers. Also several hundred farmers who had been directly financed from the banks had no place to turn. So during the year of 1928 we had a general migration from over the whole county, the heaviest being from Prairie, where it is estimated that from 65 to 80 percent of the houses and farms were untenanted. The migration from other sections was not quite as serious. In 1930 our population had fallen to 19,505; however, for that year we had a farm acreage of 30,626 acres, comprising 2,517 farms, which produced 6,671 bales of cotton, which is our principal cash crop. In 1935 the farm acreage had dropped to 27,816 acres, this being divided into 3,151 farms which yielded 4,782 bales of cotton. For this year you will note that we had a substantial increase in the number of farms on a smaller acreage per farm. There has been a noticeable migration back into this county, starting in 1933. However, in 1934 we suffered a severe drought. After crop-laying-by time we had a seasonable migration, most of them returning for the 1935 crop. In 1935 we suffered another severe flood with heavy crop damage. Then in 1936 we had our most severe drought in the history of our county. These 3 successive years of crop failure caused heavy migration from this county again, most of the people going to California but only remaining for a short time. The 1935 census shows that our farm ownership was only 28 percent. I have no recent official figures, but it has been intimated that the 1940 census will show a decided increase. We will now take the third phase of what we consider cause for migration, and that has been the Government crop-reduction program. This is too intricate to discuss at great length, other than to say that this county has suffered through soil erosion, insects, financial distress, and natural causes and other factors that had reduced our acreage to a point where the added Government (Government crop reduction) program has worked extreme hardship on the farmers. The 5 years of base history that was used in these reduction programs found our county with only 1 year (1929) with anything like an average yield, and the reductions enforced on our small cotton growers made it impossible for them to continue farming on their small allotments they were granted. We have instances in a county where farmers have an allotment of only an acre of cotton, and I feel that it is imperative for the welfare of the small farmer in this county that the minimum of 15 acres should be made.

The fourth phase, which I consider being very important is the centralization of ownership of our most fertile soil, in the hands of a few owners. As stated before, 80 percent of all land is classed as submarginal. This 80 percent represents practically every acre of upland in the county, the remaining 20 percent being the river and creek bottom lands; 50 percent of this 20 percent is owned by approximately 20 individuals, and the other 50 percent being owned by about 30 individuals. About the only land in the county suitable for tractor farming is this river and creek bottom land, and during the last 2 or 3 years this type of farming is being adopted, there being approximately 60 tractors on this land from Sallisaw east to Fort Smith, Ark. As an illustration, a large insurance company recently foreclosed on nearly 3,000 acres of river bottom land near Muldrow. Between 1,200 and 1,400 acre sof this land was bought by a Fort Smith, Ark., machinery concern, and they have replaced tenants with hired labor, which will lower the standard of living as well as the standard of citizenship. This is being done to a lesser extent by other planters.

The fifth cause for our migration is our seasonal crops; most crops are laid by around the 4th of July, and there is a period until the 1st of September or the middle of October that the farmers have nothing to do, until harvesting starts. Then the latter part of November until the 1st of February or March when planting starts they have nothing to do but wander around looking for work. As this is not a manufacturing or industrial center, they go to the Rio Grande Valley of Texas or to California seeking employment.

The sixth cause in this section is in the low-income group; wages are small, and when stories come back of salaries being paid in California, Detroit, and Pontiac of $3 to $5 a day our people think it is an opportunity to get rich. They don't stop to think that they get their fuel for practically nothing, rents are low, and water is abundant and they can raise practically all their foodstuff. This causes them to seek employment elsewhere, and they return disillusioned.

The seventh cause: We have the group of people who follow public work, mining, timberwork, etc., who had a small farm as a side line, and when revenue ceased to come from their outside interest they found themselves unable to make ends meet on their small farms; thus they were forced to leave.

Eighth: We have the group of migrants who are industrious, hard-working farmers, who 8 times out of 10 will buy their homes; this is because of the fact that the people in other sections have learned that land values are low and have come here and purchased farms, this causing the former tenant to have to move, and as farmhouses are scarce, they have to go to other sections to find employment.

Ninth: We have the indigent type who resides here long enough to receive some sort of public assistance, then moves on to California or some other section of the country, having lived here long enough to be credited to Sequoyah County.

It will be impossible to figure a sure cure for the ills of migration. However, I feel that there are four measures that if adopted would be far reaching in helping to relieve this situation. First, decentralization of industry, and the bringing of our industrial plants into the interior, where people could get employment. Second, some system of made work that would take care of the seasonable migration caused by our farmers seeking employment when they have finished their crops. Third, a graduate land tax will force our large landowners to stop commercializing our most fertile farm lands. Fourth, the extension of the Federal Farm Security Act and resettlement program so that we can have more farmers own their own homes and more liberal farm financing. I think that the W. P. A. has done wonderful work in this county, but I do believe if the following program could be worked out, it would prove much more satisfactory. It costs the Government approximately $360 a year to pay the W. P. A. client for his year's work. I believe if they'd take the $360 and buy the farmer seven or eight good milch cows and give the cows to them with the understanding that they are theirs just as long as they properly care for them, and that the cows cannot be disposed of or mortgaged under any consideration; then, through the resettlement financing, this farmer, with a pair of good mares, and a good farm—in other words, rehabilitating them, however, with the Government taking a mortgage, which is to be repaid by the farmer, on all costs of financing, other than the milch cows—I believe that this will give the farmers hope and something to work for. This leaves us with those living in towns who need assistance. I'd suggest that we have a works program based on soil conservation and that those who are getting assistance from this program be used exclusively in the soil-conservation program of terracing, ditching, and drainage. This would rebuild our soil, furnish employment, and I believe would do much to solving our migration problem.

I note from the Saturday issue of the Oklahoma City Times, a newspaper published in Oklahoma City, that we have gained 3,000 new residents. I believe that in the eighth and ninth clauses, we attempted to cover this. I believe that we have gained 2,500 new residents in the county, who are the industrious, hard-working type, who have learned of the cheap-land values here and have moved in and purchased farms, and I do not believe that we have gained more relief than elsewhere. As stated in this editorial, we have many new homes in this county. In Sallisaw alone, during the past 2 years, there have been 34 new homes built. In practically every section of the county you go, you find new homes, and I feel that this is evidence of progress here.

TESTIMONY OF WHEELER MAYO—Resumed

Mr. Curtis. You need not go as much in detail as your printed statement does—I read that this morning—but we should like for you to summarize it briefly.

CONDITIONS IN SEQUOYAH COUNTY LEADING TO OUT-MIGRATION

Mr. Mayo. Well, the first trouble started in 1918. That is when they inflated the values of the land; foreign investors' agents came in and made some very interesting offers to our farmers over there for loans and they took them up. I mean they saw a chance to sell and at a good value and they took these loans and they were short-term loans and when they fell due they were unable to meet them. They were lump sums instead of scattered out in installments, which made payment almost impossible. In 1920 we produced in excess of 42,000 bales of cotton; however, it was only a little over 30,000 bales picked; Sequoyah County's cash crop has always been cotton and is today, that is what we depend on today.

Mr. CURTIS. Cotton is the main crop?

Mr. MAYO. Yes; we raise quite a bit of corn but cotton is the cash crop. That has been a territory over there where the banks and merchants have given the tenant farmers financial aid to produce their crops, but the crash came and cotton sold for 4 cents a pound and many bales were left in the field and these farmers who had secured these high loans saw they were gone in 1920 and 1921 and they proceeded to get everything out of the soil they could and didn't build it back. It took 2 or 3 years for foreclosures to set in. The loan companies and insurance companies—some insurance companies were interested in carrying loans there—started foreclosing and these families quit taking care of this land and we had erosion and that is the trouble with the soil, the fact that we don't have home ownership. In 1930, I forget just the figures on that, but it shows we had 28 percent home ownership over there. However, that figure would be increased now by reason of the fact that farmers from the western part of the State who have been driven from the west have heard of the cheap land and we have an increased population now; they have migrated in.

Mr. CURTIS. You have an increased population?

Mr. MAYO. We have gained 4,000 in the county population since 1930 and Sallisaw has gained about 400, and every town in the county has gained.

Mr. CURTIS. I followed your paper along as you counted these things, in 1920 and 1921 the farm credit structure broke, the foreclosures and all of that, and I wondered which of those things that have affected your territory; the one that ties in with the general economy of the country, price structure, unemployment, and so, credit and foreclosure; or the other phase that might be classed as local in nature, such as erosion of your soil, depletion and erosion and that sort of thing; which of those two angles have been the predominant factor in your difficulties?

Mr. MAYO. You mean from a local or national standpoint?

Mr. CURTIS. I mean from your standpoint over there, what has been the predominant factor in your difficulties?

DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY A. A. A. PROGRAM

Mr. MAYO. I would say right now that the Agricultural Adjustment Act is hurting us more than anything else over there. However, understand I am for some system of controlling the amount of acreage in Oklahoma, but it is working a hardship on our county for this reason. As I stated before, 80 percent of our land is submarginal and we have had a natural cut-down of our acreage, and then the A. A. A. comes along and gives them a further cut. In 1920 we had a yield of over 42,000 bales of cotton counting that that was left in the field, and the A. A. A. comes along and cuts it down further and it is based on this 5-year basis. All right, Sequoyah County was rather unfortunate during this time, their climatic conditions over there were abnormal all the way through with the exception of 1929, that was the only high yield we had, and when they came back on this 5-year basis we had one year in which we had a high yield. It wasn't too high, but it was higher than the rest of them. It wasn't average so far as that is concerned, but last year we only raised 657 bales of cotton, that was ginned in that county and a good deal of it was brought in from across the river.

Mr. CURTIS. It has been my observation that you are facing the same thing in cotton as we are in corn, the territories that are producing the surpluses aren't making the reductions in finished units and the territory that is struggling and being cut down in acreage to their detriment. We have a situation in the corn country, Iowa produces more bushels of corn because of the hybrid corn and favorable climatic conditions and in Nebraska we can't raise enough corn to feed our livestock. Go ahead.

Mr. MAYO. It is unfair right there in our own country. You take a farmer with a river-bottom farm, 20 percent of our land, all the land that is not classed as submarginal, is river or creek-bottom land, and the 20 percent of this land, this good land belongs to a few farmers. A farmer down here, say he has got 100 acres of this land, had been allowed 49.9 acres, and take a man up here on the uplands in the submarginal land, he has got 125 acres of land and he is allowed from 1 acre to 7 acres and that is not fair; that is something existing right there locally.

MECHANIZATION

Mr. CURTIS. Has mechanization made any progress there?

Mr. MAYO. It is making inroads now.

Mr. CURTIS. Has it in the past?

Mr. MAYO. No, sir; not until in the last 2 or 3 or 4 years, notwithstanding stories that have been written of it.

Mr. CURTIS. Have tenant farmers that have maintained their families on the farm been displaced by that mechanization and by day labor?

Mr. MAYO. Where this mechanical farming has come in that has happened in the last 2 years. A certain large insurance company, as I mentioned in my report, foreclosed on a large river-bottom farm, either 12 or 14 hundred acres of that land, and have replaced all those tenant farmers with day laborers and that is going to decrease our standard of living because they can't exist on 75 cents to $1.50 a day.

"GRAPES OF WRATH" UNAUTHENTIC RECORD

Mr. CURTIS. Your county is the county from which Steinbeck supposedly took his story?

Mr. MAYO. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. I think the committee wants the picture as it appears from facts and not from fiction; if there are any inaccuracies you want to point out you are free to do so, as between the popular idea and the actual conditions. I don't think it is necessary so far as the individual members of this committee are concerned, but if you wish we should be glad for you to do that.

Mr. PARSONS. We have found out in our travels, Mr. Mayo, that there are "Okies" in every county and every State; it is not confined to Oklahoma or any other State. California has them coming back east as well as our States have them going to California.

Mr. MAYO. All I can say is there may be some conditions like that if you take the picture of Oklahoma on the whole; however, I will say that the story by John Steinbeck was grossly overdrawn and it is unfortunate that people get the idea that that is our general condition over there.

Mr. PARSONS. You have refuted that by 4,000 increase in population?

Mr. MAYO. Yes; and another thing we are not in the Dust Bowl; we have rolling hills and streams.

Mr. PARSONS. And you were not over-tractored at that time, were you?

Mr. MAYO. No; we were not over-tractored at that time; I don't imagine there were over 10 tractors in the county at that time, and there aren't over 60 there now; John Steinbeck may have given some of the boys ideas about how to farm. This is the only suggestion that I have to make and I do think it is imperative and very essential, if you want to help our section of the country out, to raise the minimum of our acreage to 15 acres and if a man wants to raise 1 acre or 2 acres let him raise it. But we are not going to flood the market with 15-acre cotton farms in Sequoyah County or LeFlore County, but you give him only what he has now and that can mean nothing but starvation.

Mr. CURTIS. Every farmer in my district could buy $500 worth of cotton goods and not buy a thing they didn't need if they had the income to do it.

Mr. MAYO. I am sure that is right.

Mr. PARSONS. And if they bought those goods from the people in the South and thus make you prosperous with your cotton, then you would have the money to buy a lot of manufactured goods from industry?

Mr. MAYO. Oh, boy, could we! Most of our tools on these tenant farms are held together by baling wire now.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Mayo; thank you very much. Your paper will be incorporated in the record.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE ROBERTS, EDITOR, THE FARMER-STOCKMAN, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Give your name and address and state whom you represent.

Mr. ROBERTS. My name is Clarence Roberts; I am editor of The Farmer-Stockman, a farm paper published in Oklahoma City.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Roberts, we have your brilliant statement that has been supplied to us and we have read it with much interest. It will be made a part of our records. It is of particular interest and value to us because we know it is backed up by your experience of many years as an editor in agricultural affairs in this section of the country.

(The statement is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF MR. CLARENCE ROBERTS, EDITOR, THE FARMER-STOCKMAN, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

MIGRATION MUST CONTINUE

Migration of farmers, mostly small farmers paying crop rent, must continue in Oklahoma because of specific natural and economic conditions.

Some of this migration, but a small part, will occur in western Oklahoma from farms averaging a quarter section in size or larger.

Many of these farms were too small to begin with. In their native state they did not hold the productive capacity to support a family adequately. Now that wind and water erosion has reduced that capacity, an economic stress has been set up which will cause further migration.

This migration we anticipate will occur over the next 10, possibly 20, years, the rate depending upon the price of farm products and the incidence of crop yields.

Yields and prices average and better will tend to slow down this migration. Yields and prices under average will tend to accelerate it.

The greater migration will occur from areas still subject to severe wind and water erosion.

The greater migration which lies ahead in Oklahoma will affect the eastern half of the State, and more particularly the southeastern one-third, or a region south of Tulsa and east of Oklahoma City.

In that region the farms are small, erosion is severe, farm improvements quite poor, and a high percent of the small farmers are subsidized by various State and Federal agencies.

Eastern Oklahoma, being originally Indian country, has a land history all its own. The whole of that region once belonged to Indians. Over a long period of time they were not permitted to sell their land. Farms were divided among heirs rather than sold to settle an estate. This led to many small tracts of 40 acres, 20 acres, and even 10 acres.

When certain restrictions were finally removed and white men were permitted to buy Indian land, they bought up these small tracts. Thus the typical farms in eastern Oklahoma were too small to begin with. Most of them should have been twice as large; some might have been five times as large in order to create a unit of land with productive capacity adequate to support a family.

But, going back 25 to 40 years ago, these farms supported the families on them in fairly adequate manner. The land, when first cleared, was productive. A few acres would raise sufficient crops to support a family on the simple standard of living then prevailing.

In those early years population had not yet begun to press on the land. There was land for all, even in small tracts. Then, too, only the best land was at first farmed. Moreover, if a farm eroded severely, the renter could find another farm of new land to take its place.

Over most of this region lumbering was rather widespread in those years, offering seasonal employment to all who wanted to work.

In those same years life was simple.

The children went to school 4 months a year, maybe only 3 months. Family transportation was provided by the farm wagon. Family living did not include gasoline, tires, picture shows, basketball uniforms, etc.

The economic picture began to change when the country had been well settled; when there was little or no land to be cleared out; and when erosion became severe and widespread.

The economic trouble which had been accumulating was brought to a head by an act of nature in 1921 and 1922, in which years the boll weevil completely destroyed the cotton crop.

This loss of the cotton crop followed the war depression of 1920. The two events in combination wrecked the country financially. Few banks were able to remain open. The many which went into liquidation returned their depositors very little or nothing. This disaster, of course, affected the entire country. It affected the man on the farm, and it affected the owner of the farm living in town.

But during the rest of the twenties the country struggled along without outside aid, although signs of distress became more frequent. Aside from cotton, crops were average or better, with few exceptions, through 1929. Farmers did raise food and feed and did manage to get along.

However, in these years they were farming the soil for all they could get out of it, and erosion was more severe than ever.

The crisis came in 1930 with a drought cycle which ran coincident with a period of depression. Low yields and low prices in combination brought distress in this decade and brought it quickly.

Great as was the distress on the farm, it was even greater in the small cities and towns, with the result that between 1930 and 1935 the number of farms in Oklahoma increased by almost exactly 10,000. This increase was due almost wholly to the occupation of abandoned farms. We saw it take place beginning in the winter of 1930, and it was complete in 2 years' time. Nearly all of this increase occurred in the region under discussion and added to the difficulties of all. The total resources now had to be divided among a larger number.

So much for the past. Now what of the future? It is the belief of the writer, based upon 25 years of close observation of the area affected, that further migration must occur.

Migration must continue, first, because soil erosion will continue.

Public agencies have not been negligent in attempts to conserve the soil assets of the State. The chief obstacle to their efforts has been the small farms about which we are here talking. The ownership of these farms was and is widely diffused. Many of them were owned by former mortgage holders who took them under default. Most of these live in distant States. Many of them are women. Others of these farms are owned by oil men against the hoped-for oil value. Others are owned by business and professional men who bought them for investment or speculation and who, because of conditions aforementioned, found themselves unable to invest money in the conservation of the soil.

This left the renter to do what was done, if anything, with the result that all too often nothing was done. In all too many cases he is still doing nothing. The soil continues to erode, and the sad prospect is that it will all but erode away before the conditions of ownership and rentership can be changed.

On most of these farms renters have sought to avoid the consequences of erosion by abandoning one field to clear out another. But this process has an end. It ends when there is no more new land worth clearing out.

Migration must continue because of the state of improvements on most of these farms.

These improvements were built when capital was available to improve these farms; when men had faith in the future of the country; when outside capital was seeking an outlet; when crop yields were far higher than they are now.

I can find no evidence that anyone has any desire to repair or replace improvements on unproductive land. The lesson has been learned. Poor land cannot produce good yields and only good yields will ever pay for new improvements.

Since unrepaired houses will last only so long, it needs must be that the number of habitable houses will decrease each year. When one of these houses burns, I observe that no new house takes its place. Instead, that little farm becomes abandoned. Also when big holes appear in the roof, in the walls, or in the floors, the family must move out no matter how great its reluctance and even though it knows not where it will stop.

Here let me point to a condition pertinent to any discussion of future migration. I refer to the extent to which families on the farms under discussion are subsidized by various agencies. I make no criticism of these subsidies. I merely point to them and to the effect they have on migration.

The subsidy is made up of checks received by relief families on account of sons in C. C. C. camps; of old-age assistance whose origin is the Social Security Act, by the aged who are members of a family and who in part live from food and clothing bought by such assistance; of relief clients as certified by county boards of public welfare who receive assistance from State-appropriated funds, and also from distribution of commodities by the F. S. C. C.; of grants of aid from the F. S. A. and from loans from the F. S. A. which will, in whole or in part, never be repaid; of small A. A. A. checks carrying an arbitrary minimum of payment; and of labor on W. P. A. jobs.

The effect of these subsidies has been to enable some thousands of families to remain on the small farms where they now live. They have been kept in place by this aid. Without it, many of them would have been forced to migrate even to an unknown destination and fate.

When, as, and if this relief in whole or in large part is withdrawn, rapid migration will begin from the farms before described.

In the meantime, social value of such a program of aid and relief is offset in part at least by extreme depletion of the resources of the farms on which these subsidized families live. They continue to farm land which they would be unable to farm if forced to live from the products raised thereon. Such farms should be abandoned. Many should have been abandoned some years ago. As a result of the subsidy mentioned, erosion of soil on these farms has become or will become most extreme resulting almost in complete destruction.

It seems to be agreed by all that the one use to which severely eroded land in this area should be put, is grass. I find no disagreement as to that.

When a piece of land has been put to grass it calls for livestock. But livestock can hardly be profitably raised on 40-acre tracts, 80-acre tracts, or even on 160-acre farms. The effect of livestock farming is to reduce sharply the acre income. Hence, more acres are required to support that number of units of livestock which, in turn, will support families. The history of agriculture the world over will show that for beef cattle and sheep, fairly large areas of land are necessary for economical production. If the area under discussion is to raise beef cattle and sheep, for which it seems best adapted, then it must compete with areas in which larger farms and ranches are found. It must sell in competition with those other areas and, hence, must keep its costs of production pretty closely in line.

When migration does occur from these small farms the land looks for a new owner, an owner who will pay taxes on it, an owner who will conserve what is left and repair the damage, at least in part, which has been done.

Who is that new owner?

In nearly all cases he must be a man who has some capital which he can and will invest in soil building. Land which grew poor crops will at first grow equally poor grass. Erosion must be stopped. Grass must be sown or set out and nature must be given time to begin the slow process of rebuilding. All this takes capital. In the meantime, improvements must be made and taxes must be paid.

The man who begins with a few small tracts of land as a nucleus of a stock farm or small ranch begins at once to try to acquire more. Each such effort becomes a focal point of competition between the man who wants more grass and the small farmer who wants to still stay with his little farm.

Competition is set up and only one guess is needed to determine the result. In time the little farmer is notified that the farm on which he has been living has been sold. A renter must move. He is likely to become a migrant because the farm he would like to rent is tightly held by another renter if not being abandoned by another renter for the same cause.

In the area here under discussion mechanized farming plays little or no part. Here and there a stock farmer will own a tractor. The tractor, however, is incident to the various jobs on his farm which can be best done by a tractor. Its presence on his farm or ranch has little or nothing to do with his efforts to create a larger unit. If he needs more land he needs it in order to produce more grass.

In conclusion and at the risk of being misunderstood, I want to suggest a final reason for the continued migration of farmers from the region under discussion. This reason may be a little vague but is readily understood by those with a personal knowledge of conditions here being discussed.

I refer to the collapse or break-down of a type of farming which was never economic at best and which now is almost an anachronism in modern day life.

This type of farming is evidenced by a team of undersized, aged mules or horses, by those tools needed by a two-horse farmer, by a cow or two and perhaps a pig or two, by an inadequate amount of feed; and by an utter lack of all other resources.

We have here described a farmer who is a capitalist. He owns or has title to his farming outfit. But his total invested capital may be under $400. In extreme cases it is under $300.

With such limited capital and such limited physical equipment the operator is unable to get ahead. He struggles merely to hold on hoping that when one mule dies he can manage to buy another, that he will raise a heifer from his cow before she dies or must be sold.

If this farmer had to compete only with others in like position the very scarcity of farm products produced by all of them might in time increase the price so that living conditions would be more tolerable.

But it doesn't work out that way. These farmers who produce 2, 3, and 4 bales of cotton are in direct competition with the farmer who produces 10, 15, or 20 bales of cotton. They are in direct competition with the tractor farmer, who may produce 50 to 75 bales, as many will in Oklahoma this year.

Such a type of farming in time runs its course. A year of extremely short crops, a flood, a hail, a severe accident, a long period of sickness, produces a greater financial strain than the family can stand. The break comes. The farmer liquidates his few chattels and moves off down the road—a migrant.

What is the answer? The answer is indicated by the heading of the opening paragraph hereto: "Migration must continue." What may have been a farm problem as long as the migrant was on the farm becomes a social problem, a public problem, and a national problem when he takes to the road.

For him and his kind the road between the farm and his unknown destination is a one-way road. He is free to leave the farm almost any day, but he isn't likely ever to return.

Looking at Oklahoma agriculture strictly as an industry, the loss of 33,278 farms between 1935 and 1940 was an economic gain. That industry will perhaps be in better condition when a like number of families have left a like number of farm units.

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE ROBERTS—Resumed

Mr. Sparkman. The title of your statement, I notice, is "Migration Must Continue." I agree with you in that statement; I think if we started out on any other premise it would be a bad one. I gather from that that you mean that migration out of the State of Oklahoma is probably not finished, nor is that into the State of Oklahoma, and the same thing is true throughout the entire United States?

Mr. Roberts. I refer particularly to migration from farms in Oklahoma without reference to destination; if I might refer to the record, we lost in Oklahoma in the last 5 years 33,278 farms, and a farm, according to a census definition, is all the land farmed by one family, and we lose that many families from the farms in Oklahoma. I can't believe that the cause that generated that loss has yet run its course; it isn't likely that that large a migration would suddenly end in 1 year. That is the reason why I believe we have farm migration ahead of us yet.

Mr. Sparkman. I wonder if that condition you mention as prevailing in Oklahoma was prevalent throughout the United States; is such a condition reflected in the census figures that are being released from the census bureaus from time to time?

Mr. Roberts. Such figures as I have do not cover the entire United States. We were one of the first States to get a census count on farms by counties, which data were released to us before the data as a whole were sent to Washington, D. C. Therefore, we were one of the first

States in the Union to learn what our loss was during this 5-year period. We are yet awaiting the final count of farms from other States before we can make comparisons. It is my opinion that we suffered in that 5-year period one of the greatest losses suffered by any State in the Union.

CAUSES OF FARM DECREASES, 1935–1940

Mr. **Sparkman.** I wonder if you might state very briefly your ideas as to the cause for that decrease?

Mr. **Roberts.** I think the decrease relates to the mistakes made in land settlement to begin with. Reference was made this morning by the Governor concerning the nature of the settlement of the Indian land and of the entire State. In western Oklahoma the quarter section was arbitrarily made the unit of land opened. Had they varied it from the best bottom land to the poorest, the best land had a production capacity of perhaps 10 times that of the poorest, and on the bare land a quarter section was entirely too little. It should have been a half section or whole section and in some areas two sections, that economic unit of land which would support a whole family. Now, we are adjusting that mistake in western Oklahoma. In eastern Oklahoma we suffered some incident to the way land was allotted to the Indians and in which it was divided among heirs before it might be sold, resulting in many farms of 40 acres, 60 acres, 80 acres, those being the units available. Those were the farms which were rented and sold, which existed in a large measure and that should have been twice as large or five times as large to create an economic unit, an economic unit being that amount of land on which a farmer might reasonably expect to make a living for his family.

Another reason for our difficulties is low farm income; we have suffered in Oklahoma, as only the person who has suffered can understand, from a drought which announced itself in August of 1930 and which has never left the State in all those years; 1934 and 1936 were devastating in their effect; many parts of the State produced almost nothing in those 2 years. One of the dry spells occurred in 1939; it was a drought that began in June and in most parts of the State it was not broken until December. Parts of Oklahoma are now suffering from one of the most severe droughts we have had. That period of drought was coincident with a period of low prices; you are aware of the agricultural prices in 1932, and I need not repeat them. Now, when you combine short crops and low prices you intensify the effect greatly and reduce a farmer's income by three-fourths. When we started in debt we had a period of good years—we didn't think so then, but they were the twenties—going out of the twenties we carried a farm debt normal to the crops and prices in that area and before we could adjust ourselves to another era involving low prices and short crops, many farmers found themselves so deeply involved in debt, and not all of them were renters, many were owners, that the drought and low prices in 1932 simply wiped out these farmers, who found themselves without credit or resources of any kind and they had to go. That is another reason for this loss. Still another is soil erosion, and it is a rather sad story. I wish it weren't so sad. We have suffered terrifically from soil erosion in Oklahoma; of course, we have no one to blame but ourselves. Oklahoma was settled by pioneer people and pioneers were notoriously exploiting; we are no different from other States, and we have a type of soil in Oklahoma that erodes rapidly. We have a red bed soil and when it rains the soil tends to go in suspension and wash away.

In western Oklahoma the erosion has been very, very severe. In eastern Oklahoma it has been quite severe and increased by the fact that the first white families were renters and couldn't buy their own farms for some years, and then they found themselves on the small farms farming the land for all it was worth by necessity to make a living. Farm mechanization has caused and is causing farm migration; we can't deny that. It had its first effect in the Wheat Belt and then in the Cotton Belt in southwest Oklahoma. It has resulted in one man buying a tractor and renting an adjoining quarter section, and most of the decrease has come as a result of that, probably, rather than the buying up and operating of large portions of land by a few individuals. Then there is another cause. It is rather vague, but it has to do with the collapse of a type of farming which in a competitive era has almost run its course. I refer to the small farmer with but a few acres of land to cultivate with very limited capital, the land eroding and fertility decreasing, and he finds the trend of events against him, and he can't stop the loss; he can't stop and turn around and begin over again. He farms under the necessity of every year making as much as he can without rebuilding his land. Now, farming is competitive. Perhaps we may wish it weren't, but the man who raises 2 bales of cotton must take the same price as the man who raises 50, grade and staple and location being equal. That seems to be a fixed fact, and it operates against the low man.

Mr. PARSONS. The farmer has always had to grow the crop and peddle his wares for whatever the other fellow would give him for them, but he has always had to go buy his goods at whatever price that fellow would let him have them, so the farmer has been competing against himself always, but there has never been any competition for the things he buys?

Mr. ROBERTS. He sells raw materials and buys the finished product, and, as was pointed out this morning, in Oklahoma we pay the freight both ways.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you consider those the major causes?

Mr. ROBERTS. Those, I think, are the major causes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They have combined simply to make it uneconomical to farm those tracts that have been evacuated?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Or at least to farm them in the size units in which they were being farmed?

Mr. ROBERTS. For the specific causes relating to individuals, it is hard to define. Perhaps most of those who left the farm in Oklahoma in the last few years did so from a number of causes. Drought, low prices, soil erosion would all tend to start the movement, because it was a combination of many causes.

AID OF FEDERAL FARM PROGRAM TO SMALL FARMER

Mr. SPARKMAN. In your paper you state that many small farmers, especially in eastern Oklahoma, are being kept on the farm through subsidies. What form do these subsidies take and what kind of a program is it that you specifically refer to?

Mr. ROBERTS. I refer to the conditions wherein small farmers are aided by payments made to families on account of sons in C. C. C. camps, old-age assistance payments which go to an aged person who is a member of a family, which family in part lives on that payment; I refer to grants by the F. S. A., to food from the F. S. C. C., and to W. P. A. labor. Now, funds received from one or more of these sources by a family tends to keep that family on a farm where it might not be able to stay in the absence of that subsidy.

Mr. SPARKMAN. So the farm program has been an aid to the citizens of Oklahoma in keeping them anchored to the soil, anyway?

Mr. ROBERTS. Yes; very definitely; and we have a State program because the legislature in the last two sessions has appropriated funds to be spent by the county welfare boards and the total of these funds has resulted in keeping an unknown number of families on the farms, where they could not have stayed in the absence of that help.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you make a prediction as to what would be the result today in Oklahoma if these things had not been done in the past 7 years?

Mr. ROBERTS. In the absence of this entire program, migration from farms in Oklahoma in the past 5 years would have been much heavier, in my opinion.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Roberts, you mentioned the Farm Security Administration and the Surplus Marketing Administration and the C. C. C. and things of that nature. Now, I want to ask you specifically about the triple A program, and the reason I do that is because yesterday and today there have been some references and some statements to the effect that the triple A program had increased this farm migration, that it had worked against the small farmer in Oklahoma. What is your opinion as to that?

Mr. ROBERTS. I have never agreed with those who hold that view. I am willing to admit it is a minor contributing cause, but it cannot be disassociated from some other things. We would have to prove poor motive in order to prove that the triple A has resulted in farm migration, because associated with the taking over of farms is the tractor. Now, which was the more impelling as a motive, the opportunity to cultivate a group of farms or one farm with a tractor or to get the sum total of all the benefit payments. If we had no tractors, would these owners have taken over their farms and operated them with horses and mules and hired labor? I rather doubt if they would. If we had no farm program at all, would they have taken over these farms and operated them with tractors? I rather think they would, because the benefits to be derived by mechanical power and good management on a piece of farm land are so definite you can't set it apart as not being a cause.

Mr. PARSONS. Then, the farm program, in itself, has not caused the purchasing of tractors to displace the tenant farmer?

Mr. ROBERTS. We were purchasing tractors liberally before we had a farm program.

MECHANIZATION

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think that mechanization of farming has been a benefit as a whole to American agriculture?

Mr. ROBERTS. We have there a conflict between agriculture as a business and agriculture as a means of earning a living, but a certain number of people have been benefited so far as agriculture as a business is concerned; the tractor has been a very great benefit to them.

Mr. PARSONS. I agree with you.

Mr. ROBERTS. So far as the farms of the Nation are a place for the people to live I can't say, because the tractor is bearing down on small farmers and has eliminated many and it will continue to do so in the absence, let us say, of reclamation of the land or some sort of regulation or so long as an individual is able to buy and rent as much land as he wants to.

Mr. PARSONS. Mechanization in industry and agriculture has displaced millions of laborers, hasn't it?

Mr. ROBERTS. That is true; relatively the same thing is happening in agriculture that happened in industry 75 years ago.

Mr. PARSONS. But we can't stop progress—we don't want to—but the labor and employment for the manufacture of mechanization equipment does not absorb as many as it displaces, does it?

Mr. ROBERTS. I haven't seen any conclusive figures on that. My understanding, however, is that it does not.

Mr. PARSONS. There are a lot of new conveniences now that are being held in abeyance which would further displace labor in industry. I still contend, although I can't get anybody to agree with me much, but I still contend if we had spent one-tenth as much time in 1933 and 1934 in getting a holiday on the displacing of labor in industry and agriculture as we spent fooling with N. R. A. codes and a lot of other things like that, that we could have put these people back to work. Do you agree with that approach?

Mr. ROBERTS. I agree with the probable result, but not with the approach. I believe that machinery should have its way. I believe that we can adjust ourselves to achieve economical production by machinery and I would rather make that effort than cut off the production of machinery; I have done too much work with the grubbing hoe and cotton hoe to wish to impede machinery.

Mr. CURTIS. At that point, Mr. Roberts, I have been wanting for a long time to find some group of individuals or some individual who has made a scientific tabulation of this thing as to the farm alone. Mechanization has displaced labor, but what I am looking for is someone who takes an ordinary ledger and writes down the assets and liabilities and puts down a machine here and displaces so much labor there on the other side of the book. For example, air conditioning creates jobs for so many thousands, as does radio broadcasting, and other things will add to it. I want to add it all up and see whether we are gaining or losing. It occurs to me that as Congressmen, or anyone in public life, that we may be making a mistake in dealing in generalities until we find out what the figures are. Do you know of any such estimate made or do you know whether the machine is creating more jobs or displacing more people?

Mr. Roberts. I have seen no such balance sheet.

Mr. Parsons. Do you know whether it could be made?

Mr. Roberts. Certainly it should be. It would be helpful, I think. Probably the Brookings Institute could come nearer to making that than anyone else.

Mr. Parsons. Well, the reason I mention that is that frequently when we know what is happening we change our preconceived notions; isn't that true?

Mr. Roberts. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Thank you very much, Mr. Roberts. Your statement has been very clear and definite and we were very happy indeed to have you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF PINK ALLEN, VIAN, OKLA.

Mr. Curtis. Will you state your name for the reporter, please?

Mr. Allen. Pink Allen.

Mr. Curtis. Where do you live, Mr. Allen?

Mr. Allen. Vian, Okla., about 7½ miles south of there.

Mr. Curtis. Where is Vian?

Mr. Allen. About 11 miles this side of Sallisaw.

Mr. Curtis. Where is Sallisaw?

Mr. Allen. East of here about 180 miles.

Mr. Curtis. Then you live somewhere about 180 or 190 miles from Oklahoma City?

Mr. Allen. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Pink; is that your name, or your nickname?

Mr. Allen. That is my name.

Mr. Curtis. How long have you lived down in that country that you have described?

Mr. Allen. All of my life, except about a year and a half when I went to California.

Mr. Curtis. How old are you?

Mr. Allen. Twenty-five.

Mr. Curtis. Are you married?

Mr. Allen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How many children do you have?

Mr. Allen. One.

Mr. Curtis. How old is that child?

Mr. Allen. He will be 5 years old the 14th of December.

Mr. Curtis. When did you start farming for yourself?

Mr. ALLEN. In 1934.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you own some land?

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You rent it all?

Mr. ALLEN. I rent it off my father-in-law, and he rented it off the Aetna Life Insurance Co.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you raise on that land?

Mr. ALLEN. Cotton and corn.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of buildings were on it?

Mr. ALLEN. Very sorry. You mean how good they was?

Mr. CURTIS. Did it have a house on it?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir; a house and a barn.

Mr. CURTIS. How many rooms in the house?

Mr. ALLEN. Two rooms.

Mr. CURTIS. How big a barn?

Mr. ALLEN. Just a one-room barn and a shed onto it.

Mr. CURTIS. And a shed built onto the barn—any other buildings?

Mr. ALLEN. I put a cow shed on there since I moved there.

Mr. CURTIS. Does it have a well and a windmill?

Mr. ALLEN. A pump.

Mr. CURTIS. How many acres in this farm?

Mr. ALLEN. About 170 in all, but I am farming only about 35.

Mr. CURTIS. On what terms does your father-in-law rent that from the Aetna?

Mr. ALLEN. A third and a fourth.

Mr. CURTIS. Explain that?

Mr. ALLEN. A third and a fourth?

Mr. CURTIS. A third of what and a fourth of what?

Mr. ALLEN. A third of the corn and a fourth of the cotton.

Mr. CURTIS. Picked and delivered?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the corn shelled?

Mr. ALLEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Just picked and delivered?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of a crop did you raise in 1935?

Mr. ALLEN. We raised a pretty fair crop; nothing extra.

Mr. CURTIS. How many years did you stay on the farm?

Mr. ALLEN. I have been on that farm now ever since 1934, but I went to California and stayed about 16 months.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave for California?

Mr. ALLEN. July 3, 1935.

Mr. CURTIS. Before you started to farm here?

Mr. ALLEN. You mean——

Mr. CURTIS. Did you go to California before you began farming on the Aetna Life Insurance Co. land or afterward?

Mr. ALLEN. Afterward; I farmed 2 years on the Aetna Life Insurance Co. land and went to California in July 1935.

Mr. CURTIS. Those 2 years you farmed did you raise any crops?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Pretty good crops?

Mr. ALLEN. Pretty fair for dry years.

Mr. CURTIS. How many horses did you own?

Mr. ALLEN. I didn't own any; I sharecropped for my father-in-law.

Mr. CURTIS. And you decided to go to California?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you go out there; by train?

Mr. ALLEN. No; my wife's uncle came back here and we went back with him.

Mr. CURTIS. In his car or in your car?

Mr. ALLEN. In his car; he came back and bought a car and drove back through.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did your wife's uncle live?

Mr. ALLEN. San Bernardino.

Mr. CURTIS. And that is where you went when you got out there?

Mr. ALLEN. No; he took us to Salinas.

Mr. CURTIS. How come you to want to go to California?

Mr. ALLEN. We just wanted to run around; he told us how much money a man could make out there and we wanted to go.

Mr. CURTIS. He told you that was a golden land of opportunity, chamber of commerce stuff?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How long had he lived there?

Mr. ALLEN. About 20 years.

Mr. CURTIS. Did he make a lot of money?

Mr. ALLEN. I didn't see any of it.

Mr. CURTIS. Did he tell you about the wonderful climate?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; he said they had a good climate.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work did you do out there?

Mr. ALLEN. I drove a truck.

Mr. CURTIS. For what kind of a concern?

Mr. ALLEN. Hauling fertilizer, fertilizing lettuce.

Mr. CURTIS. For a truck farmer?

Mr. ALLEN. For H. G. Crenford.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you keep that job?

Mr. ALLEN. I worked for him most of the time I was out there, him and E. B. Stone; I worked for Stone, some, in a warehouse.

Mr. CURTIS. You worked in that part of California for about 16 months?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I came down by Delano and worked 6 days.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did you make a day there?

Mr. ALLEN. From $3.50 to $3.75 a day when I worked for Crenford, and when I worked for Stone I got right around $5 a day.

Mr. CURTIS. How much rent did you have to pay?

Mr. ALLEN. The first 2 or 3 months I was there I paid $6 a week.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you live in a house?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; a furnished house.

Mr. CURTIS. Then what did you have to pay after that?

Mr. ALLEN. I paid $4 then until I moved over on the job, then it didn't cost me anything, he furnished me a house.

Mr. CURTIS. You lived out on the farm?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; but I paid rent most of the time I was there.

Mr. Curtis. And you finally went up to Salinas, Calif.?

Mr. Allen. I never did stop, I went plumb on through to there at first.

Mr. Curtis. That is where you first went?

Mr. Allen. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Did you work any there?

Mr. Allen. That is where I did all my work; I just worked 6 days down at Delano.

Mr. Curtis. How did you come to start back home?

Mr. Allen. We got dissatisfied.

Mr. Curtis. You had a job there making from $3.50 to $5 a day?

Mr. Allen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And you quit that job making from $3.50 to $5 a day to come back?

Mr. Allen. I wasn't working then.

Mr. Curtis. You decided that Oklahoma was a pretty good place to live after all?

Mr. Allen. Yes; I came on back here.

Mr. Curtis. Did they have any strikes up there?

Mr. Allen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How soon after you got up there did you have a strike?

Mr. Allen. We wasn't there but about 2 or 3 months.

Mr. Curtis. Did you take part in the strike?

Mr. Allen. I was in it, the biggest part of it, about 30 days.

Mr. Curtis. Did you work any during that time?

Mr. Allen. No.

Mr. Curtis. How did you live?

Mr. Allen. The union had a kitchen and they fed the boys out on the strike.

Mr. Curtis. How much dues did you have to pay in the Union?

Mr. Allen. $16.

Mr. Curtis. How often?

Mr. Allen. You had to pay $16 to get your card and button, and then just about $2 a month.

Mr. Curtis. $2 a month?

Mr. Allen. Something like that, but I didn't get any card. I didn't have to pay that; I didn't work but about 3 days, but I got a card showing that I was with the union working in the lettuce.

Mr. Curtis. What were they striking for?

Mr. Allen. Higher wages.

Mr. Curtis. How much did they want?

Mr. Allen. The trimmers was getting 65 cents and I think they were striking for 75 cents and the truck drivers were striking for $1.25 an hour.

Mr. Curtis. Were you driving a truck these 3 days that you worked before then?

Mr. Allen. No; I was working in a shed, trimming.

Mr. Curtis. How much could you make in a day?

Mr. Allen. I made about $7 a day there.

Mr. CURTIS. You made about $7 a day before the strike?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; see we worked part of the night.

Mr. CURTIS. How many hours a day does it take you to make $7?

Mr. ALLEN. All day and until about 9 or 10 o'clock at night.

Mr. CURTIS. How much were you asking for on your strike?

Mr. ALLEN. I believe they were asking for 75 cents; I wasn't in on that asking but they got me in on the strike.

Mr. CURTIS. What did they tell you when you went in on the strike?

Mr. ALLEN. They told me we would win it in about 2 weeks.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you win it in 2 weeks?

Mr. ALLEN. No; they stayed with it about 40 days, my brother-in-law was in on it but I didn't stay, I quit it. They lost it.

Mr. CURTIS. You say you were striking for 75 cents, how much could you have made a day instead of $7?

Mr. ALLEN. I don't know just how much it would have been.

Mr. CURTIS. How much were you getting when you made $7 a day?

Mr. ALLEN. I believe we made 65 cents.

Mr. CURTIS. You probably would have made about $8.50 instead of $7?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. But it was going for 30 days while you were there and during that 30 days you didn't make anything, did you?

Mr. ALLEN. No; they didn't allow us to work.

Mr. CURTIS. You say the union had a kitchen where they fed you during this strike?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you live during that time?

Mr. ALLEN. The Salinas Auto Courts.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have a little money to pay your expenses?

Mr. ALLEN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you get to live there?

Mr. ALLEN. Well, this lady that run this place, her husband belonged to the union, and you couldn't stay there if you didn't belong to the union, but if you belonged to the union your rent would go on, but you could pay it later.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you send her that money for your rent?

Mr. ALLEN. I paid it before I left.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did you pay for that?

Mr. ALLEN. $6 a week; I didn't pay her while I was there because I left there before the strike was over but I paid her after I went to work.

Mr. CURTIS. How many months out of the 16 months you were in California did you work?

Mr. ALLEN. I might have worked 11 months in all.

Mr. CURTIS. How much was your average earnings per month?

Mr. ALLEN. I don't know.

Mr. CURTIS. You could guess at it, couldn't you?

Mr. ALLEN. I guess $75 or $100 a month.

Mr. CURTIS. $75 or $100 for 11 months?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How did you come to come back to Oklahoma?

Mr. ALLEN. I got dissatisfied and came back.

Mr. CURTIS. It didn't seem like home out there, did it?

Mr. ALLEN. No; I didn't like to work for the other fellow.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you do when you returned?

Mr. ALLEN. I picked cotton that fall and then got a resettlement loan and have been making a crop ever since.

Mr. CURTIS. You have a farm now?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I don't own it, I am working it.

Mr. CURTIS. How long is your lease?

Mr. ALLEN. You mean how long have I got to pay? You see, I borrowed money to buy a team and tools.

Mr. CURTIS. I am talking about the land, do you have a lease for 1 year or what?

Mr. ALLEN. One year.

Mr. CURTIS. A year at a time?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. How many acres do you have?

Mr. ALLEN. I am farming 35 acres.

Mr. CURTIS. How many on the place you rent, 35?

Mr. ALLEN. No; about 170, something like that.

Mr. CURTIS. And you have that much leased by yourself?

Mr. ALLEN. No; I have that much leased from him, from my father-in-law.

Mr. CURTIS. Oh, you are right back where you started?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; right back in the same place.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the Farm Security Administration loan you some money?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; $553 to start out.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you buy with that?

Mr. ALLEN. A team of mares, three cows, and farming tools.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you buy those cows?

Mr. ALLEN. In 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you still have all three of them?

Mr. ALLEN. I have three cows, but I lost one of them right after I bought them.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you still have the horses?

Mr. ALLEN. I lost one of them, too.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any calves to sell?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes; I sold three.

Mr. CURTIS. What did you get for them?

Mr. ALLEN. $16.25 for one, $17 for one, and sixteen dollars something for the other.

Mr. CURTIS. How old were those when you sold them?

Mr. ALLEN. Four or five months old.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you sell any milk or cream?

Mr. ALLEN. Some in November.

Mr. CURTIS. How much did your cream check run a week?

Mr. ALLEN. About $1.50 a week.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you got any chickens?

Mr. ALLEN. About 30 laying hens.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you sell any eggs?

Mr. **Allen.** Not now; we don't get very many now; through the year I guess we sell $5 worth of eggs.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you raise a garden?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Does your wife do any canning?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** When was your first payment due on this Farm Security loan?

Mr. **Allen.** In 1938; along in November in 1938.

Mr. **Curtis.** Did you meet that payment?

Mr. **Allen.** No; I didn't meet the first one; it was set up higher than I could make, but I made the next one and have ever since.

Mr. **Curtis.** Did they rewrite the loan then?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** When is your next payment due?

Mr. **Allen.** I am going to pay on it now when I gather my crop.

Mr. **Curtis.** You have a payment due this fall?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** How much is that?

Mr. **Allen.** About $160 payment on my stuff; then I borrowed $100 to buy a bull with, and there is $30 of that due this fall.

Mr. **Curtis.** Will you be able to make that payment this fall?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** From your cotton crop?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** This loan from the Farm Security helped you to get started back in the work you wanted to be in?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you feel like you belong in Oklahoma?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes, sir; I reckon I do; I was born and raised here.

Mr. **Curtis.** Is there any place else you would rather be?

Mr. **Allen.** No.

Mr. **Curtis.** You would rather stay home where you are than to roam around over the country?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Do you consider yourself as well off today as when you pulled stakes and started for California?

Mr. **Allen.** I feel like I am better off.

Mr. **Curtis.** But you are in debt?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes.

Mr. **Curtis.** Were you in debt when you started out on the road?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes; about $90 or $100.

Mr. **Curtis.** But you are in debt about five times as much now?

Mr. **Allen.** Yes; but I have got five times as much stuff to pay it with.

Mr. **Parsons.** Thank you very much, Mr. Allen, your testimony has been very interesting and your problem has been about the same as many others.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE ROBERTS—Recalled

RECOMMENDS USE OF W. P. A. LABOR ON SOIL-CONSERVATION PROJECTS

Mr. Parsons. Mr. Roberts, I understand that there is another point you overlooked awhile ago.

Mr. Roberts. Yes; I would like to bring to the committee a development which started in Oklahoma and which I think is highly significant. It comes under the head of what we might do. I refer to the use of W. P. A. labor in soil conservation districts in conservation of our soil. It happens that in Oklahoma we set up the first soil conservation district in the Nation. I am told we have more than any other State; we have 35 organized in Oklahoma covering more than one-half of the area of the State. We set up the first W. P. A. labor unit in the Nation for the use of W. P. A. labor and soil conservation work under the supervision of the soil conservation service.

Mr. Parsons. Similar to what the C. C. C. camps have done?

Mr. Roberts. Somewhat similar, but using local W. P. A. labor rather than bringing boys from a distance and putting them in a camp. The men stay home and come from nearby or are brought in in a truck, but it is attacking the temporary solution for the men that must have the job and the permanent solution of soil erosion which is our No. 1 problem for Oklahoma economically.

Mr. Curtis. At that point, considering the pressing things before us as a Nation, don't you think we are going to have to be more careful than we have been, to make the expenditures used to meet temporary needs actually go toward the improving of permanent conditions in our country, such as soil conservation?

Mr. Roberts. I think so; and that is why I make bold to bring this particular project to your attention. I don't believe it has as yet gained national attention, and I believe its possibilities are great. In areas of intense population we have had unemployment and migration. The two go together; one is the cause of the other. We want to solve the problem of the man who wants a job permanently, and the idea is that this thing is going to make something in 3 or 4 or 5 years, and, in the meantime, we at least make a temporary solution of his problem and, at the same time, solve, in a large measure, the problem of soil erosion.

Mr. Curtis. You would look upon that as making an investment?

Mr. Roberts. Yes; and I think a sound investment. I say that in view of the objection to the use of public funds on private property; but let's forget that objection and go ahead.

Mr. Parsons. Certainly there is no difference in that than in having the C. C. C. boys do it with Government funds. That objection should not be raised if the W. P. A. were doing it with Government funds under the proper administration and on a well-sponsored project?

Mr. Roberts. I believe it is a perfect set-up, and I believe we can make a great improvement of lasting value and at the same time afford a temporary solution to the problem of unemployment.

Mr. Parsons. Thank you very much; I think that is a very valuable suggestion.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF C. D. WALKER, ACTING ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION, STILLWATER, OKLA.

Mr. PARSONS. Give your name and address and the official capacity in which you appear to the reporter?

Mr. WALKER. C. D. Walker, Stillwater, Okla; principally a farmer, but at the present time acting administrator of the Triple A of Oklahoma.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand you have been farming in Oklahoma for how many years?

Mr. WALKER. I am still living on the farm where I was born 47 years ago.

Mr. PARSONS. Your parents evidently were one of the migrant families to Oklahoma in the rush for land in the olden days?

Mr. WALKER. I believe they were here a little before the rush, in what they thought was Texas, but which is now Jackson County, Okla.

Mr. PARSONS. Where is that farm located?

Mr. WALKER. In Jackson County, about 5 miles west and 2 miles north of Altus, in southwestern Oklahoma.

Mr. PARSONS. I presume you haven't been bothered as much with tractors as some of the other sections of Oklahoma?

Mr. WALKER. We are second, if not first; maybe the Panhandle is first, but I doubt it.

Mr. PARSONS. We have gone through your statement, and it is a very good one, and we would like to have you briefly explain your idea on this problem. Your statement in full will be made part of our record at this point.

STATEMENT OF C. D. WALKER, ACTING ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION, STILLWATER, OKLA., AND JOINT STATEMENT OF MR. WALKER AND CHARLES T. CAMERON, CHAIRMAN, OKLAHOMA STATE AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION COMMITTEE, HASKELL, OKLA.

EFFECT OF WHEAT CROP FAILURE IN OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma is a State in which there have been drastic readjustments in the past decade arising in part from an increasing trend toward mechanization and larger farm units, in part from lower price levels for farm products, and in part from unusually heavy crop losses. It is difficult to definitely separate the effect of crop losses in general or for any one crop, yet there is little doubt, for example, that in important wheat areas the frequency of crop failures has contributed heavily to a marked instability of farm ownership and farm tenure. Oklahoma now has the fewest farms since it became a State in 1907. There has been a reduction of 15.6 percent in the number of farms since 1935. Seventy-five out of 77 counties in that State have a loss in number of farms. Forty-eight counties have experienced losses in population, and it is significant that the loss in population is particularly heavy in the western part of the State where wheat is an important crop and where drought has taken a heavy toll.

The entire agricultural record of Oklahoma shows that any farmer who hopes to operate for any length of time in the State, particularly in the central and western parts, must be prepared to face frequent years of low yields or total crop failure. In the western part of the State, for example, there have been five periods of drought since 1892. The worst, of course, has been that which has existed almost continuously since 1933. Starting in 1933 there have been seven straight years of below-average rainfall.

The effect of unpredictable hazards is reflected in the widely varying yields of wheat. Since 1931 the average yield of wheat per seeded acre has been 10 bushels. Growers dependent on wheat income as a major source of farm revenue might maintain successful farming operations if they were sure of obtaining this average yield every year. However, there has been a violent year-to-year fluctuation which would upset any plan that a grower might have. During the past 10 years yields per seeded acre have varied from the low of 5.7 bushels in 1936 to a high of 16.2 bushels in 1931.

Perhaps one of the most accurate measures of the loss that Oklahoma growers have experienced is the record of abandonment. Even in years of fairly good crops for the State as a whole, growers in some area or another have experienced crop losses. The 32-year average abandonment for Oklahoma is 532,000 acres. In the period of more normal rainfall, 1921–30, abandonment was somewhat less than this long-time average, being 447,000 acres annually. However, in the last 10 years abandonment has increased markedly, averaging 923,000 acres. The 1940 abandonment reached an all-time high record—1,426,000 acres. There have been 5 years since 1930 when Oklahoma farmers lost more than a million acres of wheat that they had planted in hopes of a crop.

In terms of percentage, since 1930 wheat growers in the State have abandoned an average of 18.4 percent of acres planted. This is exactly twice as much as the 9.2 percent abandonment for the previous 11-year period, 1919–29. A year-to-year fluctuation in losses is shown in the fact that in the 1930–40 period the lowest abandonment occurred in 1931 when only 5 percent of the crop was lost. In the highest, 1933 and 1935, 30 percent of the crop was lost.

It is difficult to estimate the exact cost or the economic effect of such losses on wheat growers. A reasonable estimate places the average cash investment of the Oklahoma wheat grower at $4.70 per acre to get his land prepared and his crop in the ground. On this basis, crop failures have cost Oklahoma farmers as much as $6,700,000 in a single year. The smallest loss of this kind was in 1931 when the abandonment represented a loss of $977,000. These estimates of crop failure take into account only the amount of cash that growers have invested in their crops and do not include the vastly greater loss of potential yields.

There is no doubt that the instability of Oklahoma wheat growing is responsible for some part of the insecurity of tenure, loss of farm ownership, and creation of an increased number of farm migrants. The heavy burden of crop failure has caused many growers to tumble below the line of self-sufficiency. It has accelerated a consolidation of lands in strong hands as evidenced by the decreased number of farms and the increase in the size of the average Oklahoma farm.

CROP INSURANCE IN OKLAHOMA

Crop insurance for wheat provides means by which a grower can guarantee that he will have income from 75 percent of his long-time average yield every year. Thus, crop insurance should make it possible for the wheat grower to stabilize his production at the point which under his normal condition should be sufficient to cover the cost of preparing the land and seeding the crop. The crop-insurance program should have a direct bearing on aiding the wheat growers to maintain their farming on a stable basis through periods of drought such as they have experienced recently. The crop-insurance program was first introduced to Oklahoma farmers in 1939, and 8,600 contracts were completed to insure 463,000 acres for a production of 4,016,000 bushels. Growers paid premiums amounting to 270,000 bushels. As a result of extensive losses in some sections of Oklahoma in 1939, loss claims were submitted by 2,993 growers on 121,000 acres, and indemnities were paid amounting to 477,200 bushels, indemnities representing income that otherwise would have been lost to these growers.

As a result of the demonstrated protection that could be secured under Federal crop insurance in 1939, the participation nearly tripled in 1940. Twenty-three thousand three hundred and eighty growers completed contracts to insure 977,500 acres for a production of 8,393,000 bushels. Growers paid premiums amounting to 915,000 bushels for protection. As previously stated, abandonment of wheat acreage was extremely heavy in 1940 as a result of fall drought, and it is anticipated that a large number of wheat growers in Oklahoma will receive indemnities to cover crop losses on their 1940 crop. As of September 11, 1940, when the adjustment of losses was not yet complete, 7,331 indemnities had been paid in the amount of 1,256,701 bushels of wheat.

From the figures quoted above it can be seen that the crop-insurance program has contributed to the stability of farm income on those farms which received indemnity payments. Stable income means more stability of farm tenure on farms and thus decreases farm migration. By increasing purchasing power in rural communities it tends to decrease all types of migration.

Prepared by Information Section, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, August 1940.

(Additional statement filed by Chas. T. Cameron, Haskell, Okla., chairman of the Oklahoma State Agricultural Conservation Committee and farmer living in the same community for 27 years, and C. D. Walker, acting administrative officer in charge, A. A. A.)

The causes of farm migration are many. In varying degrees it has occurred since the first American colonies were established.

In the past people have not paid enough attention to maintaining the fertility of the soil. This was a great, new, raw country. Whenever the farmers wore out the productive land in the locality where they were living, especially in the eastern part of the United States, they packed their farming equipment into wagons and moved toward the setting sun. Out here they would find a great untouched reservoir of fertile prairie land which was even better adapted to agriculture than the land they were abandoning.

Oklahoma was settled by this class of migrant pioneers. Most of them settled on free land, and many of them very early after they proved up and secured title to their homestead sold their land to their neighbors. This perhaps started the first migration from Oklahoma.

From this early period to the present time, Oklahoma has had periods of migration during years of poor crops or low prices, and immigration during periods of good yields or prices.

Because of the rapid increase in population and foreign markets for our products during the time from early settlement to the World War, there was a big demand for our farm products at fair prices. During this period our fertile lands would produce abundance even on a limited amount of rainfall. We had periods of dry years in the western part of the State of 1 or 2 years' duration, but in general during this period a farmer could make a living. During the World War people were encouraged to produce more food, feed, and fiber for sale, encouraged to expand their soil-depleting crops, and to bring more land in cultivation. During this period farmers plowed up the native sod on thousands of acres that should have been left in grass. High prices of cash crops during this period caused our soils to be depleted at a rapid rate.

From the end of the World War to 1928 western Oklahoma had years of high yields on practically all crops. Thousands of additional acres were planted to cotton during this period. At the same time too much rain and heavy boll-weevil infestation in the eastern part of the State, as well as other States, caused thousands of new people to migrate to western Oklahoma.

In 1923–24 we had our first successful two-row implements, and in 1926–27 we had our first successful all-purpose farm tractor. In western Oklahoma hundreds of farmers who were not making a success at farming moved to town or the industrial centers to receive the high wages that were being paid at that time. Farmers who were making some success or who desired to remain with the farm purchased the improved implements and consolidated their farm with the ones their neighbors were giving up in an effort to make a decent living.

From 1929–32, when industrial production hit bottom, factories were shut down, business curtailed, and thousands of laborers laid off. Most of the unemployed returned unwanted to the farms, only to find that farmers had adopted improved farm machinery and their labor was not needed on the farms. Thousands of these were permitted to live in houses on the farms, rent free, until such time as they could find employment. Hundreds of these so-called farmers went to California and the West and reported that jobs were plentiful and that everyone could find employment. As a result, thousands started migrating to California, just as they did in the gold rush of 1849.

The recent decline in the number of farms in Oklahoma has been caused by a combination of many different things. Some of the principal causes may be listed as follows:

(1) Abnormal long period of dry years, from 1929 to 1940, which has caused some of the lowest yields in the history of Oklahoma.

(2) Loss of foreign markets largely due to the enactment of the high protection of the Smoot-Hawley tariff in 1930.

(3) Extremely low price received for all farm commodities for the past 10 years.

(4) Deterioration of land resources and failure of farmers to "make a go of it" through lack of ability or reverses beyond their control.

(5) Enlargement and consolidation of farms because of mechanization.

It is our considered opinion that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program has in no way contributed to farm migration. The success of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in restoring farm income, and thereby increasing employment in the cities, has checked a possible migrant problem of much more serious proportions than the one we now face.

We don't want to claim too much for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration programs. They have their limitations and shortcomings, as we well realize. We still have a long way to go and a rough road to travel, but we don't think anyone should underestimate the good that the increase in farm income has accomplished since 1932. Without it thousands upon thousands of Oklahoma farmers would have been forced to become migrants or to go to the cities to join others on relief.

A lot of people have confused efforts to help farmers with the evil which made help necessary. Some persons first became aware of the plight of sharecroppers and farm tenancy when the Government began its farm program. The logic of blaming this administration for the farm migration is like blaming firemen for a fire. The farmers have been there all the time, and they are aware of the fact that poverty and lack of opportunity have existed for many long years, but that efforts by the Government to do something about them date back only a little while.

It is easy to center upon some minority group and to hold it responsible for our troubles. It is a human trait to put the blame on someone else.

There has been much unjustified criticism by uninformed persons about the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in blaming it for the displacement of tenants and sharecroppers. In answer to the criticism about the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program displacing tenants and sharecroppers, we would like to state that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has always tried to prevent the displacement of tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Landlords are not allowed to receive increased payments by unjustifiably cutting down the number of tenants or discriminating against them. Any reduction in the number of tenants below the average of the preceding 3 years, or any change in the relationship between the landlord and tenants or sharecroppers tending to increase the landlord's payments is prohibited unless the local Agricultural Adjustment Administration committee, after an investigation, approves the change as necessary and justifiable. An amendment to the act, approved May 14, 1940, places the burden of proof upon the landlord.

Certain groups have accused the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of operating to discriminate against or neglect the small farmer. We would like to point out some provisions which benefit the small farmer. They are as follows: 5 acre cotton allotment provision, 5 to 15 acre cotton allotment provision, nongeneral allotment provision, increase in small payments, $20 minimum soil-building allowance, $30 provision for planting trees, assignments, and grants of aid.

Some of the outstanding accomplishments of the Agricultural Adjustment Administeration would include an increase of 82 percent in the farm income of Oklahoma from 1932 to 1939. The farm income rose from $106,000,000 in 1932 to $146,288,000 in 1939, not including Government payments; by including Government payments the total farm income was $193,000,000 in 1939. Business improvements in Oklahoma since 1932 show a definite gain. New automobile registrations increased 154 percent in this 7-year period and gasoline consumption rose 53 percent. Individual bank deposits, savings, time and commercial, gained 43 percent in Oklahoma from June 30, 1932, to June 30, 1939. Bank debits to individual accounts in seven important Oklahoma cities rose 71 percent. Electric refrigerator sales of household models in Oklahoma were 166 percent greater in 1939 than in 1932. The number of farms served by electric light and power companies increased 174 percent in 6 years. Employment gained 18 percent and pay rolls 44 percent in the manufacturing and nonmanufacturing industries of Oklahoma during this period. Farm bankruptcy decreased 76 percent from 1933 to 1939.

These are only a few of the many gains in Oklahoma largely due to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program. Commodity loans and crop insurance have also helped to stabilize farm income in Oklahoma, thereby preventing further farm losses and increasing migration. It is hard to conceive of anyone blaming the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program for oppressing the farmer and increasing migration in view of the above facts.

It is easy to criticize but it is difficult to construct.

Nationalism has driven every country in the world to have a farm program. In aggressor nations farm programs have been a part of their total war plans. The American farm program was conceived in peace, but is now a bulwark of our national defense. We have the best farm program and the best piece of agricultural legislation in the history of this or any other country.

Here is the foundation of the farm program's importance to national defense. First, it has given the Nation a scientific system for maintaining large reserve supplies of food and fiber without economic waste or soil waste. The ever-normal granary, without equal since the days of Joseph in Egypt, is an assurance of abundance for this country in peace or war. Second, it has guaranteed, through Nation-wide conservation of soil under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and related programs, that maximum production can be provided if need should arise. Third, it has given the Nation, through the acreage adjustment machinery, the power to produce on short notice the kinds and quantities of any specific foods or raw materials needed. And all this by a completely democratic operation which in efficiency challenges the compulsions of less free states. Fourth, it has given the Nation a magnificent new instrument of defense, through the thousands of elected farmer-committeemen, well-informed and alert, who are in constant touch with their communities.

The strain in agriculture is measured by the disparity of income. This has amounted to an average of more than $2,000,000,000 per year for the last 10 years. This would pay all farm mortgage debts and leave the farmers $13,000,000,000 with which to buy other products.

Agriculture needs something that will work as noiselessly and effectively for it as the tariff and big scale monopoly do for industry.

Unless the injustice to agriculture is relieved by putting business on a freely competing basis, the ruinous effect to agriculture must be offset by a well-financed farm program. Agriculture only seeks the same fair and impartial treatment that other groups are receiving.

As a result of our Agricultural Adjustment Administration program our farmers are ready for any emergency. They have built up great reserves of food and fiber in their ever-normal granary. They have also built up fertility of their lands and can quickly meet all production demands.

Cash rather than sympathy is required to preserve a sound agriculture as the foundation of American civilization.

TESTIMONY OF C. D. WALKER—Resumed

Mr. Walker. My opinion on the problem of migration is that the abnormal dry weather beginning in 1929 and still unbroken, connected with low prices, has been the trouble. I wish I had the ability to make as good a statement as Mr. Roberts. I would like to make Mr. Roberts' statement a part of mine because I would approve of everything he has said.

Mr. Parsons. You are in full accord with his statement?

Mr. Walker. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. What do you raise on your farm?

Mr. Walker. Principally cotton, wheat, and grain sorghums.

Mr. Parsons. How much do you farm?

Mr. Walker. One thousand acres.

Mr. Parsons. Was that homesteaded by your father?

Mr. WALKER. No; 240 acres was homesteaded by my father and the rest has been purchased.

Mr. PARSONS. Purchased by him or by you since you came in charge of it?

Mr. WALKER. By me.

Mr. PARSONS. You bought that from other farmers who were ready to move away and seek other opportunities elsewhere?

Mr. WALKER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. You didn't buy that during the high-boom years of 1918 or along at that time, did you?

Mr. WALKER, No; but next to it; 1923 and 1924.

AID OF FEDERAL FARM PROGRAM IN CHECKING MIGRATION

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think the A. A. A. and other farm programs have helped to keep the farmers on the farm?

Mr. WALKER. Very definitely so.

Mr. PARSONS. You think the A. A. A. has been an aid to farmers?

Mr. WALKER. Very definitely.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you predict what the situation would be today in Oklahoma if we had not done what we have done in the last 7 years in the way of these various farm programs?

Mr. WALKER. I would say in my estimation where we have lost 1 farm family we would have lost 10 without the different governmental agencies we have. I am not talking about the Triple A but our entire program of aid to agriculture.

Mr. PARSONS. If that prediction were true you would have had practically no farmers left in Oklahoma?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. A lot of the lands probably would have been abandoned, not only to insurance companies and banks and lending agencies, but to the State for taxes?

Mr. WALKER. Yes; and corporation farming.

Mr. PARSONS. And nothing but corporation farming could have taken its place?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Then it would have been on a more widespread scale and mechanization would have continued to keep tenant farmers out of the State?

Mr. WALKER. Yes.

DISPLACEMENT BY MACHINERY

Mr. PARSONS. The chairman has received a letter from a citizen of Oklahoma who will not divulge his name but I want to read that letter and have you comment on it:

> I notice that you are chairman of the investigating committee on migratory farm labor and that you will be in Oklahoma for a hearing on September 19 and 20 in the State capital at Oklahoma City.
>
> Under no consideration do I want to appear before your committee, but I want to call your attention to the fact that a number of landowners who have formerly rented their land to tenant farmers are getting rid of their tenants, they are buy-

ing tractors, and the tractors are replacing the farm families. In a good many instances the soil conservation checks make the payments on the tractors.

We have been in this community 27 years, we own considerable farm land, and some of the farms are adaptable for tractor farming and we have figured it out that on some of our farms the parity payment (soil conservation check) would take care of the tractor payments, but at the same time we would have to get rid of four of our tenant families on one farm who are honorable, respectable, and self-supporting citizens, and throw them on Government relief, and make emigrants out of them.

Personally, I think that the unemployment situation is attacked from the wrong angle, as in my opinion labor-saving machines should never have been put in practice unless due provisions are made to absorb the people the machine throws out of employment.

On the other hand, employees should be made to understand that they cannot force the employer to pay the employees confiscatory wages and through sit-down and other strikes ruin their employers.

We sell tractors also and when we sell a tractor we know that we shut off the market for about six horses or mules and the feed which this livestock would consume. Of course, there are other factors which should be taken into consideration which I sincerely hope will be put before your committee and your committee will reach a half-way satisfactory solution to the problem, and I hope that this committee will not only do the investigation for the purpose of getting in the newspapers, but will do constructive work.

Now, in the latter part of that last paragraph, that last statement in regard to that I want to state for the benefit of those assembled here that that is what this committee is trying to do, to get the facts without a lot of newspaper publicity or fanfare, and I would like to have your comment on that letter. Evidently this person not only operates a large farm, but is in the tractor business and probably some other business too.

Mr. WALKER. I would say this, that probably any law we have had enacted has been violated. We have a very strict law against murder and we have a lot of them committed, we have a rule against the eviction of tenants and probably that has been violated too, but I think in the main that the rules have been carried out. Here is the thing about the machinery, perhaps he is right so far as some unemployment from agriculture may go, but I don't believe that the majority of American citizens would say that it is right for industry and business to have all the labor-saving devices they can buy and the farmer should be prevented from using those because he has invested his money in a farm instead of in business. I understand we have nine or ten million unemployed and I wonder how many of those are due to labor-saving devices and machinery in business and how many are due to the tractors. I don't have that information, but I think it would be interesting.

Mr. PARSONS. A statement in a survey by someone, which came out last year and which was presented to this committee, was that farm labor had been displaced 41 percent in the 10-year period from 1929 to 1939, and that on an average for both agriculture and industry mechanization in that same 10-year period displaced 31 percent of the total unemployed labor in America. I don't know from what source these figures were taken but it was from a general Nation-wide survey. That shows, according to that statement, that mechanization on the farm had displaced a larger proportion of labor than had industry.

Mr. WALKER. That may be true, but we know that in business the adding machine, electric calculators, comptometers, and many other machines have displaced many people.

Mr. Parsons. That is true; also the combines have displaced the binding, shocking, hauling, and threshing of the wheat crop?

Mr. Walker. I think so.

Mr. Parsons. I remember in the old days we hired folks to do the shocking and that was about the best kind of labor we wanted to do, to shock wheat; it was a little different from following a plow, but when the thresher came around it had from fifteen to twenty employees as well as the farm hands in the community to do the threshing. You don't have any more of that. Two men go out now and do the threshing with a combine. What is going to be the answer?

Mr. Walker. I wish I knew, but I don't.

Mr. Parsons. We have always been in evolution, haven't we?

Mr. Walker. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. We never want to stop the element of change; we must either go forward or backward; we must never stand still.

Mr. Walker. I think that is right.

Mr. Curtis. It has not been my understanding that any one condition, for example, that the farm program brought about the period of mechanization in farms; it so happened to come at the same time; but out of your experience in administering the law and out of our experience in Congress in writing the law don't you think it is a worthy objective for us to make such improvements as we find in the future as appear to be sound to stop the tide of migrating farm families from the land and thus to use the program to that end and at the same time not decrease its general objectives?

Mr. Walker. In some instances, yes; but to permit the continued advancement in industry and cause more labor to be laid off I would say no.

Mr. Curtis. I didn't mean by stopping mechanization; I mean by the various benefits the farmer is getting, and so on. Do you think Congress should try to work out something that would give a bit of a chance to the individual that stays on the farm with his family?

Mr. Walker. I believe we have some very distinct advantages for that now under the present set-up.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think we should continue to do that or not try to create such an advantage?

Mr. Walker. I think that advantage should be given to the small farmer to a certain degree. I think you could ruin the program by going too far, but to a certain extent we should keep what we have and perhaps make some further adjustments along that line.

Mr. Parsons. This is a very complicated proposition. What will work in one county or one State may not work in another county or another State; but if we could just eliminate the selfishness of human beings, we could solve the problem pretty well.

Mr. Walker. That is right.

Mr. Parsons. But that is as impossible as it is to make the rain fall on these dry lands?

Mr. Walker. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. Education, however, will help this problem as we continue to improve on what I think is a good start. I want to congratulate you and the citizens of Oklahoma and the surrounding territory for the stick-to-it-iveness you have. I drove out to Nebraska the other day, and they have had 7 years of it, and I think I would have left after about the third year.

Mr. WALKER. I wonder if I would be permitted at this time to introduce two of my aides and then make a 2- or 3-minute statement. This is Mr. Fred Percy, one of our foremost farmers, and Mr. Charles Cameron, a farmer for 27 years and chairman of our local committee.

Mr. PARSONS. We are glad to have you both here with us.

MIGRATION IS CONTINUING PROBLEM

Mr. WALKER. I would like to say in regard to migration that it is an old problem, and curing an old problem is like trying to cure a man who has had some illness for a number of years; it can't be cured overnight. I would like to say briefly that back in the beginning of American agriculture we had this problem, but also we had unlimited free fertile lands in the West, and every time we had this happen the persons affected would move West and take up new land. Frankly, that is the reason I happen to be here in the West; my parents in Mississippi moved from an eroded, worn-out farm. Every time we had a depression people would move out and take up free land, but I know that back early in our history, comparatively speaking, we had something that started to work an injustice in agriculture. With no criticism, of course, I speak of the protective tariff which made farmers buy in a protected market and sell in an unprotected market. That has continued from very early in our history down to the present time, with some fluctuations up and down, but at the present time tariffs are the highest on record in the United States. Going along hurriedly, I would like to file here some figures in regard to the change in the number of farms in Oklahoma from 1910 to 1920. You are not asking for that period, but I would like to present this and bring out the fact that we lost almost as many of our farm population and almost as many farms from 1910 to 1920 as from 1930 to 1940.

Mr. PARSONS. What was the reason for that exodus?

Mr. WALKER. Dry years and some low prices during that period; 1911, 1913, 1917, and 1918 were extremely dry years. As Mr. Roberts stated, we found very early in the game of farming that the units were too small, and we had to consolidate them. Now, I would also like to present the same figures for the farms for 1920 to 1930. I believe you have in your records the figures from 1930 up to and including 1940, so I will ask to file the two for identification.

Mr. PARSONS. Identify those as exhibits, and we will have them incorporated in the record.[1]

Mr. WALKER (continuing). For the period from 1920 to 1930, as Mr. Roberts has brought out, we received above-normal rainfall in the western part of the State and had good yields and good prices and had a large number of people migrate to that section. Many would come out to pick cotton and after the season would stay and work on the farms.

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[1] See statement p. 2145.

Mr. **Parsons.** Did they come principally from central or eastern Oklahoma or from other States?

Mr. **Walker.** From central and eastern Oklahoma, due to too much rain in that section and to the boll weevil and other insects; also they came from other States. I might say that many of them remained there during that period and were counted as farm families and were in reality not farm families; I had about seven such families on my farm during that time.

Mr. **Parsons.** The actual fact is we had this problem with us always?

Mr. **Walker.** Yes; that is right.

Mr. **Parsons.** And it didn't take Steinbeck's book to picture it so much, but it takes us Americans a long time to get to thinking straight about these serious problems.

Mr. **Walker** That is right.

Mr. **Curtis.** In that connection this morning I had an occasion to interview a migrant, who was not brought before the public hearing, and he brought out the fact that the word got around among some of those migrants that there were certain benefits that could be obtained in California as farmers rather than as other classes and he said he personally knew of carpenters and plasterers and day laborers and many others who, upon their arrival out there, said they were farmers in order to qualify for certain relief that was given farmers out there and that many have caused an overexaggeration of the exodus there.

Mr. **Walker.** Just one explanation of that: in 1930, during a very favorable period of years for the oil industry we had thousands of oil-field workers living on small acreages throughout Oklahoma who were classified as farm families.

Mr. **Parsons.** I have a couple or three thousand Oklahomans in my congressional district in Illinois, in the oil fields there; that was brought out by someone on the side lines here today. I haven't the exact figures, but in his remark he made the statement that he thought there were as many migratory oil-field workers as farmers, in proportion.

Mr. **Walker.** I would say that most of those people that migrated to California were farmers and not oil workers.

Mr. **Parsons.** Is there anything else you would like to say?

COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES TO FARMERS AND MANUFACTURERS

Mr. **Walker.** I would like to say that from 1929 to 1932 when we were having so much trouble with our farm commodities, I believe the records reveal that, in our major agricultural commodities, we reduced our total output only nine-tenths of 1 percent during the period from 1929 to 1932. Prices decreased a little more than 60 percent during the same period. I would like to say in that connection that the major industrial organizations during that same period decreased their output approximately 65 percent and their prices only 5 percent. I might say that that is due to monopolistic control and the tariff enactment in 1930 giving them still greater protection, so I wonder if some of this unemployment couldn't be attributed to that source. Hundreds of people have come back into Oklahoma looking for their places, only to find that it has been filled by improved farming methods. I know that to be the truth, having bought three tractors in 1929. They say that the Triple A program has prevented them from regaining their original places. The chances are that they had left the farm before—and I know of hundreds of such cases personally—I am taking no one's word for that. But living on the farm I know of hundreds of them that have done that. I think without the benefit of the various agencies I could not have had my farm today because I expanded at the wrong time, before the dry years, and hundreds of them did the same thing, as brought out here today. It is my reaction that it could not be attributed to our governmental programs.

Mr. PARSONS. I did the same thing in 1919; I know what has happened in the farming territory; I have been through the mill.

Mr. WALKER. For the benefit of some here who may not have noticed this, we have heard criticism of various farm programs as being a subsidy to farmers and that that is the only class of people in the United States that are receiving those benefits. Those people don't know about the subsidies that the publishing people are receiving by reason of the fact that the Federal Government charges less to carry their papers in the mail than it costs to carry them, and I refer you to your Postmaster General's report of 1939, page 120.

Mr. PARSONS. That is done to diffuse knowledge and it is not done to give a subsidy to the newspapers, but it is a subsidy nonetheless, isn't it?

Mr. WALKER. Yes; and I wonder if we could go along just as well without papers as we could without food and clothing.

Mr. PARSONS. That is true, and you mentioned the protective tariff?

Mr. WALKER. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. The only difference between the subsidy the farmer is receiving today and the subsidy that the protective tariff is giving the manufacturer is that they don't collect the tariff and give it to the manufacturer?

Mr. WALKER. Yes; they don't have a green check to show for it. I believe if agriculture is going to remain as a foundation of American civilization we must have everything on a freely competing basis or a well-financed farm program of some description to bring the same protection to agriculture that industry has had for 150 years.

Mr. CURTIS. One of the things a farmer buys is farm machinery?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. There is no tariff on it, is there?

Mr. WALKER. No; not on farm machinery proper.

Mr. CURTIS. The accumulative taxes on farm machinery are definitely a fixed charge, are they not?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. The labor that goes in there is not a competitive labor, is it?

Mr. WALKER. No.

Mr. CURTIS. So that aside from any tariff or anything else we definitely have an economy where the cost is a definite fixed charge, whether by unions, custom, law, or anything else, and the farmer has to sell on an open market?

Mr. WALKER. That is right and I would like to say in that connection that on implements, while there is no tariff on them, we find we have 200 implement companies in the United States making some kind of farm implements, but we also find that 10 companies manufacture 90 percent of them and 3 companies manufacture a very large percent of that 90 percent, so that it is very easy to control those prices. If I might make this statement in regard to the criticism about the early-day plowing up of the land, I think that was a mistake. Perhaps agriculture received the idea for that from the facts which we had before us to show that the implement manufacturers had decreased their production 90 percent and were profiting by it and we wondered if it wouldn't be a good thing for us. Also before we ever killed a little pig the steel mills had killed 93 percent of their pig-iron production.

Mr. CURTIS. But they know what they can produce the next year.

Mr. WALKER. Yes; they do.

Mr. CURTIS. But can the farmer tell what his production will be, or is he dependent upon nature?

Mr. WALKER. I think he is dependent on nature, but here is another thing. When we reduce production of cotton by taking it out of production and planting soil-conserving and soil-building crops, unless there is something unusual about nature, we know we will produce still more next year and we are laying up a reserve against future emergencies and they are not.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think the reduction should be in bales or acreage?

Mr. WALKER. They both have their merits; it is a question.

Mr. CURTIS. They both have their merits?

Mr. WALKER. Yes; I might say that with abnormal weather conditions and unstable prices it is difficult to have a program to meet the needs of 6,000,000 farmers.

Mr. PARSONS. When I was a youngster about 6 or 7 years of age our old school teacher quit and went to Australia to sell machinery for the International Harvester Co. The next fall my father bought a McCormick-Deering binder and paid $110 for it and this binder was delivered to our farm about 425 miles from the factory where it was produced. This gentleman who went to Australia, and I have known him since for many years, sold the same machine in Australia and shipped it 4,000 miles across the continent and then 11,000 miles to Australia and sold it for $75.

Mr. WALKER. And I expect they made a good profit on the one they sold in Australia.

Mr. PARSONS. At least the farmer was paying a little protective tariff there in the guise of keeping the factory going.

Mr. WALKER. Practically everything we buy today costs approximately twice as many pounds of cotton or bushels of wheat to buy as it did back in the period before the World War. That is another cause of many a farmer having to leave his farm because the prices that he receives are not in line with the prices he must pay.

Mr. CURTIS. Parity is an ever-shifting item?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. CURTIS. We pass wage-and-hour laws and all that sort of thing but every time those are enacted they move the objective of parity higher, do they not, because they increase the cost of the things the farmer buys?

Mr. WALKER. That is probably right.

Mr. CURTIS. What has been the trend in the cost of the things the farmer must buy over the last 10 years?

Mr. WALKER. They are a little more in line than 10 years ago.

Mr. CURTIS. Farm machinery is cheaper?

Mr. WALKER. No; but our prices have advanced a little.

Mr. CURTIS. I am not talking about the nearness of parity, I am talking about the prices you must pay.

Mr. WALKER. In the main they have increased.

Mr. CURTIS. And monopolistic industries have increased too, haven't they?

Mr. WALKER. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. You have been a very splendid witness, Mr. Walker, you know the practical side as well as the theoretical side, because you are dealing with the triple A as well as farming and you get both pictures, and your evidence is very beneficial.

Mr. WALKER. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF J. E. WRENN, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, KANSAS CITY, MO.

Mr. PARSONS. You may state your name and address and whom you represent.

Mr. WRENN. J. E. Wrenn, Social Security Board, region 9, Kansas City, Mo. I represent Mr. Ed McDonald, our regional director, who couldn't be here personally. We have two operating programs which I think may be of interest to this committee, and our regional representatives who handle those programs are here, and I think the committee probably would like to have their testimony; they are Miss Phyllis R. Osborn, regional representative for public assistance, and Mr. Glenn Brockway, regional representative for employment security.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your statement may be introduced at this point, and such parts as deal particularly with the problem we are studying will be printed in the record and it will all be made available to the members of the committee.

(The entire study is held in committee files. Below are a number of extracts dealing particularly with the migration problem.)

Statement by Ed McDonald, Regional Director—Report of the Social Security Board, Region IX, on Its Services Which Might Bear Upon the Problem of Migration of Labor

It is regretted that long-planned engagements of the regional director of the Social Security Board, Mr. Ed McDonald, prevent him from appearing before your committee in person. He has asked that I, as his assistant, present this report of the services rendered by our agency which might influence in some degree the interstate movement of our citizenry. Insofar as this particular hearing is concerned, the scope of the inquiry, we understand, will cover only the States of Arkansas and Oklahoma in our region. In its preparation we have drawn freely upon our regional representatives for public assistance and employment security and upon the sources of information available to them from State operations of their respective programs. Both Miss Phyllis Osborn, regional representative for public assistance, and Mr. Glenn E. Brockway, regional representative for employment security, are here and available to amplify or supplement insofar as we are able the information contained in our statement. It is assumed that through the annual reports of the Social Security Board or other sources you are familiar with our agency and its functions.

In the preparation of this narrative we have confined our remarks of the public services available through the Social Security Board to those available through our own organization, this to avoid duplication of the reports by other Federal divisions from whom, we understand, you have requested like information. This report is furthermore almost entirely factual, having been based upon actual statistical records.

We have had only a little more than a week in which to prepare these data. Were more time available to us, it might be possible in the field of public assistance to thoroughly explore our case records for possible disclosures having a direct bearing upon the problem involved. There are, of course, thousands of cases and it is very possible that even this source would disclose little of value to this inquiry.

As you doubtless know, the public-assistance program is concerned with a relatively stable group comprising our needy aged and blind citizens and our dependent children. The State laws under which these categorical programs function contain restrictive residence provisions which influence more or less permanent residence once a residence is established. These provisions of the Oklahoma and Arkansas public-assistance laws are set forth in an accompanying section. However, it may be said in extenuation that the size of the categorical grants by States might also have an influence upon migration.

In order to properly present the picture from our standpoint, we have incorporated in our presentation a summary of the amounts paid by the Social Security Board to the States for public assistance and a statement regarding present case loads and pending applications. In reality, this about covers all the information we can submit on such short notice, but in fact it actually does constitute the gist of our operations in this particular field which bear directly upon the question of migration. To more definitely determine its effect would necessitate the study of cases previously mentioned.

In addition to our public-assistance program, we have two other of what we term "operating programs." Some fifty million workers now have social-security accounts in our field of "old-age and survivor's insurance." A reference is later made to the number issued in Oklahoma and Arkansas and to the payments made to the qualified worker, his wife or widow, and to their children under the provisions of this title of the social-security law.

The other program covers the field of employment security embracing both unemployment compensation and placements through our employment services which function nationally through a network of some 1,500 full-time and 3,000 itinerant service branch offices.

PART I. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT IN THE STATES OF ARKANSAS AND OKLAHOMA

The Social Security Act provides for assistance to the needy aged, blind, and dependent children. Thus, it is inevitable that large groups of needy persons not coming within any one of these three categories are not eligible for aid from the Federal funds at the disposal of the Social Security Board. The needs of certain of these persons are met through such programs as Farm Security, Work Projects Administration, etc., but a large group must depend upon direct relief funds made available by State appropriations, which are in almost every instance inadequate. This insufficiency leads to migration of persons who are in search of better living and working conditions for themselves and their families, and results in many instances in those persons who are not residents of a State receiving little or no attention since the State funds available will not cover even the needs of those who have legal residence.

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In Arkansas the general assistance program is administered by the same agency which administers categorical aid, namely, the State department of public welfare. In Oklahoma general assistance is administered by the State board of public welfare, while categorical assistance is administered by the State department of public welfare, an agency which is under the control of the Oklahoma Commission of Public Welfare.

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The figures we have compiled probably have several implications insofar as the migrant problem is concerned. We know, for instance, that in Arkansas and Oklahoma alone during the month of July 153,938 persons were receiving public assistance; that they had a regular income on which they had reasonable assurance of continuation so long as their circumstances remained the same as those on which the grant was based. This assurance, even though the grants were probably in no case completely adequate, would tend to lessen the necessity of migration. On the other hand, the fact that old-age assistance in Arkansas in July averaged only $7.31 per case per month, aid to the blind $8.34 per case, and aid to dependent children $11.67 per case, would give ample reason for believing that many persons would find these grants so inadequate as to stimulate migration to another section of the country if the recipient believed his life could be more satisfactory there. In Oklahoma the grants are considerably higher, though still very inadequate, being $17.72 per month for old-age assistance, $15.46 per month for aid to the blind, and $14.51 per month for aid to dependent children. These grants are considerably below the national average of $20.13 per case for old-age assistance, $23.48 per case for aid to the blind, and $32.15 per family for aid to dependent children. It should be noted that the aid-to-dependent-children grant in both States under consideration, and indeed in all of the States in the region, is the most inadequate of all, since the figures represent the grant per family, and there are often, of course, several children in the family. The family groups in which there are children are probably also those in which the possibility of migration is greatest, disregarding even consideration of the inadequacy of the grants.

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Arkansas is one of the most liberal of the States insofar as residence requirements are concerned, requiring that the applicant shall have resided only 1 year continuously in the State before he shall be eligible for public assistance in any of the three categories. In Oklahoma the maxima set by the Federal act have been adopted as the minima by the State agency. Below there is given a very brief analysis of certain of the most important points related to eligibility in the assistance programs of Arkansas and Oklahoma.

ARKANSAS

Local relief provisions

#10590. Counties to support poor. Every county in this State shall relieve, maintain, and support its own poor, such as the lame, the blind, the sick, and other persons who, from age and infirmity, are unable to support themselves, who have no sufficient estate of their own, and who have not removed from any other county for the purpose of imposing the charge of keeping them on any county other than the one in which they last lived. Rev. Stat., chap. 110, #1.

#10591. Sheriff and others to report paupers. It shall be the duty of every sheriff, coroner, constable, and justice of the peace to give information to their respective county courts of any such poor, and such court, if satisfied that they come within the purview and meaning of this act, shall from time to time, and as often and for as long a time as it may be necessary, provide at the expense of the county for the support and maintenance of such poor persons, and order from time to time the defraying of such expenses by drawing orders on the treasury of the county. Id. #2.

#10592. Nonresident—allowance for. When any nonresident, or any other person coming within the definition of a pauper, shall fall sick or die in any county, not having money or property to pay his board, nursing, medical aid, or burial expenses, it shall be the duty of the court to make such allowance therefor as shall seem just. Act December 21, 1846, p. 84.—Ch. 127, Pope's Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas.

Section 18. *Eligibility for Public Assistance and General Relief.* Public assistance grants or general relief shall be granted under this act to any needy person or family which:

(1) Has not sufficient income or other resources to provide a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health. (2) Has not made an assignment or transfer of property for the purpose of rendering himself eligible for assistance grants under this act, at any time within two years immediately prior to the filing of application for assistance grants pursuant to the provisions of this Act.—Section 18, Act 280, approved March 10, 1939.

OKLAHOMA

Local relief provisions

#40. Legal residence—How acquired. Legal residence may be acquired in any county for purposes of county relief as follows:

First. Every male person and every unmarried female, over the age of twenty-one years who shall have resided continuously in any county of this State six months shall thereby gain a residence in said county.

Second. A married woman shall have the settlement of her husband, if he have one in the State. If he have no settlement in the State she may obtain a settlement for the purposes of this article, by six months' continuous residence in any county in the State.

Third. Legitimate minor children shall have the residence of their father, if he have one in the State. If he have no residence in the State, they shall have the residence of their mother, if she have one in the State.

Fourth. Illegitimate children shall have the residence of their mothers, if she have one in the State.

Fifth. Every minor whose parents have no residence in this State, and every married woman whose husband has no residence therein shall gain a residence by six months continuous residence in any county in the State.

Sixth. Every adopted child shall have the residence of his foster parents.

Seventh. Every apprentice, in good faith, shall have the residence of his or her master or mistress.—56 Okl. St. Ann. 40.

ARKANSAS

Social welfare laws

Old-age assistance

Age requirements, 65.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, one year in State continuously.

Property and income limitations, does not own real and personal property in excess of cash value of $1,000 or does not have an income of $30 per month.

Maximum allowances, none.

Lien provision, none; assistance paid in excess of need recoverable as debt due State.

Penalty for fraud, $200 fine or three months imprisonment, or both.

Sources of funds for assistance, public welfare fund obtained from various taxes and certain proportion of Confederate pension fund. No local funds required.

Aid to the blind

Age requirements, 16 years or over.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, one year or lost eyesight while resident.

Limitation on amount, none.

Aid to dependent children

Age requirements, under 16 years.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, one year or if born within State within one year preceding application if mother has resided in State for one year preceding application

Limitation on amount, none.

OKLAHOMA

Social welfare laws

Old-age assistance

Age requirements, 65.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, five of the last nine years preceding application and last year continuous.

Property and income limitations, does not have sufficient income or other resources to provide for himself.

Maximum allowances, $30 (constitutional limitation).

Lien provision, State has prior lien upon assets when excess payment or misrepresentation has occurred.

Penalty for fraud, $500 fine or three months imprisonment, or both.

Sources of assistance funds, State assistance fund—appropriation raised from consumers' and users' tax. No local funds required.

Aid to the blind

Age requirements, none.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, five of the last nine years and last year continuous.

Limitation on amount, none.

Aid to dependent children

Age requirements, under 16 years.

Citizenship, none.

Residence, one year immediately preceding application; if born in State and less than one year of age mother must have lived in State for one year.

Limitation on amount, none.

The foregoing is in no way considered comprehensive. We reiterate that a consideration of the categorical assistance being given in the various States is in no way indicative of the amount of need existing in the States. Thousands of needy residents and nonresidents are ineligible for assistance under the provisions of the Social Security Act as at present constituted. It is our opinion that this point and the needs of these unfortunate persons cannot be overemphasized.

TABLE A

TABLE 1.—*Migrant families from Arkansas: Requests for return to the State received and granted by the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare, by regions, 1938–40* [1]

State	1938		1939		1940		Total 1938–40 [2]		Percent of requests granted
	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	Received	Granted	
Oklahoma	186	0	259	3	89	1	534	4	0.7
Michigan	221	16	116	11	44	4	381	31	8.1
Illinois	170	12	140	3	61	1	371	16	4.3
Louisiana	179	2	118	1	41	0	338	3	.9
Missouri	132	2	113	4	43	2	291	8	2.7
Kansas	107	4	131	4	54	2	291	10	3.4
Texas	105	8	99	9	21	5	225	22	9.8
New York	108	2	65	4	27	3	200	9	4.5
Ohio	80	2	89	7	19	3	188	12	6.4
Oregon	100	9	33	1	8	0	141	10	7.1
Washington	75	3	41	1	21	0	137	4	2.7
Tennessee	62	1	47	4	13	2	122	7	5.7
Indiana	39	0	40	0	15	2	94	2	2.1
Colorado	33	1	33	8	12	1	79	10	12.7
Iowa	29	1	26	1	13	2	68	4	5.9
Arizona	33	2	22	4	8	1	63	7	11.1
Nebraska	33	1	20	0	4	0	57	1	1.7
Minnesota	23	1	20	0	7	0	50	1	2.0
New Mexico	20	1	13	0	7	1	40	2	5.0
Alabama	13	1	15	0	10	1	38	2	5.3
Pennsylvania	15	0	20	0	1	0	36	0	0.0
District of Columbia	15	0	7	0	3	0	25	0	0.0
Utah	8	0	6	0	4	0	18	0	0.0
Florida	7	0	5	0	5	1	17	1	5.9
Georgia	5	0	3	2	1	0	9	2	22.2
North Dakota	6	0	2	0	0	0	8	0	0.0
Mississippi	3	0	2	0	1	0	6	0	0.0
Idaho	0	0	3	0	1	0	4	0	0.0
Nevada	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0.0
Others	34	0	45	10	13	2	92	12	13.0
Unknown	0	[3] 1	0	0	0	0	0	[3] 1	---------
Total	1,841	[3] 70	1,535	77	546	34	3,922	[3] 181	4.8
California	2,168	[4] 432	1,255	401	369	126	3,792	[4] 959	25.2
Grand total	4,009	[5] 502	2,790	478	915	160	7,714	[5] 1,140	14.8

[1] The Department of Public Welfare also received and granted requests which originated within the State: 1938, 12 received, 1 granted; 1939, 21 received, 3 granted; 1940, 5 received, none granted.

[2] Requests received and granted through May 15, 1940.

[3] 1 request granted but not accepted.

[4] 6 requests granted but not accepted.

[5] 7 requests granted but not accepted.

Arkansas Department of Public Welfare. Compiled from office records of the Social Service Division.

TABLE B

TABLE 2.—*Migrant families from Arkansas: Percent of requests for return to regions in Arkansas received by the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare from California and other States of the number of families in specified regions, 1938–40* [1]

[Preliminary]

Region	Total number of families	Number of requests (of families) received 1938–40 [1]			Percent of requests to total number of families		
		California	Other States	Total	California	Other States	Total
Northwestern Ozark	52, 783	995	776	1, 771	1. 88	1. 47	3. 35
Southeastern Ozark	47, 765	541	338	879	1. 13	. 70	1. 84
Ouachita	84, 111	1, 108	927	2, 035	. 25	. 21	. 46
Coastal Plain	94, 260	283	551	834	. 30	. 58	. 88
Delta	159, 720	857	1, 324	2, 181	. 53	. 82	1. 36
All regions	483, 639	3, 792	3, 923	7, 714	. 88	. 89	1. 75

[1] Requests received date from January 1, 1938 through May 15, 1940; total numbers of families in specified regions in Arkansas obtained from U. S. Census, 1930.

Arkansas Department of Public Welfare. Compiled from office records of the Social Service Division.

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TABLE D

Number of authorization requests received from other States for return to Arkansas, 1938, 1939, and 1940 [1]

State	1938	1939	1940	Total
California	2, 454	1, 255	369	4, 078
Oklahoma	259	259	89	607
Illinois	206	140	61	407
Louisiana	231	118	41	390
Michigan	198	116	44	358
Missouri	176	113	46	335
Kansas	147	131	54	332
Texas	137	99	21	257
Ohio	100	89	19	208
New York	84	65	27	176
Washington	104	41	21	169
Oregon	105	33	8	146
Tennessee	83	47	13	143
Indiana	43	40	15	98
Colorado	44	33	12	89
Arizona	46	22	8	76
Iowa	33	26	13	72
Nebraska	34	20	4	58
Minnesota	25	20	7	52
Alabama	19	15	10	44
Pennsylvania	21	20	1	42
New Mexico	22	13	7	42
Arkansas	12	21	5	39
Florida	8	5	5	18
Washington, D. C.	8	7	3	18
Utah	7	6	4	17
Georgia	6	3	1	10
Idaho	6	3	1	10
Nevada	5	2	0	7
Mississippi	4	2	1	7
North Dakota	2	0	2	4
Other States	43	45	13	101
Grand total	4, 673	2, 811	923	8, 407

[1] Data to May 15, 1940.

* * * * * * *

The employment-security program is comprised of two important functions: First, the placement of qualified workers through public employment offices in gainful employment with employers seeking qualified workers; second, payment of unemployment-insurance benefits as a matter of earned right to eligible unemployed workers. Unemployment insurance benefits are paid to the eligible worker under certain standard conditions for a certain period of time. These eligibility requirements are specifically set forth in the Social Security Act and in the State's employment-security law.

Prior to January 1, 1939, in Arkansas, and December 1, 1938, in Oklahoma, the function of paying unemployment-insurance benefits had not been commenced. Prior to that date, however, each of these States had maintained a limited, emergency public employment service, created under the National Industrial Recovery Act. The primary function of this emergency agency was to serve the public works program created by the National Industrial Recovery Act and other work project and/or relief programs. When possible, this agency attempted to serve the private employer.

With the passage of the Social Security Act, the States of Arkansas and Oklahoma passed enabling legislation required by the Social Security Act and the Wagner-Peyser Act, and thereupon qualified to participate in and administer their respective State's role in the Nation-wide employment-security program of placement and unemployment insurance.

Since December 1, 1938, and January 1, 1939, Oklahoma and Arkansas, respectively, have been able to make substantial contributions with respect to the economic and social problems of the migrant worker. In succeeding sections those areas will be pointed out where in these basic contributions have been made. Recommendations, growing out of the placement and unemployment insurance experience in these States, are also recorded. These recommendations are intended to indicate the place that employment-security programs can play in the substantial correction of the migrant-worker problem.

* * * * * * *

* * * There follows for ready reference by your committee an analysis of the employment security laws of Oklahoma and Arkansas.

ARKANSAS	OKLAHOMA
Coverage—One or more within 20 different weeks; provision for voluntary election by employing unit not otherwise subject to law.	Coverage—Eight or more within 20 different weeks; provision for voluntary election by employing unit not otherwise subject to law.
Financing—Pooled fund with automatic experience rating.	Financing—Pooled fund with automatic experience rating.
Employee contributions—None.	Employee contributions—None.
Benefits first payable—January 1939.	Benefits first payable—December 1938.
Base period—First four of last six quarters used in determining weekly benefit amount and duration of benefits. Wage qualification determined by period—first three of last five quarters.	Base period—First four of last five quarters used in determining duration of benefits and wage qualification; also to determine weekly benefit amount if actual full-time wage is used. If one-thirteenth of highest quarterly earnings (alternative) first eight of last nine quarters preceding benefit year are used.
Benefit year—Individual 52-week period—begins with next day following day on which claim is filed.	Benefit year—Individual 52-week period—begins with first week for which valid claim is filed.
Benefit amount, calculation—50 percent of full-time weekly wage (full-time weekly wage—one-thirteenth of total wages during highest quarter in base period).	Benefit amount, calculation—50 percent of full-time weekly (full-time weekly wage—the wages he would receive if employed at most recent wage rate during base year; alternative one-thirteenth of total wages in highest quarter during first eight of last nine quarters).

ARKANSAS	OKLAHOMA
Benefits—maximum weekly amount, $15. Minimum, $3.	Benefits—maximum weekly amount, $15. Minimum, $8 or three-fourths of full-time weekly wage, whichever is lesser.
Duration of benefits, maximum—16 weeks.	Duration of benefits, maximum—16 weeks.
Benefits, maximum total amount per benefit year—shall not exceed the lesser of 16 times his benefit amount or one-third of uncharged wage credits with respect to base period.	Benefits, maximum total amount per benefit year—shall not exceed one-sixth of total wages during base year or 16 times weekly benefit amount, whichever is lesser.
Waiting period—Two weeks (within 13 consecutive weeks preceding week for which benefits are claimed.)	Waiting period—Two weeks (within benefit year.)
Disqualification for benefits:	Disqualification for benefits:
Voluntary leaving—Not more than 5 weeks.	Voluntary leaving—1 to 5 weeks.
Discharged for misconduct—Not more than 5 weeks.	Discharged for misconduct—1 to 9 weeks.
Failure to accept or apply for suitable work or to return to self-employment—Not more than 5 weeks.	Failure to apply or to accept suitable work or to return to self-employment—Until individual again meets eligibility requirements of section 4.
Labor dispute—For any week of unemployment due to a stoppage of work existing because of a labor dispute where individual was last employed; does not apply if neither individual nor grade or class is participating in, financing, or directly interested in the dispute.	Labor dispute—For any week of unemployment due to a labor dispute where individual was last employed; does not apply if neither individual nor grade or class is participating in, financing, or directly interested in the dispute.
Other remuneration—For week with respect to which—	Other remuneration—For week with respect to which—
(1) Benefits are received or sought under another State or Federal unemployment compensation law; does not apply if other agency finally determines individual not entitled.	(1) Benefits are received or sought under another State or Federal unemployment compensation law; does not apply if other agency finally determines individual not entitled.
(2) Individual is receiving or has received wages in lieu of notice.	(2) Individual is receiving or has received wages in lieu of notice.
(3) Is receiving or has received old-age benefits under Federal law.	(3) Is receiving or has received old-age benefits under Federal or State laws.
(4) Is receiving or has received compensation for temporary partial disability under a workmen's compensation law of any State or United States.	
If benefits sought or received are less than those due under Arkansas law difference is paid.	If benefits sought or received under No. 2 or 3 above are less than those due under Oklahoma law benefits will be paid reduced by such amounts.
Penalty provisions — whoever makes false statement or representation knowingly or fails to disclose a material fact to obtain or increase any benefits for himself or other person may be fined $20 to $50 or imprisonment for not longer than 60 days, or both; each act constitutes a separate offense. Recovery also provided.	Penalty provisions — whoever makes false statement or representation knowingly or fails to disclose a material fact to obtain or increase any benefits for himself or other person may be fined not more than $50 or imprisonment for not longer than 30 days, or both; each act constitutes a separate offense. Recovery also provided.

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SECTION I—STATEMENT OF PROBLEM; RELATIONSHIP OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY PROGRAM TO THE PROBLEM

Migration of workers, irrespective of occupation, resolves itself into one general problem—the search for opportunity. This search transcends industrial, agricultural, and geographic areas. When certain areas of a State or nation produce economic goods more abundantly than others, then the migration of those searching for economic opportunity is inevitable. Migration, for the most part, is essential and socially and economically desirable. However, migration can be and is, for the most part under present circumstances, disastrous to the migrant and socially and economically undesirable. In the greater majority of circumstances the search for opportunity should be encouraged, but this search for economic opportunity and security should and must be controlled. The ultimate solution of the problem of the migrant worker and his family rests in the scientific management of the migrant labor market.

Scientific management of the migrant labor market cannot be achieved through accumulation of statistics on the number of migrants attached to the labor market; nor of statistics on the impact of the mechanization of industry and agriculture on the worker; nor of statistics on trends in tenancy or in land ownership. Knowledge of migrant highways shuttling back and forth across State lines and across the Nation will not yield a "cure-all" denominator for substantial planning. Artificial barriers, legal or otherwise, will not afford basic controls that are essential. These basic data, controls, and knowledges, however, can and must be centralized with one single arm of government, to permit scientific management of the labor supply in terms of demand, so that orderly migration can result in fruitful search for opportunity.

The task of controlling migration to permit of the best use of this mobile manpower may be rather simply stated as follows:

First, the location, the number, the skills, and abilities of our available mobile man-power must be known currently;

Second, labor requirements of employers must be known currently, so that available qualified labor can be referred to the employer in ample quantities to meet his needs;

Third, the assignment of qualified labor to employers must be so managed that no more workers than are necessary are moved to the area of employment; referrals should be so timed that the greatest possible number of days can be worked; when work is exhausted, the then available labor should be directed to the next area of employment with the least possible loss of time and expense to the worker and to the employer.

To carry out this program of labor market management, the worker, the employer and the public must be a party with government in changing the concept of control from one of regimentation of the migrant worker, or the freezing of the migrant labor market, to one of controlled mobility of that market.

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SECTION II—OPERATION OF ARKANSAS AND OKLAHOMA EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCIES WITH RESPECT TO THE PROBLEM OF THE MIGRANT WORKER

The offices of the Social Security Board and of the State Employment Security Agencies, in approaching the problem of the migrant worker, have worked within the limitations of titles III and IX of the Social Security Act, the Wagner-Peyser Act, and the State Unemployment Compensation laws. These limitations mean that workers and employers cooperate in a dual program under these pertinent statutes; first, job placement; and, second, payment of unemployment-insurance benefits. Causes of unemployment, for the most part, are outside the scope and control of Employment Security machinery. Problems of shelter, food, health, clothing, education, etc., the by-product problems of unemployment, do not fall within the purview of Employment Security operations. Rather, effective operation of the Employment Security program indirectly, but not directly, serves to cushion the impact of these by-products of unemployment, through militant activity in job placement of the worker and through protecting the eligible workers' rights to unemployment-insurance benefits during limited periods of unemployment.

ARKANSAS—PART I

A. PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

During the calendar year beginning January 1, 1939, and ending December 31, 1939, the 19 public employment offices in Arkansas made 11,781 regular private placements of unemployed workers and 29,560 temporary private placements. Regular placements are verified placements which exceed 1 month in duration; temporary placements are verified placements of less than 1 month in duration. During this same calendar year 12,555 unemployed workers were placed in public employment. Public employment, for the most part, means construction work performed on a contract basis and financed by public moneys. These placements should not be confused with "force account" jobs being performed by the Works Progress Administration. The public employment service in Arkansas makes no referrals to "relief" or "force account" employment. These assignments are made by the State Works Progress Administration. In addition the majority of unemployed workers placed with contractors on public construction jobs are hired on a voluntary and not a "must" basis by the contractor. In other words, cooperation between contractors fulfilling public contracts and the public employment office is the same in type and service as exists between the private employer and the employment office.

During the same calendar year 28,596 "supplementary" private placements were made. These placements vary in duration from less than a month to more than a month, and may be distinguished from "regular" and "temporary" private placements in a very simple way, to wit, they are "mass" placements that the local office does not record in detail on placement reports because the volume of reporting work required makes such detailed reporting prohibitive. They are and should be considered of equal weight, however, with all other placements.

Therefore during the calendar year 1939, 82,492 job openings were filled by Arkansas public employment offices. Of this number, approximately 32,000 were migratory farm workers referred to and placed with the berry growers and cotton raisers in Arkansas. Of the remaining 50,000 workers placed in Arkansas, how many were migrant workers placed in industries other than agriculture is not known. However, it is reasonable to assume that a part of the 50,000 were migrants. (See Exhibit I—Arkansas.)

During the first 8 months of the calendar year 1940 Arkansas public employment offices have made the following verified private and public placements:

Private:	
(1) Regular	9, 833
(2) Temporary	22, 963
(3) Supplementary	40, 075
Public	3, 505

During the 8-month period ended August 31, 1940, a total of 76,376 job openings were filled, as compared with 82,492 for the previous 12-month period. It is obvious that placements are far ahead of 1939, particularly in the agricultural-placement area, as reflected by 40,075 supplementary private placements and 22,963 temporary private placements through August 1940. It is expected that approximately 100,000 agricultural job openings will be filled during the calendar year 1940 by local employment offices in Arkansas. (See Exhibit II—Arkansas.)

These placement figures with respect to the agricultural worker and his family should be substantial evidence that under proper management the mobile labor market can be utilized to the economic advantage of the worker and the employer. The plan employed by employment security officials in Arkansas is relatively simple. Growers are contacted at proper intervals with respect to their particular crop and a determination is made as to the amount of labor needed. The amount of local labor available is determined. The number of workers necessary to be brought in to plant, harvest, or process the crop is estimated. When the week and day arrive for work to commence the workers are on the job.

Records are now kept from year to year on available local and migrant workers as they are registered, contacted, referred, and directed to different harvests throughout the year. These thousands of migrant workers are permanently identified in the official files of the employment security agency, their permanent address is known, a record of their camp equipment is maintained, or information as to the equipment with which they must be supplied is recorded. During the "off" season these records are kept up to date and new items or changes are made. As a result, when they are contacted to report to a job at the beginning of the season, such job actually exists for them.

Cotton pickers are secured by placing representatives of the agency in the cotton section where pickers are available. Mobile trailer offices are used in order that the job-site office location may be changed overnight with the progress of the harvest.

During the past 2 years during the agricultural season in Arkansas it has been interesting to note that under controlled referral there has not been a surplus of migrant agricultural workers anywhere in the State, and at no time have the public employment offices been able to fill all the orders for farm families that have come to them from the growers. At the present time in Arkansas farm families are being sought. On September 12, 1940, the Little Rock local office alone had on hand 50 unfilled orders for farm families.

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OKLAHOMA—PART II

A. PLACEMENT ACTIVITIES

Oklahoma initiated its employment-security program 1 month earlier than Arkansas, i. e., on December 1, 1938; therefore, a 13-month period will be used for the calendar year 1939 to include activity figures for December 1938.

During the 13-month period beginning December 1, 1938, and ending December 31, 1939, the then established 34 public employment offices placed 63,330 workers in available jobs. (See Oklahoma, table 1.) The placements are a combination of regular private, temporary private, and public placements. It will be recalled that during 12 months of this same 13-month period 19 Arkansas local offices placed 53,896 workers in similar employment.

In addition to the 63,330 regular private, temporary private, and public placements, the 34 Oklahoma offices placed 5,626 workers in "supplementary" private jobs during this 13-month period. (See Oklahoma, table 2.) It will be recalled that during 12 months of this same 13-month period 19 Arkansas local offices placed 28,596 workers in "supplementary" private jobs.

Therefore, during the 13-month period cited above 68,956 job openings were filled by the 34 Oklahoma public employment offices.[1] During 12 months of this same 13-month period 19 Arkansas offices placed 82,492 workers.

The disparity in placement between the two services may be noted by the placement totals during this comparative period. The Arkansas service, although considerably smaller, outranked Oklahoma in total placement of workers. Among other things, two definite factors bear on this disparity—first, the unemployment-insurance coverage of employees in Arkansas being one or more enables the public-employment offices in Arkansas to have closer contact with a greater segment of the labor market and job market; second, the Social Security Board has maintained a capable full-time farm-placement supervisor in Arkansas, who has specialized in the agricultural placement job.

Of the total of 68,956 workers placed in employment by Oklahoma public employment offices during this period, approximately 8,500 were migrant farm worker placements.

During the first 8 months of the calendar year 1940, 29 Oklahoma public employment offices placed 40,212 in regular private, temporary private, and public employment openings. (See Oklahoma, table 1.)

During this same period 6,192 supplementary private jobs were filled, the majority of which were in agriculture.

The disparity between placements made by the Arkansas agency, as compared with the Oklahoma agency, is even more pronounced during this period, when Arkansas placed 36,301 in regular private, temporary private, and public employment, and 40,075 workers in supplementary private employment, or approximately 30,000 more jobs were filled by 19 Arkansas offices than by the 29 Oklahoma offices. It can be safely concluded, in part, that extended unemployment insurance coverage and special emphasis on farm placement of uninsured workers is a partial solution to better and more coextensive management of the labor market and pob market.

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[1] These offices were reduced in number from 34 to 29 on July 1, 1939.

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There is included, as a part of this report on the activities of the Oklahoma Employment Security Agency, a statement prepared by the research and statistics section of the agency entitled "A Brief Analysis of the Problems Confronting the Migratory Worker in Oklahoma."

From this review of the activities of the Arkansas and Oklahoma Employment Security Agencies certain facts may be gleaned that are important. The first important fact seems to be that effective placement of the migrant worker is possible and that it is among the most, if not the most, desirable of the possible partial solutions to the migrants' problem.

The second important fact that is outstanding is that unemployment-insurance benefits to the migrant worker are substantial in amount and no doubt these benefits have had, and will continue to have, a decided effect on the migrant's ability to withstand the impact of unemployment as he continues his search for work and for opportunity.

The fact that every migrant who receives unemployment-insurance benefits must be registered for work in a public employment office and be able and available for work is important. This fact means that the migrant is known and considered to be genuinely attached to the labor market.

The third fact that appears conclusive is the greater the coverage of the State's unemployment-insurance law, then the greater are the opportunities to manage the labor market and fill job openings in the job market.

Finally, it appears that specialization in agricultural placement under full-time Federal-State supervision assures more effective placement of migrant workers and more precise and timely filling of employers' job orders.

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[State of Oklahoma, Department of Labor, Division of Unemployment Compensation and Placement]

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE MIGRATORY WORKER IN OKLAHOMA

This brief summary will deal primarily with the conditions contributing to the problems of migratory workers and the remedial measures taken to ease the burden of resting on these people.

It is a recognized fact that the majority of these persons are unskilled laborers having a rural or farm background. This report and attached exhibits tend to show the effects of migration from the rural to urban areas.

The cause of this trend is debatable, however. From our investigation it appears that the decrease in the number of owners of small farms, together with the tendency to mechanize in every manner possible the Oklahoma farm, constitutes the major factors underlying this migratory movement. To further complicate this problem soil erosion rears its ugly head.

It is a matter of conjecture to what extend lands in Oklahoma have become concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy individuals and corporations. However, it seems to be sufficiently great to merit the most serious study of the situation. It has not been possible to obtain the percentage of all lands capable of being cultivated that are owned by large landowners. In other countries a condition of peonage has usually, if indeed it has not always, been associated with the concentration of land ownership in a relatively few persons. And while we may yet have a long way to go before attaining a state of peonage in agriculture in Oklahoma, the fact that within a few decades after Oklahoma was opened to settlement we find 2.11 percent of the individual landowners owning 17.61 percent of all lands owned by individuals, indicates that we may be headed in that direction. The number of farms in the State of Oklahoma has decreased more than 24,000 in the past decade.

From personal knowledge we are not hesitant to state that the use of one farm tractor abolishes the need of from 3 to 5 farm hands and this table shows that the number of farm tractors used during 1939 was approximately 13,000 greater than those in use during 1930.

We hold no brief for anything except the continuance of improvement in farm methods; therefore our thought and effort must be directed along tthe lines of improving the standards of living and working conditions of these unfortunate individuals thus deprived of their former occupations.

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During the time when free land was to be had for living upon, and improving it, the farmer of small tracts could and did make the land perform the duty for which it was truly intended. When the free lands were exhausted, and these small farms had to be paid for, the farmer found it hard to feed and clothe himself and his family and still leave a margin for the land payments. Each succeeding year found this task more difficult. In attempting to meet these obligations he adopted a mechanized system of farming which included the tractor, thus disposing of the need of a number of manual laborers. Our table 6 shows that during the year 1930 more than 28,000 farm tractors were in use. The succeeding year only 26,000 were registered. The year following found the number of registrations at a low of 24,000.

This decreasing trend most probably was due to the farmer's inability to meet the payments on his tractor because of the low market price on his products and also to the thousands of acres abandoned because of soil erosion and drought. The aforementioned table delineates that the number of farm tractors in use increased progressively during the years subsequent to 1932. The ever-increasing use of these machines precluded the return of these people to the farms. The reader may be querulous as to the ownership and purchaser of this increasing number of machines. This is explained in part by the participation of the Federal-farm program. Moreover, as large corporations took over the holdings of these defunct farmers mechanization was advisable and sensible in the economical operation of the farm.

It must be remembered that the so-called "depression" did not strike our State until the latter part of 1931 and the early part of 1932. This was primarily due to the discovery of tremendous oil reserves in the Oklahoma City area. A study of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Oklahoma Emergency Relief Administration, and Works Progress Administration case load, and an examination of the case history of many of the applicants for relief work, discloses that they left their nonpaying farms for the opportunity of earning a living for themselves and families in this new endeavor. After the field had been explored to its greatest extent these people were stranded and thrown upon the mercy of an understanding Federal Government.

While Mr. Steinbeck's novel tends to juggle the geophysics of our State, and exaggerates the plight of our people, nevertheless it contains some degree of authenticity. We cannot hope to keep these people at home when the Government fields of social assistance in other States are much greener. After all, the Okie is still a human being and the law of self-preservation holds eminent domain over all of us. Students of sociology in the State of Oklahoma are well aware of the tremendous relief load in the southeastern counties. Examination of available material with respect to the ownership of lands in six of these counties reveals that only 65.9 percent of the land is in possession of owners of less than 640 acres each; whereas a similar investigation discloses the small landowners are 75.5 percent in nine southwestern counties, and are 81.9 percent in seven northwestern counties.

In the southeastern portion of our State we find in six sample counties, one of which is Haskell County and the next-door neighbor to Mr. Steinbeck's misplaced Dust Bowl, that 1.74 percent of the individual landowners of more than 640 acres own 25.14 percent of all the individually owned lands. This fact should give pause to the thinking person. In analyzing the comparative figures available for the different sections of the State with respect to this situation consideration must be given to the fact that eastern Oklahoma has been settled for a much longer period than lands in the western part of the State. Perhaps this may account in part for the greater concentration of lands in the hands of a few large landowners in this section. To what degree this tendency may develop in other portions of the State is problematical.

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TESTIMONY OF J. E. WRENN—Resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Wrenn, what is the territory covered by region 9?

Mr. WRENN. Region 9 consists of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you describe the operation of the public assistance program in those States?

Mr. WRENN. Well, for that I will call on Miss Osborn.

TESTIMONY OF MISS PHYLLIS OSBORN, REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, KANSAS CITY, MO.

COMPARISON OF OPERATION OF SOCIAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE IN OKLAHOMA AND ARKANSAS

Mr. SPARKMAN. Miss Osborn, tell us about your work and your problems and the way the program works.

Miss OSBORN. I think it would be almost impossible to discuss all the problems in the amount of time we have available. The term "public assistance" is used rather loosely. Sometimes it covers the three categorical programs under the jurisdiction of the Social Security Board, and sometimes it is used to cover these three programs plus the general assistance program which is supported entirely from State and local funds. In both Arkansas and Oklahoma there are the three categorical programs and a general assistance program. In Arkansas the general assistance program is administered by the agency administering categorical aid. In Oklahoma the State department of public welfare, under the commission of public welfare, handles the categorical programs and direct relief is administered by the State board of public welfare, an entirely different agency. The States of Arkansas and Oklahoma are alike in that funds are inadequate in both States to take care of the persons who are in need.

Mr. SPARKMAN. May I interrupt right here to refer to three different kinds of aid? I wonder if you might enumerate those.

1. KINDS OF AID

Miss OSBORN. Under the social security program we have aid to the needy aged, the needy blind, and the needy dependent children. The general assistance programs are supposed to care for all persons who are in need and are not eligible for aid through any other program, but there is not enough money to do the job. The relief case load in Oklahoma is probably smaller than it should be if all those in need were cared for, and it has been limited very artificially in Arkansas due to the fact that funds are so inadequate that a county system has been established and each county is assigned so many cases. If persons in need do not "get under the wire" they are simply out of luck until someone dies or is removed from the rolls so that someone else can be assigned to his place. There are many, many problems both in Oklahoma and Arkansas in the categorical assistance programs and the direct relief program. I have been very much interested in the testimony that has been taken here yesterday and today. I think that sometimes persons who are situated in such a way that they have adequate housing, adequate clothing, and adequate medical care for their families believe that persons less fortunately situated should sit down quietly where they are and "enjoy" homes such as the ones we see pictured around the walls here. It seems to me that we have a very real problem, not only in these two States we are discussing today, but in many of our States in striving to see that some of these almost intolerable situations we have mentioned are overcome rather than just trying to stop migration. It has been my experience that the persons who will migrate and the persons who have migrated are the persons who have imagination and are sensitive to the needs of their families and willing to try to meet them. If they have a grant of $4 per month for direct relief, you can see that they have a pretty difficult arithmetic problem. They are the people who 75 years ago would have been our pioneer fathers. It is a difficult problem to have them know the real situation into which they are going, but I wonder if we, perhaps, ought to emphasize the importance of getting to them the information as to the real situation in the places to which they are planning to migrate rather than try to convince them that they are very well off where they are.

2. COSTS

Mr. Sparkman. You said something about the money available in Arkansas, I believe, being so inadequate. What determines the amount of money allocable to any particular State by the Federal Government under the Social Security Act?

Miss Osborn. Under the Social Security Act at the present time and in its present form, the Federal Government matches dollar for dollar the money appropriated by the States for the assistance programs, and, of course, in a State like Arkansas, where money is scarce, need is greater and the State is not able to appropriate funds to take care of that need adequately.

Mr. Sparkman. Doesn't that work out in this way, that the place in which need is greatest gets the least?

Miss Osborn. Absolutely.

Mr. Sparkman. As a matter of fact, any grants from the Federal Government seeking to give relief or assistance when that relief, or the need for it, is based upon old age or need or distress, shouldn't that be upon the basis of need rather than upon the financial ability of that particular State to take care of its share?

Miss Osborn. There is a great deal of difference in opinion on that point, but I think that it should be.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe that has been the recommendation of the Social Security Board for 2 successive years, and I think that you are right on that. How do the per case expenditures in these two States you are mentioning compare with the national average?

Miss Osborn. For old-age assistance, the per case expenditure for May of this year in Arkansas was $7.31 per case, in Oklahoma it was $17.70 per case, and the national average was $19.96. For aid to the blind for the same month it was $6.48 per case in Arkansas, $15.35 in Oklahoma, and $23.55 for the national average. For aid to dependent children it was $8.16 per case in Arkansas, $14.46 per case in Oklahoma, and $32.19 per case as the national average. It should be remembered in connection with this aid to dependent children that the figures given represent the grant per family rather than per child. There may be more than one person benefiting from the grants for aid to the blind or the aged, but normally the grant as made covers the needs of less persons than is the case in the aid to dependent children families. We have more difficulty in getting adequate funds appropriated to care for dependent children than for any other group in the categorical program.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe the State of California probably has about the highest per case expenditure, does it not?

Miss Osborn. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. I wonder if you could give us those figures?

Miss Osborn. The State of California for the same month which we are discussing made an average grant of $37.99 per case for old-age assistance, $48.08 per case for aid to the blind, and $45.76 per case for aid to dependent children. Those are the highest grants, I believe, made by any of the States, with the exception that Massachusetts made a higher grant for aid to dependent children—$57.60 was their average grant for that same month.

3. CERTIFICATION

Mr. Sparkman. How are these cases certified?

Miss Osborn. In every case there must be a single State agency which supervises the categorical assistance program. The general assistance in Oklahoma, as I said, is under a separate agency, whose representatives undoubtedly will testify. The categorical assistance program and general assistance program in Arkansas are administered by local units under the supervision of the State welfare department, which is responsible for developing rules and regulations, and so on. An application is filed by the person who considers himself to be eligible, and this application is investigated very carefully. The needs of the person and his resources for meeting those needs are carefully evaluated, then the amount of the grant is decided upon and the case certified to the State office for payment. We try to arrive at these grants on a budgetary basis through planning with the family on their needs and by careful investigation. However, after the local workers have arrived at the very minimum which it is believed a family could exist on in both States this amount is then cut before the grant is made because there aren't enough funds to meet the needs of the total group eligible. In Arkansas the people have been getting 40 percent of the minimum which we believe they can exist on.

Mr. Sparkman. Not all those persons who are eligible will get that, as I understand it.

Miss Osborn. That is right.

Mr. Sparkman. Money is the source of your trouble?

Miss Osborn. That is true, and, of course, the grant is even less than 40 percent in the general relief cases. In Oklahoma it has been 90 percent for the aged and blind and 60 percent for dependent children. Again, the children who are growing and need proper food and clothing more than any other group get less than anyone else.

INADEQUACY OF GENERAL RELIEF

Mr. SPARKMAN. You speak of general relief; the Federal Government does not participate in that, does it?

Miss OSBORN. No.

Mr. CURTIS. Not all the States that are providing a very small amount of old-age and blind and dependent children assistance are the so-called wealthy States, are they?

Miss OSBORN. I wouldn't be able to say definitely about that.

Mr. CURTIS. Is Texas in your territory?

Miss OSBORN. No; Texas is not in our territory.

Mr. CURTIS. When were the last figures obtained as to the per capita wealth and income in the United States; 1930, or since that time?

Miss OSBORN. I have no figures available since that time. Of course, you can get all kinds of statistics but the figures from different sources do not compare very favorably.

Mr. CURTIS. I was impressed by your reference to Massachusetts.

Miss OSBORN. One reason why Massachusetts makes high grants for aid to dependent children while other States do not is because there has been a long history of mothers' aid in Massachusetts and a great interest in the children of the State as a good investment.

Mr. CURTIS. As a matter of fact, they are struggling with a severe problem of soil depletion, and they have lost a good many factories that have moved out of the State.

Miss OSBORN. Yes; they are paying in Massachusetts considerably above the national average for old-age assistance, also, although they are not out of line with many States. For the month I spoke of they paid $28.59 as against $18.96 for the national average.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have all the States there?

Miss OSBORN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. What are the lower five?

Miss OSBORN. Arkansas and Mississippi are always right at the bottom of the list; they tie for that position. It is a little hard to get the figures for the lowest five at a glance. Alabama is very low—$9.93 for old-age assistance for the month. Georgia is $8.01 for old-age assistance, Kentucky is $8.71 for old-age assistance, and Arkansas, as I said, is $6.05. I believe that would be the five.

Mr. CURTIS. How much is Texas?

Miss OSBORN. Texas is $10.01.

Mr. CURTIS. And what is Oklahoma?

Miss OSBORN. Oklahoma is $17.70.

Mr. CURTIS. And Nebraska?

Miss OSBORN. Nebraska is $16.46.

Mr. PARSONS. Is there any effort in your department to help these aged people and the families of the blind or dependent children to plan their budgets, to aid and assist them in getting lower prices and advising them how to plan their clothing and food and fuel allotments, and so on?

Miss OSBORN. That is one of our objectives, I would say. Unfortunately not as much of it has been done as should be done. We have never had enough money for administration. Undoubtedly you are familiar with the statement that everything should go to the needy instead of for administration costs. That is a common statement made by persons not familiar with the needs of the program. We have had workers carrying from 300 to 1,000 cases, and you cannot carry that many cases satisfactorily and give adequate advice, service, and help to that many people.

Mr. PARSONS. But there is a very big field there for work?

Miss OSBORN. There is a very big field and we need more help in that field. We believe, especially with the dependent children, that much worthwhile work could be done there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In what way do you think public assistance programs, or the lack of them, and the variations as among the various States—in what way do you think they affect the migrant problem we are studying?

Miss OSBORN. You take a State that is paying on an average of $4 per family per month and it is not strange that the people who are in an unfortunate position because of drought and the various economic factors that have been considered here in the past 2 days believe that maybe things might be a little better some place else, so they start out on the road. I think our categorical programs have done a great deal to keep people in their home States.

SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder what your thought is with reference to the differences existing among the various States in regard to their settlement laws?

Miss OSBORN. I think the settlement laws as they are at the present time are a very vicious influence. Various States, of course, have various settlement laws and they have been trying to give us more and more of them in an attempt to solve the problem of migration. It certainly hasn't been solved. I think we have had a very unfortunate result in settlement laws as a result of a very innocent provision in the Social Security Act. The Social Security Act provides that no citizen of the United States may be barred as a result of any citizenship requirements. In other words, if a person is a citizen the State agency can't require that he must have been a citizen for so many years before he can be given categorical assistance. Many of the States saw that and thought that they were supposed to put in some kind of residence requirements, and they did. Under the old-age assistance provisions, the Federal Act provides that no State shall impose a residence requirement greater than 5 years out of the last 9 years immediately preceding. The Federal Act does not require any residence requirement, but many of the States put the limitation given in the Federal Act in as a requirement when, in reality, it was the maximum residence requirement that would be allowed under the Federal Act to any State receiving Federal participation.

Mr. Sparkman. Some people have advocated the complete repeal of all settlement laws and others have advocated uniform settlement laws. What is your idea on that?

Miss Osborn. I think it is a very serious problem and a problem which should be given a lot of consideration. There are so many end results which would come about in either of those actions. Certainly, either would be better than our present provisions. If we are going to have uniform laws, we should certainly provide that a person does not lose citizenship in one State before he gains it in another.

Mr. Sparkman. That does happen now?

Miss Osborn. Yes. Our settlement laws do not mean a lot so far as protection of the individual is concerned. They may mean something so far as a certain kind of protection for the State is concerned. We have many State agencies that will not authorize the return of needy persons even though admitting that they are residents of the State.

Mr. Sparkman. Let me turn somewhat to unemployment and unemployment records. I wonder what the records show as to the people that have been moving out of the States, what their occupations and fields of employment have been?

Miss Osborn. Mr. Brockway had better answer that question.

TESTIMONY OF GLENN BROCKWAY, REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT SECURITY REPRESENTATIVE, SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, KANSAS CITY, MO.

Mr. Brockway. May I make a comment before answering that?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

UNEMPLOYMENT RECORDS IN OKLAHOMA AND ARKANSAS

Mr. Brockway. As you know, the full job of the employment security is to do two simple things that aren't quite so simply done. One is to index the locations, occupations, and abilities of a worker and then to locate that worker a job. The second is to pay unemployment insurance to workers for whom no work is available. In certain, rather in all, jurisdictions there are certain eligible workers under unemployment security because they fail to either be located in a job by the public employment offices or fail to locate their own jobs. These workers are eligible for certain unemployment insurance benefits. This program in these two States is rather new; 21 months old in Oklahoma and 20 months old in Arkansas. We find this, that in the total payment of unemployment-insurance benefits so far as these two States are concerned there are more claims filed against other States, in these two States, than are filed in other States against Arkansas and Oklahoma. Our industrial break-down of the claims filed against Arkansas and Oklahoma is the answer to the question. For the most part the industries in which these workers who file claims in other States against Oklahoma have had earnings here in industries in which migration is considered and has been considered legitimate, bona fide migration. These industries are primarily mining, which means three types of mining, metal mining, crude petroleum and natural gas, and coal; also general construction, which runs the gamut of construction of roads, highways, and public buildings; food manufacturing, which ties in with the problem of processing agricultural commodities and general merchandising, which includes a rather large group, and another substantial group, engaged in wholesale merchandising.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Agricultural workers would not be shown, would they?

Mr. BROCKWAY. Agricultural workers are not shown in the claims for unemployment insurance except as they may flow in and out of insured employment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Such as packing industries or something like that?

Mr. BROCKWAY. That is right, such as the processing of food. It might be interesting to you to know that during this 20-month period in these two States, Arkansas has acted as an agent State for 17,000 individuals who claimed unemployment-insurance benefits against other States. Arkansas has been the liable State for about 10,000 claims filed in other States against wage credits in Arkansas. In other words, there is a disparity of about 7,000 more individuals filing claims for unemployment insurance in Arkansas than filed out of State against Arkansas. The amount of money paid out to workers who had all their wage credits in Arkansas over the 20-month period is about $400,000. Oklahoma has served as agent State for 28,000 individuals contacting its local offices for benefits against wages earned in other States. Oklahoma has been the liable State in 17,000 cases, and Oklahoma has paid out to those individuals in other States with wage credits earned in Oklahoma around $658,000 in a 21-month period. It is interesting to note the States to which Oklahoma and Arkansas workers migrate.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Before you go into that, that would indicate, would it not, that your industrial migrants, that the balance is in favor of these two States rather than against them?

Mr. BROCKWAY. That is right; these records reveal that workers who leave these two States know their benefit rights and are acquainted with the machinery set up where they can file claims in other States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Well, the assumption would be that they do?

Mr. BROCKWAY. That is right. In relation to the program carried on throughout the country it would be an offset.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Proceed.

Mr. BROCKWAY. Arkansas has been the agent State, that is, Arkansas has acted as agent for all other States for workers filing claims for benefits against those States. The first State is California; in other words, more California workers filed claims against California in Arkansas than against any other State and the order then ranks Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana which are border States, then Michigan, which is an industrial State; then Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Illinois.

Mr. PARSONS. I am very sorry that the Chairman, who is from California, had to leave. Proceed.

Mr. BROCKWAY. Oklahoma workers who file claims in other States against Oklahoma are located in border States in the first four instances. In other words, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma, or Arkansas, conversely.

Mr. PARSONS. Has the Social Security Law and the unemployment and job insurance and so on rather aggravated the migrant situation; don't you think it is fostering it in some places, perhaps?

Mr. BROCKAWAY. I would say this, if the fundamental objectives of unemployment insurance and its effects were measured up that unemployment insurance has had a definite effect of stabilizing employment and possibly, I might add, stabilizing unemployment. I do not think that the unemployment insurance sections of the Social Security Act have in any way caused migration. I don't think that has been the case, but I do think that the relationship between the insurance program and the placement program has been fundamental in controlling migration.

Mr. PARSONS. In part?

Mr. BROCKWAY. In part.

Mr. PARSONS. And, of course, we are just beginning—the program is young?

Mr. BROCKWAY. Very young.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any recommendations to make on this matter? Time is getting very short and we have a full and complete statement filed by Mr. Wrenn which we are going to place in the record.

Mr. BROCKWAY. You commented that agricultural workers are not insured. That group would be difficult to insure; however, we feel that the extension of coverage below eight or more is fundamental. Arkansas has a coverage of one or more, Oklahoma has a coverage of eight or more. The group between one and eight is a very substantial group of the worker population and the unemployed population. We are squarely in line with what the Texas officials told you yesterday, that specialization in the handling of the problem of the migrant farm worker is important. It can be improved; we can control it irrespective of State lines, on a crop-and-flow basis.

Mr. PARSONS. And it is desirable?

Mr. BROCKWAY. It is desirable, very desirable; and certainly we believe that much could be done by both the Federal and State regulations in the controlling of fee-charging employment agencies, who either use the labor market to their rather vicious advantage or who advertise and cause an influx of workers to areas where workers are not required. We believe in that area particularly much can be done to keep from causing migration, which is probably the worst type we have.

Mr. PARSONS. There is a field ahead both for the administrators of social security and employment offices headed by the Federal Government, along with the States to perform a great service?

Mr. BROCKWAY. Very definitely.

Mr. PARSONS. That is very, very interesting; thank you very much; your testimony has been very valuable.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF TOM W. CHEEK, PRESIDENT, OKLAHOMA STATE FARMERS' UNION, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name and address and who you represent to the reporter.

Mr. CHEEK. Tom W. Cheek, 18 North Klein Street, Oklahoma City.

Mr. PARSONS. You are president of the Oklahoma State Farmers' Union?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. First, we shall place your prepared statement in the record at this point.

STATEMENT BY TOM W. CHEEK, PRESIDENT OF OKLAHOMA STATE FARMERS' UNION, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

My name is Tom W. Cheek. I am president of the Oklahoma State Farmers' Union. My address is 18 North Klein Street, Oklahoma City. I represent 20,000 dues-paying members of the Farmers' Union in Oklahoma. We have some 10,000 social lady members, making a total of 30,000 organized farmers. I am serving on my tenth year as president of the Oklahoma State Union.

The major purposes of this organization is to promote home ownership, develop a desirable rural culture, and bring farming up to the standard of other legitimate business enterprises in Oklahoma.

Through the last 10 years, during this depression, we have seen much distress among the farming people in Oklahoma. We have seen farm tenancy and the evils of it during the most distressing period in the history of our State.

The Bureau of Census compiled in 1935, gave 213,325 farm families living on the farms in Oklahoma. The figures revealed 58,796 farms were operated by the full owners. Tenants and sharecroppers were shown to have operated 130,661 farms. Managers were in charge of 775 farms. These I presume were operated by hired labor. This gave us a figure of 72.5 percent of the farms operated by others than the full owners. These figures may be verified by the Federal census report released September 23, 1935, pamphlet form No. 7200–S–19 which was issued for the State of Oklahoma.

I testified before the President's farm-tenant committee which was held in Dallas, Tex., January 4, 1937, and made the following suggestions:

"In making our suggestions we wish to point out the fact that the enslavement of mankind through the control or monopoly of land has been a curse in every age and in every nation of the earth where such practices have been permitted. In the United States of America we have shut our eyes to the curse of land monopoly, and tenancy has reached a point where it is a positive threat to our Nation as well as a disgrace to civilization.

"Fundamental changes must be made regarding land ownership. We suggest a rigid, graduated land tax. Exemption of homesteads from taxation. Loans by the Federal Government on homes at 1½ percent principal plus 1½ percent interest per annum. This would prevent land monopoly, encourage and promote home ownership.

We would suggest that the various States set up a tenant commission to deal with rentals of both farm land and dwellings involving rentals of urban homes as well as farms. Commission could be empowered to prescribe rules and contract forms. Such rules should be binding both to landlord and tenant. Landlord should be prevented from collecting rents on land that is being destroyed by erosion or collecting rents on farm buildings unfit for human habitation. No contract should be approved that would permit a landlord to collect both crop rent and cash bonus. Landlords or tenants refusing to carry out terms of contract should be adjudged guilty of breach and punished according to law.

While the above suggestions may seem rather drastic it must be remembered that these questions have never been settled by any nation without drastic action.

There are many good farms foreclosed each year. A large majority of the farm rent houses in Oklahoma are not fit for human habitation. In this connection the State farm-security administration can give this committee a clear picture of this condition prevailing in Oklahoma. There is a great need for rural slum-clearance program on the farm as well as in the cities.

Take the Work Projects Administration rolls in Oklahoma. Sixty-four percent are estimated to come from the groups of farm tenancy and farm labor. There are 93,810 certified people eligible for Work Projects Administration work in Oklahoma, heads of families which represent a population of 422,145 people. Of this number, only 31,000 are employed by Work Projects Administration. In addition to this number, it is estimated that from 17,000 to 20,000 families are seeking certification on the Work Projects Administration rolls. Then there are 73,000 elderly people on the old-age-assistance rolls in Oklahoma.

The unemployed and low-income families made an effort to better their condition by seeking better employment and more favorable living conditions. That is the reason 74,000 of our citizens migrated to California, Colorado, and other places. Low prices for farm products, far below the cost of producing farm crops, have aggravated the situation.

There is very little relief to come to the Work Projects Administration workers by reason of our national-defense program. They are not highly skilled workers which will be required in the national-defense program.

The Farm Security Administration program has been a great help, and we urge its immediate expansion to root more farm families back to the soil. Farm families who have found themselves in a destitute condition occasioned by the depression, and coupled with a long period of drought and low prices for farm products, conditions over which they had no control. These conditions have created a desperate emergency and is the direct cause of our losing our farm population.

The above figures also showed a need for expansion of the Works Progress Administration to give work to the waiting list who are in dire need. The National Youth Administration has rendered a great service to the young people of Oklahoma. The Civilian Conservation Corps has rendered great assistance to the underprivileged of low-income families of Oklahoma.

The Farm Security Administration has not been able to reach 80 percent of the applications made for help by needy, worthy farm families in Oklahoma. However, they have in the last 5 years aided more than 20,000 farm families in getting back to the soil and now have approximately 16,000 clients in the State of Oklahoma.

First emergency: The farmers are producing the products of the farm and through the present marketing facilities are forced to sell their products at a price far below the cost of production. Any business forced to operate at a loss is doomed for bankruptcy.

Second emergency: One hundred thirty thousand six hundred and sixty-one tenants needing farm-security aid. Funds enough to reach only 16,000. Most all tenants need better housing facilities.

Third emergency: Ninety-three thousand eight hundred and ten people are certified for the Work Projects Administration work. Sixty-four percent of these are from the tenant and labor groups. Only funds enough to employ one-third of this number.

In my opinion, it will require both State and National legislation to remedy these emergencies. We need a Housing Authority Act passed by the several States which would cooperate with the Federal housing program. We need Federal legislation as embodied in S. 1836, the farm-tenant bill. We need the legislation embodied in S. 3509, the debt-adjustment bill. And to insure farm prices up to parity we need S. 2395 and S. 2434, the wheat-and cotton-certificate-plan marketing bills.

The above bills are before the Congress and has been given consideration in the committees and public hearings. We need control measures by State legislation to stop wild speculation in farm land in this State. The graduated land tax, State question 215, is now before the voters in Oklahoma and should be supported by the voters in the coming Oklahoma general election, November 5.

TESTIMONY OF TOM W. CHEEK—Resumed

Mr. PARSONS. I have gone over your statement, and you have some interesting statistical data. I think you mentioned your organization is the largest organization of its kind in the State, and I understand that you sent out to all the local organizations a questionnaire to get certain information as to how many had migrated from these communities and their destinations and their reasons for leaving, and if any of them have returned. And so now can you give the committee a statement along that line?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir; I made an effort to get that information, but I didn't get very much of it. I have one statement here from one of our local organizations at Gracemont, in Caddo County. They give no reason or didn't give any version of why they left, but they give us the address of 50 people who left Gracemont and their addresses now where they reside in California.

Mr. PARSONS. Are they all now in California?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. That was a complete California exodus?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION FROM OKLAHOMA

Mr. PARSONS. Why do you think they left? Knowing something of the agricultural problems and as head of the biggest farm organization in Oklahoma, why do you think they left?

Mr. CHEEK. Well, that covers a lot of things. The same things caused them to leave Gracemont, I believe, that has caused them to leave the other communities in Oklahoma. Dating away back to statehood and on up from time to time, from the time we settled Oklahoma, we commenced to load the mortgage debt on the farms in this State, and the mortgage-debt load was very great. Then when depression came at the close of the war they just had such a load they couldn't pay the debts, and the foreclosure process started.

Mr. PARSONS. Insurance companies, banks, and all?

Mr. CHEEK. Banks and all and coupled with the drought and the depression here in the last 10 years dispossessed an awful lot, I am sure more than half migrated, but those figures are not available, that is, I haven't found them. They know how many foreclosures there have been by this insurance company and this investment company and that, but you would have to have them all to make a complete picture.

Mr. PARSONS. Before 1910 most of the people on farms in Oklahoma owned their farms, didn't they?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. But 4 or 5 dry years in the decade from 1910 to 1920, and then the high prices before the World War when they plowed up the buffalo grass on the plains and then the break in '20 and '21 started what we might call the defaulting or collapse of ownership of farms in Oklahoma?

Mr. Cheek. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many years have you been in Oklahoma?

Mr. Cheek. I came here in 1901; that is 39 years.

Mr. Parsons. All of our parents and forefathers were migrants in one way or another; we never could have settled up this wonderful country of ours if they hadn't been. Have you been actively engaged in farming all these years?

Mr. Cheek. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Are you still?

Mr. Cheek. I filed on one of those pieces of land that Uncle Sam gave away and we are on it yet.

Mr. Parsons. How many acres do you have?

Mr. Cheek. One hundred and sixty.

Mr. Parsons. You grow cotton, do you?

Mr. Cheek. Very little cotton; we come of a family that believed in a home program and we haven't been in the commercial game very much.

Mr. Parsons. You use diversification and get along as well as you can?

Mr. Cheek. We finally got the mortgage off after 30 or 35 years.

Mr. Parsons. Classify very briefly the things that you think caused migration to become so pronounced; you speak of the debt load, that is one, is it?

Mr. Cheek. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Would you say drought was another?

Mr. Cheek. Drought; yes.

Mr. Parsons. What would you say was the third one?

Mr. Cheek. Low prices and less than cost of production.

Mr. Parsons. I presume you are for the Massingale bill of production plus?

Mr. Cheek. I am not for the one Massingale put in; it don't fit our pistol.

Mr. Parsons. Do you think this farm program in the last 6 or 7 years has helped the farmers in Oklahoma?

Mr. Cheek. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Would you make the prediction of what would have happened by today if it hadn't been done?

Mr. Chek. There would be probably more than 74,000 farmers gone off the farms.

Mr. Parsons. How many?

Mr. Cheek. There are about 74,000 that seem to have left the State, and if it hadn't been for this aid it probably would have been a lot more. The Government backed about 21,000 farmers through farm security that probably couldn't have stayed and the Lord only knows how many have been saved by the debt adjustment, 5,000 at least.

Mr. Parsons. And that doesn't only speak for this State but for all the States and if they had all started on the move, it would have been quite a problem of migration, wouldn't it?

Mr. Cheek. Yes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. PARSONS. Now, what suggestions do you have to give this committee as to how we might aid and assist and prevent as much as possible this migration?

Mr. CHEEK. Well, expanding the farm security to take care of a lot more farmers would help. They have not, as my brief states, been able to reach about 80 percent of those asking for help. That would stabilize home ownership and, certainly, to increase the prices of our domestically consumed farm products would help.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you think we could ever do price fixing for agricultural commodities in America by Government regulation?

Mr. CHEEK. I think that you could certainly at least declare a price structure, a minimum price structure; I think it should be done to at least give us the same advantage as the differential of the tariff in industry.

Mr. PARSONS. Well, of course, the parity proposition is a step in that direction. We have done a lot of experimenting in the last few years and haven't as yet had anything to displace the law of supply and demand, it is pretty difficult to get around, and we have so many chiselers in any program and so many cons and so many pros on any public policy that comes up, but if we could devise a means of absolutely stabilizing farm commodities and holding down the cost to consumers in the processing of those commodities I am almost of the opinion that we could set a price and make agriculture prosperous, but the very day you do it and get it up to the prosperous point then your banker and baker and candlestick maker all go into agriculture and that is what ruined the situation in 1918.

Mr. CHEEK. Allocating the production that is needed for domestic consumption to the family-size farms based on our historic production for 10 years, as our bill provides, I think is the right direction.

Mr. PARSONS. And then make a man that intends to farm a farm get permission from somebody and show that he knows how to operate a farm, but if we could close the doors to speculation in land I think it would be a step in the right direction. Do you agree with me?

Mr. CHEEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. This is a very fine statement, I have been very much impressed by it; thank you very much.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES STERLING

Mr. CURTIS. Your name is James Sterling?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. I have gone over the notes made at the time the field investigator interviewed you. You are 59 years old?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. And you come from Milan, Mo.?

Mr. STERLING. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Are you married?

Mr. Sterling. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Is your wife living?

Mr. Sterling. No.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any children?

Mr. Sterling. One boy.

Mr. Curtis. How old is he?

Mr. Sterling. Twenty-nine.

Mr. Curtis. He is off on his own and not a part of your household?

Mr. Sterling. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. I understand you started to work at about 14 or 15 and you were working in the mines; is that right?

Mr. Sterling. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Up until about 1929 you had worked in Illinois, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Wyoming; is that right?

Mr. Sterling. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Where were you working in 1929?

Mr. Sterling. In 1929 I was in Colorado, I believe.

Mr. Curtis. What were you doing?

Mr. Sterling. Working in the mines.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of mines?

Mr. Sterling. Coal mines.

Mr. Curtis. What happened to your job there?

Mr. Sterling. Well, they worked in this mine there until summer comes on.

Mr. Curtis. Did they have any strike or trouble there?

Mr. Sterling. Not while I was there.

Mr. Parsons. What was the name of that mining company you were working for there?

Mr. Sterling. The Boulder Fuel Co. above Denver.

Mr. Curtis. Where did you go from Colorado?

Mr. Sterling. I worked for the Missouri & Pacific.

Mr. Curtis. Whereabouts?

Mr. Sterling. Buffalo.

Mr. Curtis. How long did you work there?

Mr. Sterling. I worked with them until some of them went to Missouri to finish up there in September.

Mr. Curtis. Then where did you go?

Mr. Sterling. I came back to Henryetta, Okla.

Mr. Curtis. How long did you stay there then?

Mr. Sterling. I wasn't there but just a short time and I left then for Colorado.

Mr. Curtis. Did you ever come back to Henryetta?

Mr. Sterling. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. What year was that?

Mr. Sterling. I came back there—let's see; I left there in the fall of 1930 and went to Colorado, and come back and finished up the winter of 1930, I believe.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, in the next 5 years you traveled around some more, didn't you?

Mr. STERLING. Well, yes; a little bit.

Mr. CURTIS. What were you working at then—mining primarily?

Mr. STERLING. Sometimes I was, sometimes I wasn't.

Mr. CURTIS. When you started out were you hunting just a general job or a job in the mining industry?

Mr. STERLING. Mining.

Mr. CURTIS. And you went down to New Mexico and Colorado?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. When was the last job in mining that you had?

Mr. STERLING. In 1936 and 1937; in the spring of 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. When your mining work played out in 1937 then where did you go?

Mr. STERLING. Then I took a trip to that long-off State of California.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work did you have out there?

Mr. STERLING. I was picking peas and thinning fruit and pitching hay and a little of anything I could get to do.

Mr. CURTIS. Farming work and trucking work?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of wages did you receive for that work?

Mr. STERLING. Fair; fair in places and in other places not too good.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you in California?

Mr. STERLING. I was out there until 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. What were some of the points that you stopped at out there?

Mr. STERLING. Down around the Imperial Valley, I picked peas there, and at Santa Maria I picked peas there and at Tracey.

Mr. CURTIS. After you left California where did you go?

Mr. STERLING. I come on back to Oklahoma.

Mr. CURTIS. What year was that?

Mr. STERLING. The fall of 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you maintain a legal residence at Henryetta, Okla., during all this time?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You voted there?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Who is your Congressman?

Mr. STERLING. Jack Nichols.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you say your wife was dead?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. When did she die?

Mr. STERLING. 1928.

Mr. PARSONS. How long ago has it been that your boy left home?

Mr. STERLING. He left in 1929 and went to the Navy and was there 7 years and then he has been in California since.

Mr. PARSONS. It has been some time since he has been dependent on you?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you try to get a job in the mining industry when you returned to Henryetta?

Mr. STERLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What success did you meet with?

Mr. STERLING. None at all.

Mr. PARSONS. What was the trouble?

Mr. STERLING. They have got conveyors in there that have taken the place of the miners; where we used to have some 200 or 250 men in the mines they have 15 or 20 doing that work now.

Mr. PARSONS. All the miners that were engaged in the work you were in, did they travel around like that?

Mr. STERLING. Well, yes; they had to get away and go some place for work, like myself; they didn't know nothing but mining.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you say you traveled a little more than the average or just about the average?

Mr. STERLING. I guess about the average.

Mr. PARSONS. Over this period of years from 1928 to 1938, did you average work practically half the time?

Mr. STERLING. I had pretty good work during the winter months and not much at all in the summer months; you see the mining business ain't much in the summer months.

Mr. PARSONS. How are you living now?

Mr. STERLING. I am working for a surveyor over there at Henryetta.

Mr. PARSONS. Private employment?

Mr. STERLING. Yes; whenever he needs a man he comes and gets me.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you ever been on the W. P. A.?

Mr. STERLING. No.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you certified for it?

Mr. STERLING. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. What was the trouble?

Mr. STERLING. They wrote me a letter and said 90 days from the time I was certified if I wasn't employed to let them know and I never heard no more from them.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you suppose the fact that you have no dependents has anything to do with it?

Mr. STERLING. I don't know, there are a lot of single fellows younger than I am working on it.

Mr. PARSONS. How many other States have you certified for W. P. A. work in?

Mr. STERLING. None.

Mr. PARSONS. Just Oklahoma?

Mr. STERLING. Yes; and I never sent for that, they sent it to me.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Sterling, as you know, this is a Nation-wide investigation and we like to get the testimony and hear the problems of as many different people as we can, and we thank you for coming.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you any better off today than when you started to California?

Mr. STERLING. No; I believe I was a little better off when I started out.

Mr. PARSONS. I just wanted to get your idea on that, that hope that springs eternal in the human breast starts you out on these excursions sometimes; I have started three times to migrate from the State of Illinois to New Mexico and something happens every time and sometimes I wonder if I am not better off where I am, but perhaps I will still make it some day. Thank you very much, Mr. Sterling.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. PARSONS. On behalf of the committee I want to express the committee's appreciation for the fine reception that we received from your mayor, your postmaster at Oklahoma City, and the Governor of Oklahoma, and to express our appreciation to the press for their very, very fine cooperation and the nice work you have done in helping us tell the public of the work that this committee has been doing, and we appreciate the fact that all of you have been so interested as to come and listen to these problems. We don't know the answer yet—we feel sure there is more than one answer. There are many problems and there are as many answers. We are trying to get a picture of America in this record, and we have found out, at least I have found out, that the conditions in Oklahoma are not as bad as they are in some of the other States in the Union. The Okies are in every county and every State in the Union. We are in sympathy with the problems you have here and this committee hopes to make some suggestions to the next Congress that will aid in this very important problem facing the American people. We want to express our thanks to those who furnished this space for us in the house of representatives hall. There is nothing further; the committee will stand adjourned sine die.

(The following material was received subsequent to the hearing, held in Oklahoma City September 19 and 20, and accepted for the record:)

POPULATION MOVEMENT FROM OKLAHOMA AND ARKANSAS, BY T. G. STANDING, DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL WELFARE, BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

The following data and brief interpretative remarks are submitted with the object of throwing some light on the general problem of the migration of destitute and underprivileged persons from the States of Oklahoma and Arkansas. Two major sources of data have been utilized, namely, those from a joint Farm Security Administration-W. P. A. study of 6,655 migrant households in California in 1938, and data from a current study of migrants arriving on the west coast, conducted under the supervision of the Berkeley, Calif., office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

These data do not, of course, give a complete picture of population movement out of the areas under discussion. They pertain only to out-migrants from these States who have moved to western States, particularly California. Other studies are at present in progress which are designed to provide a more complete picture of the problem.

MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING EMERGENCY GRANTS FROM THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN CALIFORNIA, 1938

1. *Nature of study.*—The 6,655 cases included in this study received emergency grants from the Farm Security Administration at some time during the period February through September 1938, but were closed as of October 1, 1938. This

total includes all such cases for which the data were comparable.[1] A summary of some of the more important findings follows.

2. *Origin of migrants by States.*—By far the largest proportion of these migrant households reported Oklahoma as their home prior to migration. The figure for Oklahoma was 2,771, or nearly 42 percent of the total; Texas was second with 16 percent, and Arkansas third with 11 percent. Thus Oklahoma and Arkansas together will be seen to have accounted for over one-half of the households included in the study.

3. *Place of origin within States.*—Data on the place of origin of migrants within individual States showed considerable concentration within certain counties and in areas overlapping county and State boundaries. In general the greatest number of migrants appear to have come from the most populous areas. In Oklahoma, for example, there were at least four areas of concentration, including Oklahoma, Caddo, Muskogee, and Tulsa Counties in order of importance. Of these four all but Caddo are populous counties containing relatively large urban centers. Together they account for nearly one-fifth of the total number of migrants from the State. No ready explanation of the relatively large amount of migration from Caddo County is at hand. It should be pointed out that the area of concentration which appears to center here extends over into the adjoining county of Grady. It is possible that agricultural displacement due to consolidation of units and the development of sub-surface mineral resources in certain portions of these counties may have been contributing factors.

In Arkansas, areas of concentration were less pronounced although in general the area included in the northwestern quarter and the northeastern corner was over-represented in comparison with other areas of the State. The two Arkansas counties contributing the most migrant households were Sebastian, with 43, and Washington, with 33. Both these counties lie next to the Oklahoma line, and both contain relatively large towns. Together they account for approximately 11 percent of the total number of migrant households reported as coming from Arkansas.

4. *Length of residence in previous location.*—Contrary to what appears to be a widespread belief, data from this study indicate that the heads of migrant households from Oklahoma and Arkansas are not habitual migrants. Almost one-half had lived for 20 years or longer in the States from which they came, while only 17 percent had lived in the State of previous residence for less than 5 years. These figures take on added significance when considered with reference to the relative youth of the migrants as indicated in section No. 5 below.

Arkansas had the largest percentage of cases with residence of 20 years or more; Missouri was second, and Oklahoma third. The figures were 64 percent for Arkansas, 61 percent for Missouri, and 53 percent for Oklahoma.

5. *Age composition of migrant households.*—The heads of the migrant households studied were, for the most part, in what would normally be regarded as the most productive age group. Over 75 percent were between 20 and 44 years of age. Arkansas and Oklahoma had somewhat smaller proportions in the age groups over 45 than did any of the other States represented. The children in the migrant households were also relatively young; nearly one-third were under 5, and more than half were under 10 years of age. There was little variation between Oklahoma and Arkansas and the other States with reference to age of children.

6. *Size of household.*—Migrant households were found to be relatively small, about 54 percent of all those studied consisting of 3 members or fewer, the arithmetic average being 3.7 members. According to the 1930 Census the average size of all rural households in the United States was somewhat larger, or 4.02 persons. Arkansas had a slightly larger proportion of small households than Oklahoma. Only 50.3 percent of those from Oklahoma contained three or fewer persons, while for Arkansas the corresponding percentage was 53.6. However, the

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[1] See A Study of 6,655 Migrant Households in California, 1938, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, region IX, and Work Projects Administration, San Francisco, 1939.

arithmetic average for the 2 States was little different, being 3.66 for Arkansas and 3.77 for Oklahoma.

7. *Color of heads of migrant households.*—The data for both Oklahoma and Arkansas indicate that Negroes in those States are not migrating to California in nearly the same proportion as the whites. In 1930 Negroes comprised 25.8 percent of the population of Arkansas and 7.2 percent of the population of Oklahoma. The corresponding percentages for the California migrants were only 3.4 and 4.6, respectively.

8. *Occupation prior to migration.*—Eligibility for the Farm Security Administration emergency grants required that "persons now live on farms or in farm areas, and when last employed received the major portion of their income from farming operations." [2] Hence it is not surprising that nearly 88 percent of the heads of households included in the study reported agriculture as their chief occupation before migration. For Arkansas and Oklahoma this percentage ran still higher, being 92.0 for the former and 90.5 for the latter.

Of the entire group reporting agriculture as the usual occupation prior to migration, the type of tenure status previously occupied was ascertained for 2,966 cases. In the table below the percentage distributions for Arkansas and Oklahoma are shown in comparison with that for the group as a whole.

Table 1.—*Tenure status prior to migration to California of 2,966 cases reporting agriculture as usual occupation*

Tenure status	Entire group	Arkansas	Oklahoma
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*
Owner	3.7	7.29	2.73
Tenant	17.7	15.16	22.27
Sharecropper	10.8	15.45	14.53
Farm laborer	67.8	62.10	60.47

It will be seen that in comparison with the entire group, the migrants from Arkansas showed a much higher and those from Oklahoma a somewhat lower percentage of owners. With respect to tenants the situation was reversed, Oklahoma having a comparatively high percentage while the figure for Arkansas was somewhat lower than that for the entire group. Both States were above the average in percent of sharecroppers among the migrants and both were below with respect to farm laborers.

WEST COAST MIGRATION STUDY

1. *Nature of study.*[3]—This study was conducted by the Berkeley, Calif., office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The survey was carried out in cooperation with public-school officials and included most of the migrant households in the designated States who had children in school during the year 1939. Data were secured on households coming into the States of California, Washington, Oregon, Arizona, and Idaho during the period 1930–39. Because of time and space limitations, most of the information presented here pertains to migrants from Oklahoma and Arkansas who in 1939 were residing in California or Arizona. It will be seen from table 2 below that by far the greater proportion of families moving from Oklahoma and Arkansas to the far Western States have gone to California and Arizona. These two States, in fact, contained over 91 percent of the total number of Oklahoma and Arkansas families included in the study.

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[2] A Study of 6,655 Migrant Households in California, p. 59.

[3] A preliminary report on this study is contained in an article, Recent Migration to the Pacific Coast, by Davis McEntire and N. L. Whetten, in Land Policy Review, vol. II, No. 5, September-October 1939.

TABLE 2.—*Families enumerated in migration survey who resided in Oklahoma and Arkansas in 1930, classified by States of residence in 1939*

States of residence in 1939	Number of families		Oklahoma		Arkansas	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total families	21,369	100.00	16,462	100.00	4,907	100.00
California	16,301	76.28	12,498	75.92	3,803	77.50
Washington	703	3.30	505	3.06	198	4.03
Oregon	847	3.96	666	4.04	181	3.68
Arizona	3,220	15.06	2,595	15.76	625	12.73
Idaho	298	1.40	198	1.20	100	2.03

2. *Former occupation of migrants.*—Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of household heads from Oklahoma and Arkansas by former occupational groups and also compares the occupational distribution of the migrants prior to moving with that of all gainfully employed males in the two States as reported by the 1930 census.

TABLE 3.—*Percentage distribution of heads of enumerated families migrating to California and Arizona who resided in Oklahoma and Arkansas in 1930, classified by former occupational group and compared with gainfully employed males in these States according to the 1930 census*

Former occupation group	Oklahoma		Arkansas	
	Migration survey	1930 census	Migration survey	1930 census
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Professional	1.7	3.6	1.7	2.4
Farmers	30.9	27.6	32.4	41.2
Proprietors	4.3	8.4	4.1	5.6
Clerks	5.4	9.9	5.2	6.0
Skilled workers	11.9	11.4	11.3	6.9
Semiskilled workers	12.1	7.2	13.0	4.9
Farm laborers	18.5	14.2	19.5	19.9
Unskilled workers	12.9	15.8	10.6	11.9
Domestics	2.3	1.9	2.2	1.2

It will be seen from this table that those classed as "farmers," while representing the largest single occupational group, composed less than one-third of the total number of migrants. This is true of both States. In comparison with the 1930 census, farmers were slightly overrepresented in the migrants from Oklahoma but considerably underrepresented in those from Arkansas. These data run counter to the popular assumption that most of the people moving from this part of the country to the Western States are farmers by usual occupation. If the "farmers" and "farm laborers" are combined, the resulting figure is approximately 50 percent of the total number of migrants. In other words, the study indicates that only about one-half of the westward migrants from Oklahoma and Arkansas during the period 1930–39 were farmers or farm laborers by usual occupation.

3. *Year of arrival in Western States.*—Data from the survey, not at present available for presentation in tabular form, indicate that extensive migration from Oklahoma and Arkansas into the far Western States began in 1934, reached a peak in 1936, and has subsequently declined.

The trend appears to have been about the same for both agricultural and nonagricultural occupations.

4. *Areas of concentration within States.*—Maps compiled in the Berkeley office of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics show that the chief sources of recent migration into California and Arizona are essentially the same as those indicated by the study of Farm Security Administration clients to which reference has already been made. These maps are not available for submission with this statement but can be obtained from the source indicated. They show a high concentration of migrants in a belt of counties running across central and eastern Oklahoma and extending into northwestern Arkansas.

5. *Causes of migration.*—Accurate information is not available concerning the actual causes of this migration, but there is no doubt that the factors are complex. Studies by Metzler in Arkansas[4] and by Duncan and others in Oklahoma[5] indicate that out-migration has been chiefly from areas having a high density of population with reference to resources. These are also, in general, areas having relatively high birth rates, which no doubt tend to augment the phenomenon of population pressure.

Reasons for moving given by Oklahoma and Arkansas recipients of Farm Security Administration grants in the California study were about equally divided between "drought" and "lack of work." If a greater proportion of migrants from nonagricultural occupations had been included, the relative importance of drought would doutbless have been diminished. "Lack of work" is not, of course, a fundamental cause, but reflects a situation brought about by a variety of factors.

In general, the evidence seems to indicate that, while drought is an important contributing factor, it is not deserving of the exclusive attention frequently given to it. Viewed historically, the recent westward migration will be recognized as the latest phase of a movement that has been going on for a long time and that has, in fact, become a characteristic part of the American culture pattern.

THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION:

GENTLEMEN: I am just one of the small fry, but thought I might add a little to the question you are studying.

I have lived here in Caddo County since the opening of this country to settlement in 1901. I organized and taught the first public school in Caddo County and taught here 3 years. Have since been in business here, but have worked for the Government 24 years, 12 years as postmaster.

I have seen this county lose 1,500 farms since 1930. I do not pretend to know the cause for all of this loss, but a great deal is due to large land ownership. A great many farms in this county have gotten into the hands of large owners. For a while they kept renters but gradually have driven the renters off and farm with tractors and cheap labor.

One farmer near Hydro owns five quarters and has two Indian quarters leased.

Two partners have eight quarters near here.

One thing that would go a long way toward settling the migration question, would be to limit land ownership to one or two quarters in parts of the country where land will support more people.

Some plan such as Senator Josh Lee has introduced to help men to secure homes of their own would be another great help.

In this country the average family could make a good living on 40 acres and pay for the land if given the opportunity.

Pardon me for presuming to give you information. These are just some observations over a long term of years.

Very respectfully,

CHAS. H. HATFIELD.

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[4] William H. Metzler, Population Trends and Adjustments in Arkansas, Bulletin No. 388, Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, Fayetteville, May 1940.

[5] Otis Durant Duncan, The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population, Circular No. 88, Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station, Stillwater, May 1940.

(Submitted by Governor Phillips)

THE EAGLE PUBLISHING CO.,
Duncan, Okla., September 2, 1940.

Mr. DON MCBRIDE,
Planning and Resources Board, State Capitol, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAR DON: Why is our farm population decreasing? The answer probably would go a long way toward solving our whole economic problem.

Stephens County's population in 1930 was 33,069; in 1940 it was 31,107, a loss in the county of 1,962 persons. But the city of Duncan gained 838 persons. Allowing for slight losses in Marlow and Comanche, these figures show that some 2,500 persons moved off the farms in 10 years.

1. Continuous severe droughts in this county probably accounted for the greatest exodus.
2. Mechanized farming and stock raising is reducing number of farms (434 fewer farms in 10 years).
3. Agricultural Adjustment Administration program has made it more profitable for farm owners to manage their own farms instead of renting.

The three fundamentals of a livelihood are food, shelter, and clothing. If we could encourage people to remain on the farms and grow their food, half the problem is solved; if we can arrange to shelter them, we have left only the problem of clothes. We need to break up our farms into small tracts and encourage intensive farming. If the Government would direct its relief toward financing small farms and small homes, a great majority of people, with proper direction, could make their living. As an illustration not the thousands of cans of vegetables and fruits put up this year by Work Projects Administration workers, while these same persons left to their own initiative and resources would not have canned anything. Exceptions to the rule, of course.

We should dignify the business of farming and encourage our boys and girls to remain on the farm. Our schools are educating boys and girls off the farm, and they are lured to the cities where they are led to believe that they can secure white-collar jobs and make an easy living.

In Stephens County we have only three vocational agriculture teachers, and one of those is just being added this year in the Duncan City system. Not a one of our dozen rural consolidated schools, representing the future rural citizen of the county, has a vocational agriculture department. Doubtless many of them have "commercial" departments—which are all commendable if they teach the "commerce" of purebred hogs and cows and not typing.

I have a crazy idea that with our thousands of acres of fertile lands in this State, much of it in sections with plenty of rainfall and many other thousands of acres in irrigable sections, that farm units costing not more than $1,000 in nonirrigable sections could be set up and either leased or sold to ambitious thrifty persons who are looking for a means of earning a livelihood.

We have only to look at the methods used in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany to get at the root of our farm problem. Now you will say that we have overproduction now on the farms, and if we encourage intensive farming on small tracts, it will mean further reduction of prices, with farm produce a joker on the market. Let's forget about growing produce for market; if the farmer can sell some of his surplus at a profit or at any price, well and good; but let's think about growing a living. Meats, vegetables, and fruits grown and consumed on the farm are always a good price. An egg at 5 cents a dozen is just as edible and contains just as many vitamins as if eggs were 40 cents.

So I would educate our boys and girls on the farms to remain on the farms. Their opportunities are unlimited. There is actually less competition there than in other vocations. Back to the three fundamentals: (1) Food, (2) shelter, (3) clothing. Teach a boy to grow his food and build his house and the wife to make her clothes and it seems to me we could put Work Projects Administration out of business.

Thank goodness we are making some progress in the right direction. Schools are beginning to teach vocational subjects; we are at long last beginning to learn that we must train our hands as well as our heads, and that it is no disgrace to work with the hands. We are conserving our soil; we are building dams and ponds and conserving our water; we are building of rock and taking advantage of our other natural resources.

Yours truly,

HARRY JOLLY.

(Submitted by Governor Phillips)

THE OKLAHOMA PUBLISHING CO.,
Oklahoma City, Okla., September 7, 1940.

Mr. DON MCBRIDE,
State Planning Commission, State Capitol,
Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAR MR. MCBRIDE: Although I shall be unable to attend the Governor's conference on migration, as you suggested, I still am very much interested and should like to submit a few ideas for consideration of the committee.

This material isn't all mine. It is the gleanings of a newspaper reporter, plus personal acquaintance with certain areas of western Arkansas and eastern Oklahoma, plus considerable research of a personal nature simply because, I believe, no reporter could live with this thing without being greatly interested and sympathetic to those involved.

The problem of migration in Oklahoma has a historical root. Settlers in western Oklahoma were land hungry. They were willing to make almost any sacrifice to have a home to call their own. They were, and are, on the whole, a conservative lot.

In early Oklahoma history white men could not own land in Indian Territory. Thus eastern Oklahoma attracted traders, businessmen, and others who could make a living without owning real estate, and white men who were content to work for the traders.

I believe this is borne out by the fact that when whites could own land in Oklahoma we saw tenantry and farm sharecropping develop more rapidly in the East than in the West—in the face of the fact that western Oklahoma is more ideally suited to large-scale operations and eastern Oklahoma best suited for individual ownership of relatively small parcels of land for agricultural production.

The one fact most frequently overlooked in Oklahoma agricultural migration, in spite of it sticking out like a sore thumb, is the intrastate movement of people from western to eastern Oklahoma and western Arkansas. The agricultural census of 1935, with only one drought behind it—that in 1934—showed more farms in Oklahoma than in 1930. But the number of farms even then in western Oklahoma was dropping rapidly.

The truth is that economic stresses of the last two decades were forcing the adjustment which was prevented in early Oklahoma history by political boundaries; western Oklahoma was going into large-scale operations because they are most profitable even under difficult conditions.

The farmer best situated, either through luck or better management, was absorbing his neighbor's land. The ousted neighbor still wanted a farm. But he knew that farm operations for the little man are easiest where there is plenty of "free wood and water," and moved east. He could do it, too, because even a bankrupt farmer in western Oklahoma often has enough left from sale of livestock and implements to buy a small farm in the mountains.

This western farmer soon discovers that the place he bought, from an owner who is tired of unprofitable tenants and sharecroppers isn't large enough to be an economic unit. Therefore he buys another adjoining place, and another sharecropper family is ousted.

I know personally of whole neighborhoods in western Arkansas made up of former residents of Oklahoma's Wheat Belt, who are getting along nicely with an equity on smaller plots of ground.

This process was in action long before there were droughts. Tractors were contributing to it indirectly by uprooting the western farmer.

However, it wasn't until after the advent of the triple A program that this movement became really serious, forced so many tenants and sharecroppers out that they became hated "Okies" in California, because it was a normal economic adjustment financed by the production of farms which wasn't, to be frank, so terribly great in the twenties.

With the triple A and development of subsidies for soil conservation the adjustment was whipped up. Individual landlords all over western Oklahoma have ousted from three to a score of families from their land within the last 10 years, and I believe at least five instances can be found in any county in the State from what I've heard. This, however, will stand some further investigation.

Tractor salesmen tell me that almost invariably the down payment on a tractor, and all the subsequent payments, are made by Government checks.

The landowner simply can use Government subsidy to hasten mechanization of the land, oust his tenants, and make larger profits at it.

I believe in the policy of soil conservation. Theoretically, both the landlord and tenant are to share in soil conservation payments. But, practically, such payments have worked to finance mechanization of farming at a much more rapid rate than it normally could develop, and create a distressing social problem.

If allowed to proceed at a normal pace, I believe, Oklahoma could absorb its displaced population through development of industry, or finding some place else for these folks to go. The idea is that streams can take care of ordinary run-off, but when there's a gully washer there are floods, and hell to pay. I feel that the method of payment for soil conservation must be revised to protect persons now occupying the land in the rebuilding program.

Another factor which has contributed greatly to the migration situation is the development of Lee Creek Valley in western Arkansas and the Cookson Hills area of eastern Oklahoma as parks on the theory that this land is submarginal.

The land by itself probably will not support families—certainly not raising cotton. But there are fertile valleys which have supported families for generations in these hills when combined with winter work in the timber. A schoolmate of mine, now an agricultural professor at College Station, Tex., came out of those hills. I worked my way through the University of Missouri. His parents could send him.

The Government made an effort to take care of some of these families through resettlement. But a large number from Arkansas, former landowners, are now hunting jobs in California timberlands with much of their money from sale of their farms to the Government probably spent. If they did find another place they replaced someone else who did have to leave, just like the western farmer ousts the eastern Oklahoma tenant.

This intrastate migration explains the gain in population in eastern Oklahoma while the State loses as a whole. While I know that subsidies are not entirely to blame—and that no single factor can be so isolated in this complicated problem—it certainly, to me at least, looms as a major problem to study.

Sincerely,

J. Gilbert Hill.

(The following letter was received after the hearings had been closed, and accepted for the record.)

Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board,
Oklahoma City, Okla., December 23, 1940.

Hon. John H. Tolan,
Chairman, Committee on Migration,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: We are submitting the following facts and figures pertaining to potential irrigation in the State of Oklahoma, for inclusion in your committee report. We trust this information will be of some value to you.

In the area west of the ninety-eighth meridian, we find the average annual rainfall is 15 inches in the extreme western end of the Panhandle and increases steadily to 25 inches at the ninety-eighth meridian. Within this area, we have in the neighborhood of 10,000,000 acres of irrigable land. However, we do not have anywhere near the water supply to take care of that amount; therefore, we have discarded the figure and have set up the area which we think is possible to irrigate and supply with a sufficient amount of water.

There are 400,000 acres adjacent to the Washita River; 160,000 acres which we call the southwestern development project, including and adjacent to the Altus-Lugert project. There are 40,000 acres on the Cimarron River; 40,000 acres on the North Canadian River, and 20,000 acres on Cache and Beaver Creeks in southwestern Oklahoma. This is a total of 660,000 acres. Now the water supply for this area is as follows: 1,000,000 acre-feet per year from the Washita;

100,000 acre-feet per year from North Fork, Salt Fork, and tributaries, that would be used in connection with the southwestern development area; 60,000 acre-feet per year from the Cimarron River; 125,000 acre-feet per year from the North Canadian River, and 60,000 acre-feet from Cache and Beaver Creeks. This is a total of 1,345,000 acre-feet to apply to the 660,000 acres.

The total estimated cost for the storage and distribution systems for the above-mentioned areas would be approximately $58,000,000. Incidentally, $58,000,000 amounts to the capitalizing of one-half the annual flood loss of the State of Oklahoma at 6-percent interest over a 20-year period, and a flood loss estimated at $10,000,000 annually.

The figures above mentioned apply only to the area west of the ninety-eighth meridian. You will understand, of course, why I have selected the ninety-eighth meridian as a dividing line, but I think that we have possibilities of feasible irrigation east of the ninety-eighth meridian. In fact, on the extreme eastern side of our State, where the rainfall is 45 inches a year, there are some of our oldest irrigation systems (in the neighborhood of Muskogee) where spinach is irrigated to supply a large canning plant.

If you take the State as a whole, and taking into consideration the distribution of rainfall, we have 4,000,000 acres that I think can profitably be irrigated. The water supply for this 4,000,000 acres is 3,500,000 acre-feet per year, and it is my opinion that the 400,000,000 acres can be placed under irrigation for a sum not to exceed $100,000,000.

Now, what do these figures actually mean? In our opinion it means this: That we could divide the potential irrigable area into 40-acre tracts and establish on each a family of five. I know that this would raise the standard of living of these people far above the average for the State. That it will make them independent of relief and gratuities; that it would stabilize our population and give us a type of citizenship that would build an economically sound State. Therefore, west of the ninety-eighth meridian, we would have on the 660,000 acres a total of 16,500 farms and a population of 82,500. This is about what we lost in the past 10 years from migration. On the 4,000,000 acres, this would give us 100,000 farms and make a place for a half million more people.

In our opinion there is no other remedy that will stabilize population in Oklahoma regardless of our mineral wealth and regardless of our potentiality in industrial development. The fact still remains that we are inherently an agricultural people, depending upon agriculture. Just a few years back there were still in Oklahoma new homesteads, grass to break, and a place to go. That era has passed. In fact, many of our farms have already been completely worn out and the people who once thought it was just a matter of moving to another farm, are now seeking some means of subsistence. The answer is irrigation. We have conducted enough experiments in the State to prove its worth.

If we are going to hold the gains that have been made, not only in Oklahoma, but in the entire Great Plains area, we must in some way, somehow, get our Government and our own people to see the dire need of irrigation.

Yours very truly,

Don McBride,
Chief Engineer, Division of Water Resources,
Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board.

(Reference is made to testimony of C. M. Evans on pp. 1933 et seq. The following statement completes material submitted by Mr. Evans at Oklahoma City.)

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF C. M. EVANS

Summary Report on Migratory Labor Problems in Texas

By and large the migratory farm labor movement in Texas is intrastate.

There is, however, a slight infiltration of workers from neighboring States into the Northern, Central, and High Plains areas during peak cotton harvest seasons and into north Texas during the peak onion harvest season.

Very little information is available on the interstate migration of Texas workers. Three known migrations from the State are—

1. A migration of several thousand Mexican laborers from Crystal City, San Antonio, and other sections of the State into beet fields of Colorado, Michigan, and Minnesota (estimate 8,000 to 10,000(.

2. An occasional migration of an unknown number of cotton pickers into the Mississippi Delta area.
3. A periodic migration westward of an unknown number of workers.

The migratory labor problem in Texas is integrally bound up with cotton harvest largely and to a lesser degree with vegetable crops. Texas is the country's largest producer of cotton. Next to oil, cotton is the State's chief source of income and the principal source of agricultural income. It has been estimated that almost two and one-half million persons in Texas depend on cotton. Cotton accounts for 54.9 percent of all acreage in harvested crops in the State. The production of cotton in Texas extends almost through the entire length of its huge territory, from the southern tip of the State in Cameron County right to the edge of the Panhandle in the northwestern part of the State.

Cotton production in Texas provides employment to a greater number of workers over a longer period of time than any other enterprise in the State because of the staggered dates of planting, cultivating, and harvesting from the south Texas plains to the southern high plains. Under the present method of production the maximum labor demand is made for harvesting. Thus, the heavy demand for labor, and the prospects of following the crop from July through December, encourages migration of workers. Until recent years the Black Land Belt of Texas was by far the most important cotton-producing section of the State. Production of cotton in this area was carried out mainly on the plantation type of farm where the labor of the tenant and the sharecropper and that of their families dominated harvest activity. In contrast to the older cotton-producing States, however, the topography of land in this Texas cotton area was favorable to the application of the tractor for field work, for soil preparation, and tractor farming began to appear here and there, until tractor farming in cotton in this area became a common practice. This brought economies of operation, to be sure, but at the same time it foreshadowed the doom of the plantation system, and the question of the wholesale displacement of tenants and sharecroppers became only a matter of time.

There is every prospect that the number of migrants in Texas will increase because of—

1. Rapid technological developments in labor-saving machinery for agriculture;
2. The trend in the direction of large-scale commercial farming;
3. The unstable tenure system;
4. Soil erosion;
5. Growing surplus of farm population without an adequate urban outlet.

Around 1916 cotton production in Texas began to extend to the western and northwestern counties of the State, where conditions for raising cotton are favorable. In an incredibly short time this new western cotton area of Texas, developing largely on the basis of mechanized commercial farming, challenged the supremacy of the older cotton areas and provided at the same time an additional incentive to the older areas to shift to power farming.

Since 1930 there has occurred an almost phenomenal increase of tractors in Texas—from 37,000 in 1930 to a conservative estimate of 100,000 in 1938. During the 5-year period from 1930 to 1935, on the other hand, the number of sharecroppers in Texas declined 28 percent, and the number of farms from 500 acres and over increased by 4,442, and land in farms for the group by over 11,000,000 acres. Most of this increase apparently took place in the western cotton area, where a great deal of ranch land was brought under cultivation during these and subsequent years.

There may be no casual relationship between these three events, the decline of sharecroppers, the increase in tractors, and the increase in the number of large farms. What is reasonably certain, however, is that the increase in the number of tractors and in the number of large farms in Texas has enhanced the dependence of the Texas cotton crop upon hired labor, on the one hand, while the displacement of sharecroppers, and now of tenants, has tended to increase the available agricultural wage labor supply. There is evidence to indicate that a rather considerable displacement of tenant farmers is taking place in almost all the important cotton areas of the State—a situation that further aggravates an already existing serious problem of an oversupply of agricultural wage labor in the State.

The physiographic and climatic heterogeneity of Texas, which is 801 miles in length from the southern tip at Brownsville to the northwestern corner of the

Panhandle, determines a 6 months' succession of cotton harvest, but at no place does it last more than 6 to 8 or 10 weeks. Starting in the lower Rio Grande Valley in July and extending through the middle of August, the harvest moves to Corpus Christi area, and from there to the Black Land Strip, where it extends from August through October, moving on to the western cotton area in September or October through November, and ends in the extreme southwestern portion of the State in December.

This, of course, is somewhat of a simplified picture, for each area has its southern and northern climatic variations, with the crop maturing earlier in the southern than in the northern part, and sometimes there may be a simultaneous maturity of the crop in different regions, or within the northern and the southern section of the same region.

Of importance is the fact that the harvest of cotton crop in each section of the State requires huge armies of cotton pickers for a period ranging from 6 to 10 weeks. The crop must be picked as quickly as possible, and in the absence of labor, more or less attached to the land, as are sharecroppers or the small tenants in the older southern cotton States, every attempt is made by the grower to insure himself of an ample supply of labor from whatever sources he can.

The typical situation is one similar to that at El Campo in Wharton County, at Sinton at San Patricio, and at Raymondville in Willacy County, where during the cotton harvest or the onion harvest the town, which is a concentration point on the route of migration and labor distribution to farms, is literally flooded with a stream of humanity several times greater than the local populations, converging on the local community from all corners of the State and neighboring States, in quest of employment. They come in families or in groups of single persons, in trucks, packed like sardines, operated by a labor contractor, or in dilapidated individual cars with little or no camping facilities, and generally with no means to move on unless they find employment, however short that may be.

It may be a day, 2, 3, or more before these workers find employment. The crop may be a few days late in ripening, or it may rain, and so delay or interrupt employment, or the crop may be short. Whatever the cause, every community in Texas which is a concentration and distributing center of migratory workers becomes, during the harvest season, suddenly transformed into an open camp with a huge fluctuating, migrant population deprived of facilities, however primitive, to meet the most elementary needs of life—washing, bathing, cooking, and a decent or protected place to rest or to sleep.

Fortunate indeed is the community which escapes the danger of having a jungle rise in its vicinity as its seasonable suburb. Even more fortunate is the working family which is able to save itself from this modern horror of migrants' life. If to the community the jungle represents an offence to its civic pride and a distinct exposure to health hazards, to the worker and his family, especially to those ill-equipped and ill-provided—and this is the normal condition—it means a direct exposure to sickness and disease and a reversion to the barbaric modes of living, or worse.

This is not a hypothetical or an imaginary case, but a statement of an actual fact which has its duplicate in dozens of rural or semirural communities in Texas.

Having survived one harvest, the migrant worker, families and single persons, men, women, and children, take to the road again, to the next crop area, which may be only a mere hundred miles away or 250 or more miles. Having reached the next concentration point, the cycle repeats itself. The farm community welcomes these indispensable workers, for the harvest needs them, and prays that it may get by without having its town polluted, its civic pride soiled, and no relief or health cases to handle, for which contingency no farm community in Texas is apparently prepared.

What happens in the migration of cotton workers happens also in the migration of vegetable workers, particularly in onions and spinach, except that the movement is not State-wide as in cotton but is rather sharply localized. There is a migratory movement to the winter garden area which at present has somewhat slowed down; there is a movement to Willacy County and in Collin County, to mention only the more important areas of migrations other than in cotton.

While the number of workers involved in these migrations is smaller than in cotton, although sufficiently large to constitute a major problem in a smaller State for the Texas localities involved, the picture of the incidents of this migratory movement is identical to those in cotton.

Of the total migratory labor involved in cotton harvest 75 percent is Mexican or of Mexican origin, 15 percent of white American, and 10 percent of Negro.

In the vegetable migration, except for the winter garden area, the picture is different. Here the majority of migratory workers, particularly in the onion crop, Collin County, are white American families, mostly displaced farm operators from north Texas and Oklahoma.

It may be stated as a matter of common knowledge that in the cotton harvest the farmer's preference is for Mexican labor. It is entirely metaphysical to argue that the reason for this preference is due to the presumed docility of the Mexican, his better adaptability to cotton picking, or because he will work for less than the white worker. Had none of these presumed advantages characterized the Mexican worker, the Texas cotton farmers as a whole would still prefer the Mexican to the white worker. The reason for this lies largely, it seems, in the fact that on a large cotton farm which requires 50, 100, or more men, it is difficult, if not impossible, for the farmer to hire his men individually, one by one. The present day Texas cotton grower, who has discarded his plantation habits of thought, wants his cotton picked in the quickest possible time, and it makes no difference to him whether he stretches employment or not, for expenditures for labor remain the same. He, therefore, prefers a larger crew and wants it in a hurry. It is here that the Mexican workers' advantages lie, since Mexicans do not follow the harvest individually but as a group, a gang, either of individuals or of families, led and transported by the labor contractor who undertakes to supply the farmer with the entire crew he needs for his crop.

This preference for Mexican labor is responsible for the fact that many of the displaced white tenant farmers in the cotton areas, as for example, those in McLennan County around Waco, although experienced cotton pickers, find it difficult to get employment. Being scattered and with little opportunity for seasonal employment, these displaced farmers tend rapidly to become demoralized and reduced to the lowest form of pauperism. These people have only recently been thrown into the predicament they are in, so that their social disintegration is yet only in the early stage, but unless something is done to alleviate their condition they will constitute a much more serious problem in the near future.

No one knows definitely how many migratory workers there are in Texas. Estimates made vary from 300,000 to 400,000 persons. A recent study on employment in agriculture made by the national-research project of the Works Progress Administration shows a variation of wage-labor employment from 150,000 in January to 266,000 in July for Texas and Oklahoma, jointly.

In 1930, according to the census of occupations, over 2,207,118 persons were gainfully employed in Texas, of which 842,001, or 38.1 percent, were employed in agriculture. Of those gainfully employed in agriculture, 198,760, or 23 percent of the total, were classified as agricultural wage earners. The percentage of agricultural wage earners to the total number of persons gainfully employed in agriculture shows considerable variation by counties. In certain counties in Texas in 1930 agricultural wage laborers constituted by far the most important single element in the agricultural population, as for example, in El Paso County where agricultural wage labor represented 72.3 percent of the total gainfully employed; in Cameron and Hidalgo Counties, 63.9 percent and 63.7 percent, respectively.

Comparative census data of some of the leading agricultural States in the country show the following:

Farms reporting labor expenditure, 1930

	Number of farms reporting	Percent of total	Days of hired labor	Cash expenditure
United States	2,631,601	41.8	410,984,722	$955,420,313
Texas	202,281	40.8	33,447,178	65,660,912
California	90,492	66.7	36,655,412	130,158,510
Iowa	122,669	57.1	17,608,422	39,681,156
Kansas	96,123	57.9	10,005,827	27,020,617

What distinguishes the migratory labor problem in Texas from that of California is the fact that in California there is a greater year-round succession of various crops within the same locality and throughout the State, which gives the migratory worker in California an opportunity for greater duration of employment within a relatively narrow territory. In Texas, on the other hand, with the exception of a few areas, such as the lower Rio Grande Valley and the Corpus Christi area, employment for migratory labor is limited only to one crop, the duration of employment in each cotton area is relatively short, the distance from one area to another is considerably greater than anywhere else in the country, and finally the crop in each area requires a tremendous short-time concentration of seasonal labor.

The problem of migratory labor constitutes today one of the major social and economic problems in Texas agriculture. This fact is fully realized by practically all local authorities of the rural counties, farmers, and business organizations. So acute has the problem of migratory labor become within the last 3 or 4 years that many communities have attempted on their own initiative to meet the problem by providing some sort of camping facilities, such as a vacant lot for migrants, with running water, and in some cases shower and toilet facilities. But the magnitude of the problem is entirely beyond the means of the local authorities and citizens to cope with.

An extensive survey made of the problems faced by those communities in Texas which are centers of migratory labor concentration brought to light the fact that these communities are anxious to have a Federal migratory labor camp program, and that they are willing in most cases to donate land or lease land for such a program.

It is a fact that in Texas, unlike California and Pacific Northwest, there appears to be complete unanimity of thought on the subject of the need for migratory labor camps among local authorities, farmers, businessmen, workers, and the State employment service which operates in cooperation with the Federal Employment Service.

It is also generally agreed by all familiar with the agricultural problems of Texas that in addition to the question of living conditions, the second greatest problem of migratory labor in Texas is that of regularizing the flow of migratory labor in such a way as to prevent a shortage of labor in one place and an overwhelming, over-concentration of labor in another.

This problem can be solved to a great extent if camp facilities are provided to take care of workers as they move from one harvest area to another. The camp will tend to bring the worker in closer contact with the placement service and, thereby, with the employer. He can be directed to where there is work available and discouraged from going on a wild chase for a job that results in his losing the little money he might have accumulated from the last harvest. Strategically located camps will likewise help in controlling out-of-State migration, by making it easier for the placement service to keep the workers advised of where to go or where not to go.

As an attempt at a partial solution of the problem of migratory labor in this region, the Farm Security Administration has established eight permanent camps. Four of these camps have already been constructed and are in operation. They are located at Weslaco in Hidalgo County, Raymondville in Willacy County, Robstown in Nueces County, and Sinton in San Patricio County. The four proposed camps to be constructed this year are at Harlingen in Cameron County, McAllen in Hidalgo County, Crystal City in Zavala County, and Princeton in Collin County.

The four completed camps have been in operation approximately 3½ months. In the course of operation we have been able to gather some information regarding the type of persons served, the financial condition of these laborers, and general health and social conditions. In checking the first 100 families registered at the camp in Hildalgo County, we found that 43 percent of them were native Texans, 21 percent were formerly Oklahomans, 9 percent were from Arkansas, 7 percent were from New Mexico, 4 percent from Alabama, and the other 16 percent came from 10 other widely scattered States. These figures bear out the general trend as found on the west coast. In other words, the chief sources of migratory labor are Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. We also found that of this same group of 100 families, roughly 70 percent of them had formerly been either renters, sharecroppers, or owners of farms. Some of them had been all three at one time or another in their lives. The explanation of the origin of the other 30 percent can be explained chiefly on the grounds that there are young married couples who have ever had any tenure on the land. We are submitting to you exhibit No. I, a study made of this first 100 families, from which additional detailed data can be secured by the committee.

We have made an attempt to gather detailed and definite information regarding the employment and income of this group. Each week in each of our camps 10 percent of the families are contacted and information is secured from them regarding the amount of employment and earnings for the preceding 7 days. We have found that over a period of 10 weeks, from approximately July 1 through September 7, 1940, there were rarely less than one-third of the families totally unemployed. We have found that in one camp the average income per person of the 108 families studied was $2.53 per week, or $0.36 per day. In another camp where 100 families were studied, the weekly income per person was $1.60, or $0.23 per day. In another camp the average income per person was $1.08 per week, or $0.15 per day.

We have found able-bodied men working 10 hours a day and receiving as low as $0.20 for the entire day, or $0.02 per hour. Enough information regarding employment and earnings is already available to prove that at peak seasons of employment farm workers in Texas manage to earn barely sufficient money to furnish a meager existence. In off seasons they simply starve. We are submitting as exhibit No. II three studies made of employment conditions, which we hope will be of value to the committee.

Due to an almost complete absence of medical care, poor housing, lack of sanitary facilities, and malnutrition, the health of the migratory farm workers in Texas is very poor. In each of our four camps we have a registered nurse and a camp physician. The medical reports from the camps show that large numbers of these people suffer from practically every disease which is a direct or an indirect result of malnutrition.

The State of Texas as a whole suffers from a lack of medical care. In 1937, with 4.7 percent of the Nation's population, Texas had 10.5 percent of all deaths from diarrhea and enteritis, 11.2 percent of all deaths from diphtheria, 12.5 percent of all deaths from typhoid fever, 12.5 percent of all deaths from malaria, 19 percent of all deaths from pellagra. The farm workers, being the lowest economic group in Texas, get less medical care than any other group. Although the camps are attempting to furnish adequate medical care for those served by them, this care will probably be extended under present arrangements to less than 1 percent of the total agricultural workers.

From all evidence we have been able to gather on the condition of agricultural laborers in Texas they fill a position which is slowly destroying them as a group. Of 1,200 babies born in Hidalgo County in 1938, 400 died the first year. These figures can be supplemented and extended from every possible source. Constituting, as they do, a group of between 300,000 and 400,000 persons in this State they are a menace to the health of every community in which they stop and live.

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